

## STATE AND RELIGION: PROBLEMS OF INTERACTION

### Abstract

The article analyzes the modern forms of relations between the state and religion: a theocracy, a state religion, confessional structure, political nondenominational state resurgent religious influence on government. Particular attention is paid to the ways and methods of solving the state-religious issues (the war between and within religious conflicts, overcoming discord in the interpretation of the canons and dogmas, flirting with clerics). The analysis is based on a broad historical context. Finally, it analyzes the reality of the interaction between religion and political power in modern Russia and the reaction of the population to these relationships.

**Key Words:** government, religion, forms, ways and methods of interaction of religion and government, public opinion about the state-religious relations

“The official religion invariably turns to organizations pursuing selfish interests, and thus, inevitably becomes a reactionary force resisting change and progress.”

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), politician, President of India

History knows of various combinations of relations between the state and religion. Sometimes these relationships enrich each other, and sometimes opposed to each other or are in a neutral state. With the development of humanity, especially in modern times occurred and are occurring complex and difficult process, describing major changes in the relationship between state and religion. On the one hand, a number of states are trying to express themselves as much as possible about the processes of distancing themselves from clericalism, for example, that most clearly manifested in the adoption of the draft Constitution of the European Union, when it was mentioned about the Christian roots of European civilization. On the other hand, there is an increasing tendency to involve the states or to rely on religion in political life, so that these processes can be called creeping clericalization and *teokratizatsiye*. However, these processes take place in different ways, giving rise to different combinations of this interaction.

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As for modern Russia, the 1993 Constitution defines the Russian Federation as a secular country in which “no religion can be established state or obligatory” (v. 14).

### **Forms of interaction between the state and religion**

Modern relationships between the state and religion can be classified according to the provisions of the Constitutions written in the existing State laws, and the actual practice that has developed of them as a basis for these relationships.

The first group consists of states that do not hide the fact that they are the epitome of theocratic ideas, where the spiritual and secular power are inseparable, where the foundation of the state are religious dogmas and canons. Such countries include Iran, Sudan, and until recently, Afghanistan. These countries were not limited to the establishment of a theocratic regime in their country - they are actively trying to export it, or impose on other countries to support the forces that seek to establish the rule of the religious authorities. Peculiar theocratic innovations are also found in Saudi Arabia, which has been as an independent state for a long time but whose founding view was Wahhabism that has evolved into a militant religious movement. Although Wahhabi movement gave life to the first Saudi state, which by the beginning included all of Arabia, by 1818 it was defeated by the Egyptian army of Ibrahim Pasha. The second Riyadh Emirate lasted a little over two decades (1843-1865) and collapsed due to the weakening of the central government and the separatist local rulers. The third stage of the revival associated with the name of the emirate and now heads the Saudi ruling family and the gradual degeneration of Wahhabism in radical and in the future and extremist religious movement. In these specific historical conditions in 1902, Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd-al-Rahman formed the state, and in 1932 proclaimed the establishment of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, whose Wahhabist existence was attributed to their own merits as the ability to form and maintain power precisely on the basis of religion<sup>2</sup>. But if Saudi Arabia itself demonstrated a relative compromise between the government and Muslim clergy (although intermittent clashes did occur), in other countries, Wahhabism has become a more militant form. It gradually spread to Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates. It contained the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia as the mujahideen in Afghanistan for ideological and religious reasons.

Militant forms were used by Wahhabis in the country of “infidels” in Russia, where Wahhabism began to be promoted and implemented in the consciousness of the Muslim population, not only in the Caucasus but also in the republics of the Volga region and even in the Muslim diaspora of many major cities. Experience has shown that the spread of Wahhabism was accompanied by numer-

<sup>2</sup> Antonian Y.M., Nature ethno-religious extremism, *Aspect Press*, 2008; Dobaev I.P., Radical Wahhabism as an ideology of religious and political extremism, *Izvestiya of the universities of the North Caucasus region*, No. 2, 2003, p. 4.

ous terrorist acts in many Russian cities, as the realization of the ideology of the religious movement - to provide the power of Allah in other countries, and then throughout the world.

How to explain the different faces of Wahhabism? "Wahhabism is absolutely legitimate in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Egypt, because there is a tradition, but criminally persecuted in Turkey and outlawed in Dagestan ... In these countries, it is in conflict with the existing religious context, with the dominant ethno-religious traditions, Islam and the secular pan-Turkic ideology in Turkey, with the Shafi'i and Sufi tariqat - in the Caucasus"<sup>3</sup>.

In other words, *inokulturnye* imported forms of religiosity are beginning to be seen in these countries as political influence (and interference) of other states in the religious space of states, which naturally leads to a cautious attitude and even rejection of Wahhabism as a factor in the radicalization and exacerbation of state-religious relations.

The second group includes countries where there is a "dominant" (state) religion, which are the main priorities for regulation of public life and participation in determining the fate of the fatherland. Examples include Greece, Pakistan, Libya, Mauritania, Israel, and Norway.

