CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Religious actor is now one of the highlights of international affairs. Their popularity is rising along with the increasing significance of religion in influencing international relations. This thesis is going to look for the reason behind the phenomenon. However, we must first look at the other phenomena that has contributed in the rise of religious actors in international system.

The phenomenon of globalization is one of the influencing factors to the rise of religious actors. Globalization has changed the method in which the world works in many different ways. In the context of international relations itself, globalization has changed the nature of security of states. While years ago security was only an internal matter of a country, right now security has become a global issue and has grown in complexity. Fifty years ago, information moved slowly from one place to another and took more resources than now. With the current technology, the world seems to be borderless and people from different parts of the world are interconnected in an unprecedented way. This interconnectedness has a lot of impact to all people in many aspects of the world, including to the political aspect of the international system. For instance, global warming is one of many issues in the world that captures the attention of every country in the world. This particular issue has managed to encourage not only more inter-governmental cooperation but also International Non-Governmental

Organizations (INGOs), in order to overcome the problem of climate change. This example portrays how one issue has become borderless and made a collective concern that persuades developed countries in Europe to help developing country like Indonesia to combat climate change by protecting its forest as stated in European Union's (EU) Forest Law Enforcement, Governance and Trade (FLEGT)[1]. The example above explains a distinct character of transnationalism, which is "border-crossing"[2], as in how the EU crosses their territorial border in order to help solving an issue halfway across the globe.

Transnationalism has also allowed non-state actors to participate in international politics. These non-state actors include individuals and organizations who act on their behalf and do not identify with a certain government. In this thesis, author will particularly discuss about the role of religious non-state actors in international politics, specifically their role in promoting peace in transnational fashion. These religious actors are acting based on the religious ideals or teachings of their faiths to achieve a political goal. Therefore, the analysis cannot be separated from the classic discussion of the relation between religion and politics. Secularism or the separation of religion and politics is mainly based on the idea of separation between public and private spheres; politics is said to be public and religion is said to be private, separated by a distinct line in the middle so that they should not mix with each other. Although the term secularism itself

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[1] Delegation of European Union to Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam and ASEAN. 2012, "Environment and Climate Change." Available from http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/indonesia/eu_indonesia/cooperation/sectors_of_cooperation/environment/index_en.htm; Internet; accessed 20 September 2012.
[2] Patricia Clavin. "Defining Transnationalism." *Contemporary European History* 14, Issue 4 (November 2005): 421-439. p. 423.

was only coined in 1851 by George Jacob Holyoake, a British writer, the effort to implement this idea has existed from way back. In the context of international relations itself, secularism was a very important aspect behind the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, when religion was the main justification of war, especially in Europe[3].

From that point on, as a result of modernization and the ongoing process of secularization, the significance of religion in political realms has decreased. In contemporary politics, it is evident in the political system of some countries, how religious arguments do not have a place in public square. Brendan Sweetman in his book "Why Politics Needs Religion" explains how the view of a theologian against abortion was turned down because the system says that a religious argument should not be introduced to a secular society[4]. This is one example of how the separation line is used in the society, not only regarding abortion issue, but also many other issues we face today.

The decline of religion was predicted by many secularization theorists. Modernization or advancement of technology seems to really support the claim that religion is now less significant. It is only strengthened by statistics about the decreasing number of church attendance,   as shown in Table 1.1 below.

Table 1.1 Results of the 1998-1999 International Social Survey Programme "Religion II" Study
(Question: "How Often Do You Attend Religious Services?")

Country	% Never or Rarely[a]	% Weekly or More[b]
Australia	74.7	18.5
Austria	67.1	19.1
Canada	67.3	20.5
Chile	54.9	20.5

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[3] Jeffrey Haynes. 2007. *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion.* London: Pearson Education Limited. p. 31.
[4] Brendan Sweetman. 2006. *Why Politics Needs Religion.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press. p. 12.

