

INAF 423: AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, RELIGION, AND THE POLITICS OF INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Professor Thomas F. Farr

Georgetown University, Fall 2017

Wednesdays, 2:00 pm-4:30 pm, Berkley Center Conference Room, Suite 200

Office Hours: by appointment

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs, 3307 M. St.

Email: tomf48@gmail.com

Overview of the Course

According to the Pew Research Center, *seventy four percent* of the world's people live in countries with severe restrictions on religious freedom. Most of those countries are vital to U.S. interests; they include Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, China, India, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Indonesia, to name a few.

In many of these countries individuals, families and entire communities are subject to devastating, violent persecution -- for example, torture, rape, murder (by burning or decapitation), forced conversion, unjust imprisonment, unjust execution, or forced migration – either because of their religious beliefs and practices or those of their tormentors.

The examples are legion, and mounting. They include the systematic rape of Iraqi Yazidi girls and women by ISIS terrorists who cite their religious beliefs, and recourse to Islamic law, to justify their actions.

They include forced conversions of Muslims to Christianity in the Central African Republic, and the forced migration of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi Christians from their homes.

They include an Iranian clerical regime that routinely imprisons religious minorities (including American citizens) and publicly tortures and executes homosexuals because of the regime's interpretation of Islam.

Should American diplomacy work to counter such horrors by advancing religious freedom in these and other countries? It is required to do so by law (the 1998 International Religious Freedom Act), but is this law and the policy it created a good idea? If the answer is yes, is the reason primarily humanitarian, i.e., to stand with the persecuted and rescue victims of violence? Or are there broader U.S. interests involved, such as combatting religious extremism and terrorism, supporting women's equality, stimulating economic growth, or helping struggling democracies stabilize?

Even if the goal seems important, can it be accomplished by American diplomacy? What is its record since 1998? Are America's diplomats being trained to succeed in advancing religious freedom?

Or is US International Religious Freedom policy simply a bad idea, as some critics charge, and basically a means of imposing US values on resisting cultures?

What about religious freedom in the West? The same Pew reports show that religious freedom is deteriorating in the nations of Western Europe and in the United States. Should the United States address this issue with its longtime allies, all of whom live in well-established democracies? If so, why?

How does the U.S. government balance its vital national interests -- for example, its interest in encouraging stability in Egypt or Pakistan, its economic dependence on China, or its alliances with the UK or France -- with whatever interest it might have in advancing religious freedom?

In the United States itself, there are signs that religious liberty is no longer considered the "first freedom" of American democracy. If this is true, is it a sign of decline or of progress? Does religious freedom stand in the way of equality in America? Or is it necessary for equality?

Most importantly for this course, does the status of religious liberty in the US have an impact on the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and American national interests?

This course will examine the politics of the U.S. policy to advance international religious freedom. We will explore the origins of the policy, its performance and legacy to date, as well as its prospects for development. Along the way we will explore the attitudes about religion and religious freedom which have helped to mold that policy.

We will ask whether U.S. strategies have actually reduced religious persecution and advanced religious freedom, and what impact those strategies have had on American policy in the greater Middle East, as well as East Asia. In addressing these questions we will draw on various disciplines, including political science, international relations, history, theology, philosophy and sociology.

Course Format and Requirements

Our seminar will require you to engage on these topics. You are expected to come to class prepared, not only in the sense of having read the assignments, but also being ready to participate. Of your final grade, 40 percent will be derived from your participation in class and 10 percent from a class presentation on the subject of your term paper.

The term paper itself will account for the other 50 %. It should be 5,000-6,000 words in length and include footnotes or endnotes and bibliography. The subject will be some aspect of U.S. IRF policy, focusing either on its domestic sources and processes, on an international case or cases, or some combination of both. Each student should conceive one or more options for papers and discuss them with me by the end of September. The readings are rich with ideas for further exploration, as is the "miscellaneous" folder in the Blackboard for the course. The paper is due on December 12.

You are required to acquire the following book for this course:

Thomas F. Farr, *World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty is Vital to American National Security* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). All other readings will be found in the Blackboard.

Finally, each student will be expected to keep up with domestic and world events that are germane to our course. A very good source of news stories is the International Center for Law and Religion Studies: <http://www.iclrs.org/common/headline.php>. You can have their daily list of articles (covering international, Europe, and the US) sent to you by subscribing here: <http://www.iclrs.org/common/user.profile.php?action=subscribe>

To get a balance of commentary on our issues, peruse *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Economist*, *First Things*, *The Public Discourse*, and *The Weekly Standard*. Also check out *Cornerstone*, the blog of the Religious Freedom Institute.