This form of government resorted to this problem in states like Bosnia, which was formed after the breakup of Yugoslavia. And since this is the state that consists of three main enclave territories inhabited by Serbs, Croats and Muslims, all of them having adopted the religion. Thus, the Bosnian Serbs proclaimed the official religion of Christianity, all the religious holidays have become celebrated at the state level, and the school as a compulsory subject was introduced by the Law of God. Almost similar measures were adopted in the Croatia and Bosnia, where a landmark in public affairs was Catholicism. Bosnian Muslims have implemented the call of its former Prime Minister Izetbegovic "One country - one religion." Moreover, Islam in this part of the country began to take an extremist nature, in particular under the influence of Wahhabi volunteers from Muslim countries. It is noteworthy that the distancing of Bosnian Muslims from the Serbs were the "scientific" and advocacy efforts, saying that the Bosnians are not of Slavic origin. Meanwhile, they continue to speak the Serbian language, and little nuances in dialect do not allow, according to linguists, talk about a single language. In other words, the religious factor has gained in all three parts of the country the status of state approval and support<sup>4</sup>.

As for Israel, under pressure from religious circles repatriation of Jews to Christianity was banned. It is also impossible in Israel to conclude a civil marriage<sup>5</sup>.

The third group can be called a confessional state. In the US, we recall, on

3 Zhuravskii A., Religious tradition in the crisis of secularism, *Continent*, No. 120, 2004, p. 280. Andreeva L.A., *Sacralization of power in the history of Christian civilization: the Latin West and the Orthodox East*, Moscow, 2009.

4 Lukina N., Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Dayton, *Svobodnaya misl*, No. 2, 2006, p. 133.

5 *Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, 1 June 2005.

bank notes are written the words "In God we trust", the presidential oath on the Bible occurs in the presence of heads of major religious groups. According to experts, the US is increasingly turning into a religious country where Protestantism is still "law" and more "necessary" than other faiths. Already proclaimed president D. Eisenhower this formula, "We believe in God." In the Capitol a prayer room was opened. In the official oath, texts beginning "God's will" become mandatory. This trend continued and the other presidents. Bill Clinton after the scandal with Monica Liwinski declared that "I need advice from pastors and others that with God's help and the others had a desire to forgive me," and that the three pastors - Phil Uogaman, Tony Campolo and Gordon MacDonald - "taught me at least once a month"<sup>6</sup>. George W. Bush empathizes his religiosity citing God as creator of all things - in many of his speeches. None of his maxims such as "God is on our side", "God with us", "we are with God can not be defeated," etc. The question: Who is the most important, from his point of view, political philosopher? - Bush replied: "Christ, because he changed my heart." The onset of clericalism in the US is felt throughout. And it has an effect. Religion, mostly evangelical wing of the Republican Party, became a support and a guarantee of its election victory<sup>7</sup>.

It can be called in to perform the same role and claim the young Central Asian countries - Turkmenistan, Tajikistan.

The fourth group - a non-denominational and non-religious state such as, for example, France. In full, this is a secular state, which not only explicitly, but also the latent form of distancing itself from any religion. It is hard to imagine another attitude toward religion in the country, which, after the Great Revolution in the late XVIII century declared itself a secular state, having taken out the brackets of faith in God, and developed under the banner of the tricolor, with "La Marseillaise", with the slogan "Liberte, egalite, fraternite" (liberty, equality, fraternity).

A fifth group consists of state and religious, such as the Scandinavian countries, in a sense, the United Kingdom, Germany. In Switzerland, the Constitution begins with the words "In the name of God Almighty, Amen"<sup>8</sup>.

Modern Iraq is moving in this direction, which, according to experts, gradually turning into a country with a theocratic form of government.

Sixth group is a country where in the name of "strategic" political interests it has revived the steps that they have passed. This typically occurs under the pressure of a conjuncture of circumstances in an effort to find a point of support, for example, in the proclamation of the predominant religion of the state, as was done in Georgia under Shevardnadze. This rechristianizatsiya (in Muslim countries there is re-Islamization) looks like nonsense, because in the world, at least Christian, work is underway on the secularization of state-religion relations (for example, in Italy, Norway, Greece).

6 *Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, Ex libris, 28 June 2005.

7 Utkin A., In God we trust, *Literaturnaya Gaseta*, No. 10, 2005, p. 13

8 Zubov A., Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian state, *Izvestiya*, 2000, p. 14.

With certain reservations, here we include Russia which in one way or another has become a customary phenomenon called political orthodoxy. Representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church are increasingly speak and claim a right to participate in solving the political problems of the state. As the outcome of the World Summit 1 religious figures (July 2006., On the eve of the Summit 8 powers in Russia), leaves no doubt about the fact that the state, in turn, considers the ROC as an effective instrument of foreign policy. In this regard, analysts draw parallels with similar scale in the same event in 1982. At that time 590 representatives (in 2006 - 200) from 90 countries gathered in Moscow (in 2006 - from 40 countries) and on behalf of millions of believers called upon countries "to take decisive action to stop the arms race, cleanse our land from the evil of nuclear weapons, and to give the vast resources that are currently wasted on the creation of a world without war". Putin mentioned this event in his speech at the forum, praising this step to overcoming the global confrontation and the end of the Cold War.<sup>9</sup>

There are also such statements as that were expressed by the President of Pakistan, General Musharraf, as he openly supported the political project of the founder of the state, Mohammed Ali Yinnaha to create an Islamic country in a secular form, ie, the original synthesis of compounds secular values with religious traditions. This, in short, is a question of political Islam, which, they say, has always been inherent in participation in society and the state.