Cyprus	75.0	4.0
Czechoslovakia	85.2	7.4
Denmark	89.2	2.1
France	83.8	11.8
Germany, East	75.1	6.7
Germany, West	74.0	8.3
Great Britain	76.4	14.2
Hungary	76.5	15.0
Ireland	22.5	63.2
Italy	51.3	29.4
Japan	93.0	1.8
Latvia	81.1	5.1
The Netherlands	75.8	13.8
New Zealand	76.1	13.2
Northern Ireland	40.8	44.3
Norway	89.9	6.5
Philippines	26.4	46.4
Poland	29.4	39.3
Portugal	53.1	29.6
Russia	90.7	3.5
Slovakia	55.2	29.8
Slovenia	72.7	13.1
Spain	57.4	26.6
Sweden	91.8	5.5
Switzerland	73.9	11.6
United States	52.2	31.8
[a] Compiled by adding the responses "Never," "Less Than Once Per Year," and "Several Times A Year." [b] Compiled by adding the responses "Nearly Every Week," Once A Week," and "More Than Once A Week." The table thus omits indications of "Once A Month," and "Two to Three Times A Month." These data were collected by the International Social Survery Program: Religion II, 1998 [Computer file]. Koeln, Germany: Zentralarchiv fuer Empirische Sozialforschung [Producer], 2000.		

Source: Altemeyer 2004, 78[5]

Looking at this data, it seems inevitable that the importance of religion in the society has decreased very dramatically in the past decades. However, something unexpected is happening. According to Peter Berger, religious resurgence is emerging and is a result of modernization[6]. It seems like the claim that modernization isolates religion and further makes it obsolete is false. Because according to Berger, modernization only makes religion more powerful because it

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[5] Bob Altemeyer. "The Decline of Organized Religion in Western Civilization." *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 14, Issue 2 (2004): 77-89. p. 78.

[6] Peter L. Berger, Jonathan Sacks, David Martin, Tu Weiming, George Weigel, Grace Davie, and Abdullahi A. An-Na'm, eds. 1999. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics.* Washington DC: Ethics and Public Policy Center. p. 3.

is trying to survive against its own abolition due to the fact that the society thinks that religion is not that important anymore, and there are evidence to support this statement.

Contributing to this religious resurgence are the religious actors who might be individuals or NGOs who act transnationally. Various actors acting on behalf of religious institutions are highly involved and influential in political issues in the world. The Roman Catholic Church is vocal in promoting human rights through Pope's visits at some countries. On March 2012, the Pope visited Cuba and promoted democracy as claimed by the Vatican itself[7]. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa was rooted from a religious nature and conducted through a religious manner, seen through the recurrent use of prayers and religious leaders during the process[8]. The 9/11 attack and Al-Qaeda spreading the Islamic terrorism in the western world are also examples of how religion is resurging in modern world, not to mention the increasing role of religion in the politics of Europe[9]. Those are all undeniable facts that show the existence of religious resurgence, both positive and negative forces, in a global scale.

Religious resurgence is an actual topic that is analyzed in relation to various concepts such as globalization, religious fundamentalism, militancy,

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[7] Democracy Digest. 2012, "Pope's Cuba visit will 'promote democracy,' says Vatican." Available from http://www.demdigest.net/blog/2012/03/popes-cuba-visit-will-promote-democracy-says-vatican/; Internet; accessed 6 September 2012.

[8] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "South Africa: The Religious Foundations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110811SouthAfricaTRC[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 6 September 2012. p. 1.

[9] Scott M. Thomas, "Outwitting the Developed Countries? Existential Insecurity and the Global Resurgence of Religion." *Journal of International Affairs* 61, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 2007): 21-45. p. 25.

radicalism, and so on. Ronald Inglehart, chairman of the World Values Survey and research professor, Center for Political Studies, University of Michigan, in a presentation hosted by The Pew Forum and the Council on Foreign Relations shared his view on religious resurgence:

> "So religion shows no sign whatever of declining. Though secularization has a genuine logic to it and has been at work, it is its own gravedigger in the long run. Things may change; I will not attempt to predict the future, but there has been a huge differential on fertility rates, so that modernization has not had the effect of shoving religion off the map. In fact, religion is alive and flourishing, and by calculations that are pretty straightforward, the percentage of the world's population that has traditional religious beliefs is a larger share of the world's population today than 20 years ago.[10]"

This phenomenon explains how religion plays important roles in many aspects of the global world. One of those aspects that will be the center of this thesis is the religious resurgence in conflict resolution.