Classroom Etiquette and How to Succeed

I strongly suggest that you take good notes in this class. I will expect to see our themes, discussions, and debates reflected in your final papers, as well as in your classroom interventions.

I suggest you not bring laptops to class unless you use them to take notes, or have your readings on the laptop and need to consult them in class.

Our classroom discussions will be respectful but vigorous. In general, the way to succeed in the classroom is to read the readings carefully and be ready to draw on them in our class discussions.

SCHEDULE OF CLASSES

Note: For some classes readings are yet to be listed or may change.

PART ONE: SETTING THE STAGE

September 6: The Definitional Problem: What is Religious Freedom?

INAF 423 Syllabus (read introduction carefully)

“Some Thoughts and Advice for Our Students and All Students,” A Statement by Professors from Princeton, Harvard, and Yale

What is religious freedom? Senator Bernie Sanders (video to be shown in class)

Michael McConnell, “Why is Religious Liberty the ‘First Freedom’?” *Cardozo Law Review*, 1999-2000, 1243-1265.

“The Future of World Religions,” Demographic Report by the Pew Research Center (April 2015). Read the overview. Peruse links as you wish.

Thomas Farr, “Diplomacy in an Age of Faith: Religious Freedom and National Security,” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2008.

Optional reading:

“Five Key Findings About Global Religious Restrictions,” from the Pew Research Center’s annual report on Global Religious Restrictions (February 2015). Read the five key findings and familiarize yourself with the annual report.

Peter Berger, “Secularization in Retreat,” *The National Interest* (Winter, 1996-1997)

Daniel Philpott, “Explaining the Political Ambivalence of Religion,” *American Political Science Review* (August 2007).

Mark Lilla, “The Politics of God,” *The New York Times Magazine* (August 19, 2007).

September 13: Religious Freedom in America (Part One)

“America’s Changing Religious Landscape,” Demographic Report, Pew Research Center (May 2015). Read the overview. Peruse links as you wish.

Steven D. Smith, Prologue and Chapters 1-2, in *The Rise and Decline of American Religious Freedom* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2014).

September 20: Religious Freedom in America (Part Two)

Steven Smith, Chapters 3-5, and Epilogue in Smith, *The Rise and Decline of American Religious Freedom*. Read 3, 5 and Epilogue carefully. You may skim chapter 4 to get the argument Smith is making.

James Madison, "Memorial and Remonstrance," 1785.

Michael McConnell vs. Noah Feldman, "What's So Special About Religious Freedom?" A debate at Georgetown sponsored by the Berkley Center's Religious Freedom Project, pp 15-21.

Alan Wolfe, "Why the Separation of Church and State is Still a Good Idea."

Optional Reading:

Gerard V. Bradley, *Religious Liberty in the American Republic* (The Heritage Foundation, 2008), pp 1-71 (Introduction and chapters 1-4).

Michael Novak, "Jewish Metaphysics at the Founding," chapter 1, *On Two Wings: Humble Faith and Common Sense at the American Founding* (Encounter Books, 2008).

Daniel Driesbach, "Origins and Dangers of the 'Wall of Separation' Between Church and State," *OrthodoxyToday.org*, January 4, 2008.

September 27: Religion in Political Life as an Aspect of Religious Freedom

[NOTE: By this date all students should have communicated with me via email about their papers.]

The Religious Freedom Restoration Act (1993)

Obergefell v. Hodges. Peruse Justice Kennedy's opinion for the majority (1- 28) and Chief Justice Robert's dissent (1-28).

Michael McConnell, "Secular Reason and the Misguided Attempt to Exclude Religious Argument from Democratic Deliberation," *Journal of Law, Philosophy and Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1 (2007), pp. 159-174.

Martin Luther King, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," April 16, 1963.

Optional Reading:

Georgetown Debate on the HHS Mandate, April 2012.

U.S. Catholic Bishops, "Our First Most Cherished Liberty," April 2012

Burwell v. Hobby Lobby (2014). Peruse Justice Alito’s opinion for the majority (1-49) and Justice Ginsberg’s dissent (1-35).