When considering Islam as a political force we now refer to the experience of Tajikistan, where political Islam is legally structured and integrated into the power structures of the country. However, some experts believe that this example does not speak of rational interaction of state and religion, and the first stage of creating a hidden Islamic state and spread this experience to other countries, primarily to the states of Central Asia and Kazakhstan<sup>10</sup>.

And finally, there are states that the title is secular, but which actively engage with clerical processes. The epitome of this is Russia. How convincingly shows FV Ovsyenko. In Russia there is no clear line of demarcation between state and religion, nor a clear line between where does public life ends and Confessional life begins<sup>11</sup>. In Russia there are no clear boundaries in the relationship between state and religion, and so we are now seeing the intervention of the Church in almost all spheres of public life. In this connection it should be recalled that the state support of traditional religion (Orthodox), as well as the policy of the Orthodox Church toward autocracy, were one of the essential prerequisites for the revolution of 1917 which led to the collapse of both the State and the then

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9 Rozhaeva E., "Vicar of God" meets messages, *Moscow News*, No. 25, 2006, p. 11.

10 *Nezavisimaya Gaset*a, 11 November, 2000.

11 Ovsyenko F.G., Politicization denominations and clericalism policy: trends and risks in the Russian society, *Religious Studies*, No. 2, 2002, p. 29.

church<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, we can follow A. Zubov, who said that the Church is called not manage the secular power, no smoking incense to it, disagree with it around and ask different privileges: it should loudly condemn her moral error (eg, monetization, as the Church modestly concealed) bless the good works, to detect and heal ulcers of spiritual people. This is what is expected of her people – to be the conscience of Russia. Otherwise - the church overflowed with a new wave of alienation, a loss of prestige, and the growth of secular ideas and even religious secularism<sup>13</sup>.

Meanwhile, the state is becoming more and more inclined to think that religion finally ceases to be a private matter. States proposed the concept of social development programs as part of Orthodoxy, and from Islam. For its part, the government no longer opposes partial religiezsatsii policy and interest to get the highest (church) legitimacy of its actions, which he offered two major religions of Russia - Orthodoxy and Islam. But the priority is given to the Orthodox Church, and the Church is already in full, in the words of the patriarch, “sorabotnichaet” with him<sup>14</sup>.

But whether such a union? As noted by one of the readers of “Izvestia” V.Stolyarov, “ROC step by step climbs in the state. Its chapel is already in institutions, military units, even in the ministries (in January 2006, it was reported that this chapel opens and the General Prosecutor of the Russian Federation - JT). His confessor - almost every minister, as they proudly reported. But with hospitals and hopsisami bad”<sup>15</sup>.

In conclusion, it should be said about the unique international association of states, which has a pronounced religious imprint. We are talking about the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which was established in 1969. It brings together almost all states (57), in which Muslims make up the majority of the population. No similar organizations in the Christian or the Buddhist world exists. The organization has a number of independent organizations, coordinated by the General Secretary or under his influence. Among them, the Islamic Development Bank, 25% of the capital of which develops due to the Saudi financial investments; The Muslim World League, dedicated to the promotion of Islam and support for Islamic schools, the Supreme Council of mosques; Islamic Solidarity Fund, whose goal is to provide material and religious and ideological support to Muslim minorities abroad; International Islamic Salvation, which is designed to provide assistance to all needy Muslims dedicated to world peace, drawing funds from tax levies, the Muslim “zakat”; World League of Muslim Youth, Islamic news agency, etc. All of these organizations are somehow influenced and under

12 Andreeva L.A., Religion and power in Russia, *Institute of African Studies*, Ladimir, 2001, p. 13; Andreeva LA, *The phenomenon of secularization in Russian history: civilization and historical dimension*, 2009, p. 14.

13 Zubov A., op. Manuf.

14 Malashenko A., Another plan of arrangement of Russia, *NG-religion*, 2001, p. 35.

15 *Izvestia*, 31 August 2002.

the influence of certain Islamic states or the Organization of the Islamic Conference<sup>16</sup>.

### **Methods to resolve the state-religious issues**

In the world (or in many states) various measures are used to regulate state-religious relations, the analysis of which reveals some common characteristics and methods.