Religion is often seen as the cause of war. This statement has some truth in it, because history records many wars that were done in the name of religion. The Thirty Year's War was initially fought between Protestants and Catholics. Eventually the war ended and resulted in the Treaty of Westphalia, which mainly iterated the separation of church and state[11]. There is also the more recent 9/11 attack by Al-Qaeda who justified their wrongdoing with religion. Ivan Strenski in his book "Why Politics can't be Freed from Religion" quoted Bossy[12]:

> "People do not really fight about religion. If they seem to be doing so, they must really be fighting about something else."

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[10] The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2006, Event Transcript of "Is There A Global Resurgence of Religion?" Available from http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/Is-There-a-Global-Resurgence-of-Religion.aspx; Internet; accessed 7 September 2012.
[11] Haynes, *op. cit.,* pp. 31-32
[12] Ivan Strenski. 2010. *Why Politics can't be Freed from Religion.* West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell. p. 8.

Strenski further made sense of this statement by analogizing the relations of religion and politics with hammer and nail, which means that sometimes politics 'hammers' religion (as the nail) for political purposes or sometimes religion 'hammers' politics to achieve religious (as the nail) purposes[13]. For example, Al-Qaeda's Islamic values are used as a 'religious hammer' to achieve their 'political nail', which is to attack western values (American regime). On the other hand, there is the Roman Catholic Church promoting human rights and democracy in developing countries as its 'political hammer', to support their 'religious nail' which is the Christian values. This simple analogy explains the growing popular opinion blaming religion as the cause of war, while at the same time overlooking religion's role in promoting peace.

A lot of religious actors are now rising in the middle of conflicts, acting as the mediator between the conflicting parties. The World Council of Churches (WCC) is actively involved in many peace talks in Colombia, Syria, Myanmar, and so on[14]. Through their subsidiary network in each country, WCC supports such actions to be conducted in order to attain peace. For instance, WCC through Myanmar Council of Churches is encouraging peace and reconciliation initiatives to stop the violent persecution against the Muslim Rohingyas[15]. Evidently, religion is, more often than not, considered as the cause of war, but at the same time, it is also undeniable that religion is the source of peace. As explained by

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[13] *Ibid.,* p.3

[14] World Council of Churches, 2012, Home page. Available from http://www.oikoumene.org/; Internet; accessed 10 September 2012.

[15] World Council of Churches, 2012, "Myanmar churches encouraged in peace building." Available from http://www.oikoumene.org/en/news/news-management/eng/a/article/1634/myanmar-churches-are-enco.html; Internet; accessed 10 September 2012.

Strenski previously, it depends on whether religion is the hammer or the nail; it can be the cause of war or the source of peace.

As this thesis will focus on the role of religious actors as the source of peace, author has chosen one case study that will give abundant insights on the matter. The case study that will be case-in-point in this thesis is the Second Sudanese Civil War that happened from 1983 to 2005. Author will begin by narrating the historical background of this case study.