Robert Audi, "The Separation of Church and State and the Obligations of Citizenship," *Philosophy & Public Affairs*, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Summer, 1989), pp. 259-296. *Focus on parts IV-VII (pages 274-96).*

Richard Garnett, “Religious Liberty, Church Autonomy, and the Structure of Freedom,” *Notre Dame Law School Legal Studies Research Paper* No. 10-10, 226-238.

Employment Division v. Smith (1990).

Supreme Court Decision on the Defense of Marriage Act (US v. Windsor): Justice Kennedy’s opinion for the majority; Justice Scalia’s dissent.

Hosanna Tabor Evangelical Lutheran Church And School v. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission et al (2011).

Senator Barak Obama, "Call to Renewal" campaign speech, June 28, 2006. *Focus on portions of the speech dealing with religion.*

Perry v. Schwarzenegger (the California Prop 8 decision, 2010), pp. 132-135.

President Barak Obama, commencement speech at Notre Dame, May 17, 2009.

Matt Franck, "President Obama, Professor Rawls, and Father Neuhaus on Faith and Reason," unpublished paper, September 2012

October 4: Religious Freedom, Democracy, Economic Growth, and Terrorism

Thomas Farr, “Religion and Stable Self Government,” chapter 3, *World of Faith and Freedom: Why International Religious Liberty is Vital to American National Security* (Oxford, 2008)

Brian J. Grim, Greg Clark and Robert Snyder, "Is Religious Freedom Good for Business?: A Conceptual and Empirical Analysis." *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, Volume 10, 2014

Nilay Saiya, “The Religious Freedom Peace,” *International Journal of Human Rights*, Volume 19, 2015.

Optional Reading:

Alfred Stepan, “Religion, Democracy and ‘The Twin Tolerations,’” *Journal of Democracy* (October 2000)

Robert Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," *American Political Science Review* (May 2012)

Lawrence E. Harrison, "Religions and Progress," chapter 4 of *The Central Religious Truth* (Oxford, 2006)

Arch Puddington, "The Pushback Against Democracy: The 2006 Freedom House Survey," *Journal of Democracy* (April 2007)

PART TWO: THE EMERGENCE OF IRFA AND IRF POLICY

October 11: Thinking About Religious Freedom in Foreign Policy [NOTE: By this date paper topics should have been approved by me.]

Allen D. Hertzke, "Herod's Challenge," chapter 1, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (Roman and Littlefield, 2004)

Thomas Farr, "Why Religious Freedom?" Introduction in *World of Faith and Freedom*

Farr, "The Intellectual Sources of Diplomacy's Religion Deficit," chapter 2 in *World of Faith and Freedom*

Chicago Council on Global Affairs, *Engaging Religious Communities Abroad: A New Imperative for U.S. Foreign Policy* (2010), Executive Summary, chapters 1, 3 and 4.

Optional reading:

Paul Marshall, "The Range of Religious Freedom," and appendices I-IV, in Marshall, ed. *Religious Freedom in the World 2007* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2008)

October 18: The Development of U.S IRF Policy

Farr, *World of Faith and Freedom*, chapters 4-7.

Farr and Dennis Hoover, *Recommendations for the Trump Administration and the Congress*

The International Religious Freedom Act of 1998 (with 1999 amendments). Peruse.

The Frank Wolf International Religious Freedom Act of 2016 (Read to discern changes from the 1998 Act)

Optional reading:

Madeleine Albright, "Remarks on Religious Freedom," October 23, 1997

Allen D. Herztke, "The Hand of Providence in Congress," chapter 6, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (Roman and Littlefield, 2004)

October 25: IRF Policy – Detractors and Supporters

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, "Believing in Religious Freedom," *The Immanent Frame*, March 1, 2012

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, "The Global Securitization of Religion," *The Immanent Frame*

Winnifred Fallers Sullivan, "The Extra-territorial Establishment of Religion," *The Immanent Frame*

Daniel Philpott and Timothy Shah, "In Defense of Religious Freedom"

Thomas Farr, "Where Lies Wisdom, Where Folly?" *The Immanent Frame*

Optional Reading:

Albright, *The Mighty and the Almighty: Reflections on America, God, and World Affairs* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006), chapter one

William Inboden, "A Valuation of Religious Freedom," *The Immanent Frame*

Kristin Nadasdy Wuerffel, "Discriminating Among Rights?" A Nation's Legislating a Hierarchy of Human Rights..." *Valparaiso University Law Review* (Fall 1998)

PART THREE: IRF POLICY IN ACTION

November 1: China and Severe Persecution

Farr, "Riding the Dragon: The Case of China," chapter 10, *World of Faith*

"Cracks in the Atheist Edifice," *The Economist*, November 1, 2014.