Firstly, war continues to be used as a means of solving urgent problems and conflicts that covered care or concern for religious values often occurs. In the twentieth century it was most noticeable in the former Yugoslavia, where under the guise of religious slogans to solve political and economic issues, the strategy of the struggle for power was determined. The same issue arose in the Iran-Iraq war, when the imperious claims of Sunni and Shiite leaders were resolved by means of large-scale military clashes.

As for Russia, the clergy in tsarist Russia were always directly or indirectly included in the group of those political forces who took the decision. They took a particularly prominent part in the management of the affairs of state and society during the operation of zemstvo assemblies and the State Duma 1-1U convocations. However, the strength and intensity of interaction with the state was constantly changing (see. Section 1 razdela1). During the Soviet period the religious leaders were completely excluded from participation in the formulation of official policy, except in the last years of perestroika, when the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the RSFSR contained elected representatives of the major religions. This procedure existed until 1993, before the elections to the State Duma, as Russia formed the new Constitution. By this time, the leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church considered it unwise to direct participation in the work of the church messengers in legislative and representative bodies.

However, with the growing desire of the Church to interfere in politics, appearing in the late 1990s - early 2000s, the church began to explore different forms of participation. As a result, representatives of the major religions were included in numerous committees, councils, centers and organizations that are involved in those or other problems that have both public and national importance. And this part was even a kind of ritual, without which we can not do any central or regional or local authorities. It is therefore logical and became such an act: the formation of the Public Chamber as a kind of public authority, oversees all authorities and tracks existing problems of Russian society, and its member representatives came from only six religions. But this decision immediately caused aggravation in relations other religious organizations and associations, for in this chamber Baptists, Catholics, the Old Believers, the leader of the Con-

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16 Ignatenko A.A., *Determination of the Islamic world, Islam and Politics (interactions and policies in the countries of the Middle East, the Caucasus and Central Asia)*, Moscow, 2001, pp. 7-20.



gress of Jewish Religious Communities and Organizations A. Shaevich and head of the Central Spiritual Administration of Muslims of European Russia and the CIS T. Tadzhuddin were not invited. Metropolitan Kirill remarked, "the participation of all religious organizations in the country in the Chamber is impossible, and elitist representation inevitably split the religious community of Russia"<sup>17</sup>. In fact, the Public Chamber if it is to become a truly influential organization, it should be represent all strata of society and all of the groups and some of their selection is unacceptable. All this proves that the participation of clergy, and especially in a multi-religious country, has very serious flaws that may result in confrontation between different creeds.

In collaboration with the religion of the state resorted to PR aktsim tend to show their best side, as taking care of the fate of the entire population and of each person considering religious values. Thus, according to the Saudi ambassador to Russia, Mohammed Hassan Abdelvali, his country 'cares primarily about the development of industries that directly affect the well-being of citizens. In its activities, the State seeks to ensure the safety, welfare and prosperity of its citizens, as well as to strengthen the foundations of the national unity and the preservation of Islamic and Arab values. At the same time, the state creates conditions for the creation and implementation of the latest achievements in the field of culture, education, health and social care"<sup>18</sup>. Is not that a sample of creating a favorable image of their country? Especially because of this there is good reason: the wealth of the country is used to improve the living standards of the people. Although no mention of the other, that of Saudi Arabia, providing support for many radical and extremist movements that it is the main part of the suicide bombers, crushed shopping and business centers in New York, September 11, 2001 were from Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia actively funded and supported the idea of creating a global caliphate, especially since, according to the calculations of its supporters, already 1 billion. People practice Islam, which creates the possibility of formation of the Caliphate, at least, from the Pacific to the Atlantic oceans. In this way is supposed to create intermediate forms - local caliphate like the Central Asian (Central).

Among the methods used so powerfully which received widespread are as terrorism and religious fanaticism. Attitudes to them are quite diverse: some countries support them openly, others - use them subtly, and others - look at them through his fingers, the fourth can not cope with them. These methods use religious extremists when they are aiming to achieve their theocratic goals as implemented by separatists in Xinjiang China, Kashmir, Chechnya, the Philippines, and Cyprus. Hiding behind his actions as banners religious beliefs, states such as Sudan, Libya and Pakistan for a long time, became the seat of the extremists and even people with very complex and often criminal reputation. For

17 *Nezavisimaya Gaseta-religion*, 5 October, 2005.

18 *Dipkuryer- Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, 2 April, No. 6, 2001.



example, Pakistan between 1970-1990 was a refuge for the mujahideen, jihad warriors, modern Islamic "gentlemen of fortune". In addition, in its territory these forces prepared their work. Pakistan covered the extremists, even if they were wanted for offenses other states. This policy was justified as long as Pakistan served as an outpost in the struggle with the Soviet Union. But now the situation has changed. And the forces gathered here have become a threat to the state itself, especially since they are supported by internal and extremist religious parties and organizations<sup>19</sup>.