Before gaining its independence in 1956, Sudan was ruled by Anglo-Egyptian regime, which is run by a governor-general appointed by Egypt with British consent. However, the government was largely run by the British colony. Throughout this regime, the British colony merged the North and South territory into a single region without realizing the tension that happened between the majority Arab-Muslims in the North and the Southerners who mainly consisted of Christians and indigenous African populations. This tension was caused by the gap in the development of the North and South, particularly economic development which mainly occurred in the Nile Valley in the Northern region of Sudan.[16]

Even before Sudan gained its independence, rebellious group was forming in the South because of fear that the British administration would only be replaced by Arab-Muslim government from the North. The reason for this was the ongoing abuse and discrimination experienced by the non-Muslim Africans in the South

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[16] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "Sudan: Race and Religion in Civil War." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110523Sudan[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012. p. 2.

from the Northern government who was trying to create a Muslim country. War was expected, and the first civil war in Sudan lasted for seventeen years which ended in 1972.[17]

This peace agreement ended the war, but did not end the tension between the North and South. The southern region was given more autonomy to rule its people and territory[18]. The period of interlude peace lasted for about a decade. However, conflicts among government authorities in the capital and unrest in the South led to another war in early 80s[19].

In 1983, John Garang led the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) in a war against the government in the South[20]. This situation was worsened by the declaration of sharia as state law by President Numayri. John Garang then started the rebellion against the central government, demanding independence for the southern region. Numayri was then ousted in 1985 and a new government elected democratically started ruling. Nevertheless, the war continued and SPLA refused to settle with the new government.[21]

Instead, the SPLA amplified its attack to on the North, in a full-scale level of civil war. Negotiations were conducted in 1988 and 1989, but they were caught up by the rise of Omar al-Bashir into power, through a military coup in June 1989.

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[17] Alex de Waal. "The Wars of Sudan." *The Nation*, 19 March 2007. p. 16.

[18] BBC News, 2012, "Sudan Profile." Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14095300; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

[19] BBC News, 1999, "World: Analysis, Sudan: a political and military history." Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/84927.stm; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

[20] BBC News, 2012, "Sudan Profile." Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-14095300; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

[21] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "Sudan: Race and Religion in Civil War." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110523Sudan[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012. p. 2.

Al-Bashir started out by banning all political parties in the country.[22] He was also favoring Islamization in the country and trying to recruit military personnel with religious propaganda[23]. Nonetheless, in 1991 his government granted the South a non-Sharia legal system and a significant autonomy[24]. Al-Bashir was known for his goal to keep a unified Sudan. This action could be considered as a strategy to keep the Southerners pleased with his regime.

The second civil war lasted twenty-two years. Eventually, it was ended by a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in January 2005 or also known as the Naivasha Agreement, after the Kenyan resort where the negotiation was conducted. This agreement assured the democratization in the South and an equitable distribution of oil revenues between the North and South.[25] It also gave the southern Sudan autonomy for six years before they can conduct a referendum and vote for independence or not.[26] The referendum was conducted in January 2011, and 98% of the southern Sudanese voted for the secession. Independence of a new country called South Sudan was then attained on July 9, 2011.[27]

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[22] BBC News, 1999, "World: Analysis, Sudan: a political and military history." Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/84927.stm; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

[23] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "Sudan: Race and Religion in Civil War." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110523Sudan[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012. p. 2-3.

[24] BBC News, 1999, "World: Analysis, Sudan: a political and military history." Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/84927.stm; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

[25] Alex de Waal. "The Wars of Sudan." *The Nation*, 19 March 2007. p. 16.

[26] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "Sudan: Race and Religion in Civil War." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110523Sudan[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012. p. 3.

[27] CIA, The World Factbook, 2012, "South Sudan." Available from https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012.

There are two reasons that make author chose the Sudan civil war as a study case. First, this war was colored, although not limited, by religious motives. The war mainly happened between the Arabs in the North who were Muslim majority, and indigenous Africans in the South who were dominated by Christians but also still had significant populations who followed animism. Second, during both civil wars in Sudan, there was a significant involvement of religious actors, whether in helping the victims and casualties of the war or in promoting and encouraging peace between the conflicting parties.

Based on the elaboration of the case background above, author will try to give some insights about global religious resurgence that has been going on, regardless the prediction of the total decline of religion as a result of secularization supported by modernization and globalization. The phenomenon of religious resurgence will be explained in a particular context, which is in the aspects of conflict resolution. The second civil war in Sudan that happened from 1983 to 2005 will be the case in point throughout this thesis, which in entitled "The Role of Global Religious Actors in Promoting Conflict Resolution: A Case Study of the Second Civil War in Sudan."