Department of State, *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom*, [most recent report - find on www.state.gov], China, Hong Kong, Macau and Tibet

U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, 2017 Annual Report, Chapter on China.

Hong Kong Bishop Talks About Church-State Relations in China, Catholic News Agency, September 4, 2017

Optional Reading:

Carol Lee Hamrin, "A New Framework for Promoting Religious Freedom in China," *The Brandywine Review of Faith and International Affairs* (Spring, 2005)

Carolyn Evans, "Chinese Law and the International Protection of Religious Freedom," *Journal of Church and State*

China State Administration for Religious Affairs, "Freedom of Religious Belief in China," Official China Website, 2002

November 8: Pakistan, Blasphemy and the Fueling of Extremism

Farr, "Islam and the American Opportunity," chapter 9, *World of Faith*

Department of State, (*latest*) *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom, Pakistan*

Paul Marshall and Nina Shea, *Silenced* (Oxford University Press, 2011), Introduction, chapter 5 (Pakistan), Conclusion

Farr, "The Blasphemy of Rimsha Massih" and responses, National Review Online

November 15: Saudi Arabia, Wahhabism and ISIS

Farr, "Seeking the Heart of Islam," chapter 8, *World of Faith*

Graeme Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic*, March 2015

Jack Jenkins, "What the Atlantic Left Out About ISIS" *thinkprogress.org*, February 20, 2015

Rukmini Callimachi, "ISIS Enshrines a Theology of Rape," *New York Times*, August 13, 2015

Department of State, (*latest*) *Annual Report on International Religious Freedom, Saudi Arabia*

Optional:

Carlyle Murphy, "Questioning the Faith in the Cradle of Islam," *Foreign Policy*, October 29, 1014

November 22: Retrieving the Possibility of Pluralism in the Middle East

Department of State, Annual Report on International Religious Freedom, Egypt.

Hamid, Shadi. "The Future of Democracy in the Middle East: Islamist and Illiberal", *The Atlantic*, 6 April 2014.

Masoud, Tarek. "Islamist Parties and Democracy: Are they Democrats? Does it matter?" *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 19, Issue 3, July 2008.

Optional Readings:

Robert S. Leiken and Steven Brooke, "The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2007)

Samuel Tadros, "What is a Constitution Anyway?" *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Volume 14, January 2013.

James Traub, "Islamic Democrats?" *The New York Times Magazine* (April 29, 2007)

Samuel Tadros, "Victory or Death: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Trenches" *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, Volume 15, August 2013.

Khaled Saad, "Sharia in Egypt? Reality is Somewhere Between Hopes and Fears," *Atlantic Council* website, February 27, 2012.

Kurt Werthmuller, "On Sharia, Civil Society, and Religious Identity in Egypt: A Response to Khaled Saad," *Hudson Institute* website, March 2, 2012.

Graham Fuller, "Turkey's Strategic Model: Myths and Realities," *The Washington Quarterly* (Summer 2004)

Michel Gurfinkiel, "Is Turkey Lost?," *Commentary* (March 2007)

Mustafa Akyol, "Render Unto Ataturk," *First Things* (March 2007)

Christopher Caldwell, "The Turkey Paradox," *The Weekly Standard* (July 26, 2004)

Ken Silverstein, "Parties of God: The Bush Doctrine and the Rise of Islamic Democracy," *Harper's Magazine* (March 2007)

Sam Tadros, "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood after the Election" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*

Khalil Al-Anani, "The Young Brotherhood in Search of a New Path," in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*

November 29: Wrap up – Whence U.S. International Religious Freedom Policy

Farr, *World of Faith*, Chapter 1: "Confounded by Faith."

Robert George, "Could America Survive Without Religion?" *The Public Discourse*, November 19, 2015.

Farr, "Is Religious Freedom Necessary for Other Freedoms to Flourish?"

The Pew Forum: *A Discussion on International Religious Freedom and Diplomacy*, May 8, 2007.

Optional Reading:

The Library of Congress: *A Discussion on Legislating International Religious Freedom*, November 20, 2006

December 6: Paper presentations