A number of states try to limit the theocratic tendencies by creating committees (councils) on regulation of state-religious relations. As in Russia, and recently (2005) Ukraine, abolished the relevant regulatory authorities of these relations, but many countries believe that such bodies should be maintained. For example, in Uzbekistan since 1992, there is an organization (the Committee for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers), which deals with all matters of religious life. This decision prompted a religious war in neighboring Tajikistan, as well as the intensification of extremist forces, dressed in religious clothing. A significant role was played by the intervention of the Taliban from Afghanistan, which nourishes the idea to create an Islamic state in all of the former Central Asian republics. This committee was obliged to comply with legislation regulating religious relations in the country. All questions in this area of the creation of a religious organization to oversee its activities, as well as advisory, expert and intermediary functions in the hands of that body. This committee examines religious literature published in the country or imported from abroad. It also helps to solve arising conflicts and complaints by other government agencies, unless they relate to issues of religion. Based on the fact that Uzbekistan has more than a hundred nationalities and religions *suschestvuyut* 15, 200 churches of different denominations, the government found it possible to prohibit proselytizing and missionary work, fearing disaster if not, then on exacerbation of ethnic and sectarian strife. In accordance with the Constitution of the Republic, religious officials may not be elected to parliament - the Oliy Majlis, ie according to the nature proclaimed secular state, they are not allowed to engage in legislative activity<sup>20</sup>.

Among the "methods" (if we call them so) used are provocation, express or natural, when his short-sighted policy of the state reinforces religious and generates theocratic ambitions. That colossal mistakes were made by Yeltsin on Chechnya, in the words of Dudayev, the fact that "Russia has driven us to Islam"<sup>21</sup>. Disobedience, the desire to become an independent state, Chechen leaders started out as absolutely free from the influence of religion. There was not any religious factor. But they felt they had to resort to Islam and make it an effective weapon in the fight against Russia. In the future, the error was compounded.

19 Pleshov O.V., Pakistan: Islamists in power struggle, *East*, No. 5, 2001.

20 *Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, 29 March 2000.

21 *Isvestiya*, 22 December 2001.

Russia was unable to separate the extremists in Chechnya from supporters of traditional, folk Islam, equating the two. And in turn those and others in their enemies. Attempts to fix the position taken by Akhmad Kadyrov (who was a religious leader), little has changed, because mistakes become a chronic disease.

In addition, methods of interaction between the state and religion need *otmett* phenomenon, ethnic religions that in most European countries are described as a real danger to the division of the national religious community. In this context, it becomes important for government responses to the problem of ethno-social polarization of religious trends to be thought out. Strengthening of such differentiating sentiment gets reflected in the media. Western analysts see phenomena of this kind as one of the elements of anti-democratic tendencies as possibly limiting political participation to the circle of those who belong to the same faith. As for Russia, its national, strategic and geopolitical interests are closely linked with the Muslim world, which does not allow us to consider these processes as undemocratic - they are likely to be characterized as a phenomenon of unity in diversity, where national religious traditions are taken into account when solving all social problems without ignoring every aspect of their operation.

According to experts, a new model of relations between the state and the various denominations is required that would not repeat the past, and take into account new needs, including claims of religions to participate in political life. But what this part shall consist of is being addressed. And we must come not only from yesterday, and even today, and the fact that are expect the country to develop in the future. So with regard to Russia we have enough convincing calculations which show that in 20 years a third of Russians would be "ethnic Muslims in both capitals their number will reach 40%, while in the army - up to 50%". Such demographic projections<sup>22</sup> are starting. And it is obvious that the current model of relations between the state and religions meets the needs basically of only one religion - Orthodoxy, whereas a more flexible policy in relations with all religions through collaboration, not confrontation and division of religions into different species and varieties is required.

The State may also act by means of legislation. According to the eminent literary critic and cultural writer Anninsky Lion, "the state should not protect the Church, it should be protected by law, within which the Church can comfort people in the face of the enduring pressure leaden hand of the state"<sup>23</sup>. Meanwhile, the laws, including those relating to religion and religious organizations, are treated according to the situation and quite freely, especially when it comes to religious minorities. Reality became facts enforcement, which often primarily satisfies claims and wishes of the Orthodox clergy and politicians lobbying their

22 Popov I., Islamic Future, *Isvestiya*, 22 December, 2001.

23 Utyashev D., Church or flock. What place does religion in modern society? *Nezavisimaya Gaseta-religion*, 15 December 2004.

interests rather than the needs and aspirations of the members of other religious groups.

The weakness of the legislative initiative in religious matters most clearly seen in a long discussion about Wahhabism: Russia has long lingered with the definition of its relationship to this extremist trend in Islam. And to take action against them it even set up a Chechen President Akhmad Kadyrov.

Current policy continues to be banned and to prosecute those inciting religious hatred, calling for violence in solving actual problems. Even in the UK after the terrorist attacks on the London Underground in 2005, Prime Minister Tony Blair urged not to admonish (as was done previously in this country), but to take tough measures to curb the hostile religious propaganda, religious hostility, financial and moral support of various kinds of extremists.