1.2 Research Problems

Religious resurgence in the modern era is described through many phenomena. The most highlighted aspect of them is the resurgence of religion through fundamentalism, which often results in violent conflicts. For instance, the followers of Baha'i faith in Iran is largely persecuted, discriminated, and treated

unjustly. They were killed or captured and punished without going through a proper legal process.[28] The civil wars in Sudan were also triggered by religious difference, which further resulted in religious militancy, like how Omar Al-Bashir tried to recruit military personnel by using religious doctrine[29]. Even more recently, through the 9/11 tragedy the world society witnessed a horrendous action justified in the name of religion. That one aspect is causing another aspect of religious resurgence to be overlooked. This aspect is where religion is playing important role in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Evidence of religious actors' involvement in promoting peace is abundant, but mostly shadowed by religious fundamentalism. This thesis will try to focus on and explain the role of global religious actors in promoting conflict resolution in Sudan during the second civil war that happen from 1983 to 2005.

At the end of this thesis, author will try to answer the real questions behind this research, such as: do religious actors involvements in conflict resolution have impact towards the process of achieving peace? or how are these global religious actors differ from other global actors who also aim to end conflict and promote peace? In order to answer these questions, and to establish the focus of research, author further breaks down the analysis into two research questions:

1. What is the factor that contributes to the involvement of global religious actors in promoting conflict resolution in the second civil war in Sudan?

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[28] FIDH (Federation Internationale des Ligues de Droits de l'Homme), Worldwide Human Rights Movement, 2003, "Discrimination against religious minorities in Iran." Available from http://www.fidh.org/IMG/pdf/ir0108a.pdf; Internet; accessed 12 September 2012. p. 12.

[29] Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs (Georgetown University), 2011, "Sudan: Race and Religion in Civil War." Available from http://repository.berkleycenter.georgetown.edu/110523Sudan[FINAL].pdf; Internet; accessed 11 September 2012. p. 2-3.

2. What role do the global religious actors play in promoting conflict resolution during the second civil war in Sudan?

1.3 Research Objectives

Based on the research problems presented above, the objectives of this research are:

1. to explain the contributing factor to the involvement of global religious actors in promoting conflict resolution in the second civil war in Sudan,

2. to describe the role that the global religious actors play in promoting conflict resolution during the second civil war in Sudan.

1.4 Research Contributions

This thesis is composed to accomplish both academic and practical contributions. The contributions that are expected from this thesis are:

1. Academic contribution: to provide readers with theoretical analysis of an international relations phenomenon, which is the global religious resurgence in promoting peace through religious actors, particularly in Sudan during the second civil war that happened from 1983 to 2005.

2. Practical contribution: to provide readers, particularly international relations analysts or international relations actors, with insights regarding the influence of global non-state actors, in this case religious actors, towards international conflict resolutions and further help promote peace and cease conflict human faces today.

1.5 The Organization of Thesis

To achieve a structured and organized research and clarity of explanation, this thesis is organized into five parts:

Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter of this thesis consists of background of the research, research problems, research objectives, research contributions, and the organization of thesis.

Chapter II: Analytical Framework

The second chapter of this thesis elaborates the theories and concepts that are used throughout the analysis of this study. All the theories and concepts in this chapter are related to the explanation of the role of global religious actors in promoting conflict resolution and peacebuilding in the second civil war in Sudan.

Chapter III: Research Method

The third chapter primarily portrays method used in conducting this research. This chapter consists of scope of research, research type and method, types and source of data, data collecting technique, data analysis technique, and limitation of research.

Chapter IV: Data and Analysis

The fourth chapter is the main part of this thesis, which contains all the data and analysis related to the topic, based on the research problems presented in the first chapter.

Chapter V: Conclusion and Recommendation

The fifth chapter is the last part of thesis consisting of two parts, which are conclusion of the research and recommendation related to the discussed topic.

Bibliography

Appendices