Not excluded were the application of measures of economic and financial impact, aimed at undermining and destroying the infrastructure of religious extremism and fanaticism, termination of Wahhabi mosques and madrassas, control of the so-called cultural and religious centers, which often act as powerful agents of radical religious ideology.

### **From the experience of the construction of modern state-religious relations**

Modern construction experience and the establishment of state-religion relations are not only diverse, but also unique. If the 80 years of the twentieth century were marked by increased political activity of radical Islamists in the main centers of the Muslim world (Iran, Egypt, the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf, and others.), in the 1990s, their efforts are moved to the periphery, mostly there where Muslims have never represented the majority of the population (Western Europe) or where previously they lost ideological positions (Russia, Central Asia). This trend is fully consistent with the concept of Huntington, who issued a warning about a possible clash of Western and Eastern civilizations. In the same period there was a change in the policy of the Western powers, as it became an actual fight not against impersonal and vague "international Islamic terrorism", but quite specific Islamist terrorist organizations<sup>24</sup>.

When applied to the situation in Russia, we can say that its official public figures (such as Yeltsin advisors, who call themselves experts on the national question, as Starovoitova Shahrav, et al.) could not clearly divide ethnic and religious separatism, with the result that there are such solutions, which led to the aggravation of the situation, especially in the North Caucasus, and helped to spread the idea of an Islamic state in the territory.

And any inaccuracy, confusion and ruin with the potential to exacerbate

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<sup>24</sup> *East*, No. 3, 2003, p. 147.

these relationships, society, can make life difficult for many people. In Russia at the dawn of euphoria, there was tremendous disorder, promiscuity, loss of sense of self-preservation, when the country proclaimed a respect for freedom of conscience, influx of missionaries of different varieties and colors occurred. Only toward the end of the 1990s, realizing the danger of a misguided principle of freedom of conscience, the state passed another law, which worked on tactical rather than strategic targets, casting as unjust and the just claims of the numerous confessions. But until now, it is clear that Russia has not found an exact strategy with respect to religion, thus contributing to the appearance and maintenance of theocratic ambitions.

A striking example of this uncertainty is the position of the authorities of Russia and Dagestan in relation to the fact that in this country until 1999 there were whole enclaves whose leaders have proclaimed their "Islamic territory, and even an" Islamic state ", though under Russian jurisdiction. Where this leads is known to everyone: it was regarded as an opportunity to first gradually and then establish Islamic rule by force, as demonstrated by the invasion of Basayev in the Botlikh district of Dagestan and that bloody fight, which was imposed by religious extremists on the secular authorities.

For a long time, this led to rampant promiscuity among assorted religious radicals. It was only in February 2003 that the authorities began to take decisive action. Russia's Supreme Court has recognized 15 terrorist radical Islamic organizations and their activities on the territory of Russia were banned. Among them, were both international (foreign) organization, and domestic. Among the first such organization known as "Al-Qaeda" Osama bin Laden, "the Muslim Brotherhood," Al-Jihad "(Egypt)," Hizb ut-Tahrir ", the Taliban, a number of organizations, whose centers are located in Lebanon, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia. Among the Russian extremist organizations - "Supreme Military Majlis - Shura the combined forces of the Mujahideen of the Caucasus", "backgammon Congress of Ichkeria and Dagestan", created in Chechnya led by Basayev and Udugov<sup>25</sup>. But for such a decision it took years of blood and death of thousands of people, bombings and terrorist attacks against civilians. It is worth emphasizing that the adoption of these acts was largely condemned by a number of human rights organizations who saw them as demagoguery, who operated with the concepts of human rights and freedoms, while religious extremists did not shun the death of a huge number of people who were simply witnesses of these twists and turns, and even standing on their path.

For the state, the choice depends on the allies and "friends" of the world religions. It is known that the high-ranking statesmen of Russia in the 1990s took all sorts of rogue religions in the light of false notion of freedom of conscience. But then the situation has changed little. How could one arrange almost a royal

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25 *Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, 2 September 2004.

reception in honor of Abdal al-Turki, head of the Muslim World League, known for its ambitions to execute its role in the global and regional policy, after the tragedy at Dubrovka?<sup>26</sup> This is important because, according to M. Z. Razhbadinoy, since the mid-1990s intensified international activities of radical Islam were conducted by a huge number of various Islamic radical groups.

Inconsistent state policy is complemented by inconsistency of regional and local authorities. In the spring of 2005 there was a scandal in connection with the release of large funds to the Orthodox Church in the Nizhny Novgorod region. It became an argument for the protest of the Muslim community, which accused the government of financial discrimination against Islam, because they did not get financing for a holiday of the Tatar community "Federal sabantui." In its protest, Muslim's leaders referred to the fact that the celebration of the anniversary of St. Seraphim of Sarov spent millions of rubles, while they were refused any funding. In fact, the Jewish community agreed with this caveat. And here it is difficult to say something, because, firstly, the separation of church and state and why the taxpayer to have to bear the costs of any religious affairs, especially that among them there are many non-believers or doubters of such gifts. Secondly, why single out one denomination and forget others?<sup>27</sup>

Similar processes, when the federal and regional authorities did not pay attention to the politicization of Islam, despite a warning from experts meant serious errors and, accordingly, errors leading to negative consequences. This is the big concrete material on the example of the North Caucasus shown by I. P. Dobaev<sup>28</sup>.

However, without denying the importance of many of the above methods of building state-religious relations, another is worth special mention, and that is perhaps the most crucial. This is a timely, consistent and thorough analysis of the social consciousness, its condition, keeping the views and opinions of people on issues, including those relating to state-religious relations in mind. In the analysis of this thin and highly-edged question you need to know the reaction of people on the interaction between state and church. There are two aspects. One concerns the assessment of the possibility of intervention in the affairs of state of the church (see. Table 1)

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26 Opinion of Alex Alexiev, an expert of the American Center for Security Policy, *News*, 10 July 2003.

27 The Orthodox and Muslims are not divided budget/lime, 21 April, 2005.

28 Dobaev I.P., *Islamic radicalism: genesis, evolution, practice*, Rostov n / d. 2003.

**Table 1. How much influence on state policy in our country Church, a religious organization? (in% of respondents)<sup>29</sup>**

	1991 may	1998 September	2008 January	2012 July	2013 March
Too much	2	5	4	10	6
A little more than you need	4	11	14	18	19
Just so much there should be	22	27	45	44	48
A little less than necessary	16	9	11	8	8
Too little	30	13	7	7	5
Difficult to answer	26	35	19	14	14
The number of respondents	3000	1700	1600	1600	1600

The other aspect concerns the opposite trends-assessing the capabilities of the State and its leaders be guided by the tenets of the Church (see Tab. 2)

**Table 2. The Russian authorities should be guided in their actions by religious beliefs? (in % of respondents). N =1600<sup>30</sup>**

	2007 September	2012 January	2013 April
Definitely Yes	6	5	4
Rather Yes	23	22	30
Rather, there is no	31	31	32
Definitely not	27	26	21
Difficult to answer	14	15	13

Analysis of these data suggests that the state of public consciousness is contradictory and ambiguous. But one thing is clear - the opponents of closer cooperation between church and state are larger more than its supporters. And this is not the same as the opinion of officials, who are much more in favor of fellowship with the church, especially not looking at what problems it may have and on what should be avoided.

Equally important is the process that is associated with the cultivation of man. It is vital that the people themselves cracked extremist aspirations. Ideas, even if they are wrong, but made public consciousness, can not be defeated by force of arms. This can be done only by clever propaganda, patient, long-time education in the spirit of tolerance to a different view, a different relation to the world, not to explain the values of political persuasion, and cultural values, morals, respect for the other, but similar. This is all the more important because the state-legal and law enforcement machine is not self-sufficient - they need allies

<sup>29</sup> The Levada Centre opinion.-2013, p. 171.

<sup>30</sup> The Levada Center. Public opinion-2013. p. 172.

and helpers in the form of media ethics and culture that is largely carried out and the leaders of the church.

The work of the Russian state and religion is a very questionable decision. Why, for example, in the secular state anthem enter the word of God - "God stored native land!". According A.Nikonova, chief editor of "New atheist", the string is "contrary to the principle of equality of freedoms of citizens, regardless of religious affiliation, as it excludes the equal treatment of citizens, realizing freedom of conscience in the form of denial of religious outlook"<sup>31</sup>. And, in fact - because religious feelings and faith are things extremely intimate, deeply personal, should you want to exploit them for political purposes?

Why seek approval of church political actions? It is needless to emulate the state of the church? The reader of the newspaper "Izvestia" V.Tarakanov believes that the appointment of governors, Putin's proposal (as it is made and Ukraine) copies the activities of the Orthodox Church, whose structure is perfectly complete without elections for hierarchs. Parishioners entrusted utter nonsense, such as the election of the church elders<sup>32</sup>. Indeed, this attitude only strengthens the church. Like the way and the persecution of her. According to the Bishop Sergei Ryakhovsky, chairman of the Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith (Pentecostals), "the harder the persecution, the stronger becomes the Church"<sup>33</sup>. And vice versa. The more active and peremptorily becomes the church, the harder and harder it is to overcome disbelief and atheism. However, both are true: the more united in solving political problems, the state and the church, so it's more fatal and one for the other, even though "the intention to politicize religion will disown everyone, including the president and the people around him. And to prove otherwise difficult"<sup>34</sup>.

It is more destructive, then, when the church tries to justify various forms of religious and state totalitarianism. Such states do not last long. Nondurable was the fate of the Taliban government in Afghanistan, although other factors have influenced the termination of its existence. Continuing attempts to modernize Iran are another example. Complex processes of reconciliation and harmonization of secular and spiritual began to occur in Saudi Arabia. Even in Israel, the Zionist state is undergoing a serious crisis. The idea of gathering the Jews from all over the world has meant working with large failures. According to sociologists of Israel, about 14% of its citizens prefer to relocate. And this despite the fact that a huge number of Israelis live permanently abroad.

The consequences of this religious promiscuity, game giveaway and selfishness in pursuing their myopic interests are quite sad. According to A. Shorohov, "winning hysteria (about the defeat of Yugoslavia and the victory in Kosovo - JT)

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31 Chugaev S., *Atheists got to Anthem of Russia*, MEPC. However, 10, 2003.

32 *Izvestiya*, 1 October 2004.

33 *NG-religion*, 1 June 2011.

34 Malashenko A., Religion: it's not a private, *Nezavisimaya Gaseta*, March 16 2001.



subsided, and it is not difficult to hear the incessant bombings in the southern outskirts of Europe echoes of future shocks in its very heart, and through the ruins Svyatopolk Trinity Church in the town of Djakovica see the wreckage of Rouen Cathedral “<sup>35</sup> .. And in fact, that is quite possible, as we have seen Spanish train bombings and subway bombings in London. And in this connection it should be recalled, there were double standards the US and European countries with regard to the fate of Kosovo, when the US presidential advisor Buchanan accused the Serbs of all mortal sins. And now he and others are wondering whether Europe is not threatened by the mid-century XXI become a “big Kosovo”?

For multi-national and multi-Russian tendencies of the prevalence of mutual reinforcement of religion and government has contradictory aspects of interaction. Their further deepening could lead to a special kind of theocratic society where the state will face heterogeneous manifestations of religious solidarity. This multi-vector operation of political power has created distrust and suspicion that give rise to secular and religious parties, largely because of uncertainty regarding the place and role of religions in a secular state. On the one hand, attempts to identify the religious clerics spiritual and religious spheres virtually eliminates the state of the spiritual life, leaving to it the eternal solution of social problems, and spiritual passing the department of religion. On the other hand, it draws attention to the fact that the law “On freedom of religion” (1990) and “On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations” (1997) did not take into account ethnic and religious differences of the Russian Federation. This and the specificity of religious principle of the post-Soviet space contributed to its disintegration and the aggressive invasion of non-traditional religions.

The complex context of cooperation between the state and the traditional religions of post-Soviet space is read in discussions on various topics of social and political order, to participate in the decision of which claim representatives of almost all religions without exception.

The historical formula of secession “of church and state” to some extent helps to understand that secularism has never attempted to separate religion from society, and the only church and state. The clarification - not only required the study of the relationship between state and religion from the position in society and the system of governance changes. Watching events in Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Iran, Afghanistan, Iraq, and studying European history, one can not ignore the presence of a direct link between the disastrous political process and religious sentiments of society. And in this connection we should be clearly aware of the fact that, at first, until it found a scientific definition of the relations between the state, society and religion in general. The second round of questions requiring scientific understanding related to the relationship of state power to the religion and its representatives. Finally, the third circle must include the attitude of the ex-

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35 Shorohov A., Kosovo as the future of Europe, *Literaturnaya Gaseta*, No. 14, 2004.

ecutive power, ie public authorities, the religious institutions and organizations. As can be seen, all three indicate the need for a theoretical, political and legal framework for relations between the state and religion. Apparently, the search should start with the answers to the following questions: what the state expects of religions; how to legislatively establish the place and role of religion in the state; how to ensure the religious education.

Events in Ukraine, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, which are being politically differentiated, contain a repetitive religious factor. Finding no legitimate way to integrate into the political system of the secular state, religion begins to be radicalized and seek not just participation in the power and fullness of political power. In circumstances where a dominant position in the region occupied by one ethnic group, in addition to the high proportion of adherents of one denomination, religion began to be used as an ideological justification for achieving political power. The result is a recurrence of ethnic separatism in modern conditions aggravated by religious extremism and terrorism.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that the theocratic religious state is very unstable. They, and if there were, especially in modern and contemporary times, were unstable, transient, unproductive. In general, in the modern era comes a creeping process of clericalism and even *teokratizatsii* in many states. As for Russia, it is also moving in this direction gradually arising from the dominant model of a single country (and some insist - state) religion. At the same time, other religions are not suppressed, but are not considered part of the state, with which many of them do not agree, and especially the supporters of Islam.

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## ДРЖАВА И РЕЛИГИЈА: ПРОБЛЕМИ ИНТЕРАКЦИЈЕ

### Сажетак

У овом чланку се анализирају модерне форме односа између државе и религије: теократија, државна религија, конфесионална структура, политичка не-деноминациона држава и растући утицај религије на владу. Посебна пажња је упућена на начине и методе решавања проблема између државе и верских заједница (рат између и унутар верских конфликта, превазилажење раздора у интерпретацији канона и догми, флертовање са клерицима). Анализа је заснована на широком историјском контексту. На крају, анализира се и интеракција између верске и политичке моћи у модерној Русији као и реакције народа на ове односе.

**Кључне речи:** влада, религија, форме, начини и методе интеракције религије и владе, мишљење јавност о односима државе и религије

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