

Religious Freedom, Foreign Policy, and U.S. Global Engagement: A Model Syllabus¹

Chris Seiple and Dennis R. Hoover

Introduction:

At the end of World War II, Ferdinand Eberstadt was asked by Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal to analyze and make recommendations for improving coordination among US foreign policy, defense policy, and intelligence. The resulting report recommended the creation of the National Security Council, the Department of Defense, the CIA, and the Air Force; it also argued that these institutions should remain conceptually agile to meet any challenge or threat that the United States might face. Eberstadt believed that “National security policy is like a mosaic made up of a multitude of actions and relationships, but, like a mosaic, there must be a guiding and dominating theme, and in our case that theme should be the maintenance of peace by all means and forces at our disposal.”

As wise as this counsel was, it conspicuously lacked any recommendation for making *religious freedom* integral to the guiding theme of a coherent national security policy. The painful irony is that no less than Franklin Delano Roosevelt had recently called for precisely this sort of foundational integration of religious freedom. FDR saw religious freedom as the framework for understanding and preparing for war against totalitarian regimes.

In his 1939 State of the Union address, FDR made explicit the global threat to the three “institutions indispensable” to America:

The first is religion. It is the source of the other two—democracy and international good faith. Religion, by teaching man his relationship to God, gives the individual a sense of his own dignity and teaches him to respect himself by respecting his neighbors. Democracy, the practice of self-government, is a covenant among free men to respect the rights and liberties of their fellows. International good faith, a sister of democracy, springs from the will of civilized nations of men to respect the rights and liberties of other nations of men. In a modern civilization, all three—religion, democracy and international good faith—complement and support each other.

With this understanding, FDR then presented his religious freedom foundation for a foreign policy framework:

Where freedom of religion has been attacked, the attack has come from sources opposed to democracy. Where democracy has been overthrown, the spirit of free worship has disappeared. And where religion and democracy have vanished, good faith and reason in international affairs have given way to strident ambition and brute force. ...

There comes a time in the affairs of men when they must prepare to defend, not their homes alone, but the tenets of faith and humanity on which their churches, their governments, and their very civilization are founded. The defense of religion, of democracy, and of good faith among nations is all the same fight. To save one we must now make up our minds to save all.

Unfortunately, Eberstadt forgot FDR on this essential connection between religious freedom, democracy, and good faith and reason in international relations—as did most foreign affairs elites for the rest of the 20th century and into the early 21st. A national security mosaic bereft of a deep understanding of religion and of an integral religious freedom vision would inevitably leave America less able to understand and respond to global challenges.

The terrorist attacks of 9/11 shocked much of the foreign affairs establishment into a belated consensus that more attention needed to be paid to “religion.” Yet even now the predominant focus is narrowly on radicalized religion as a security threat, rather than a holistic consideration of religion in public life—including the causes and consequences of sustainable religious freedom. The current state of knowledge is also hampered by hyper-specialization and insularity within professional sectors and faith groups.

This model syllabus is designed to help meet the need among international affairs leaders for a broader and deeper understanding of the interrelationship of faith and freedom, including practical implications for governmental and nongovernmental actors. The outline as a whole can be used as the basis of a freestanding course, while the separate modules may be integrated as needed into other related classes.

Modules:

1. Secularism and International Relations

- Charles Taylor, “The Meaning of Secularism” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 11-21.
- Peter Berger, “The Desecularization of the World” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 21-33.
- Daniel Philpott, “The Challenge of September 11 to Secularism in International Relations” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 33-53.
- David Brooks, “Kicking the Secularist Habit,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), 65-70.
- The Myth of the Secular, Part 1: <http://www.cbc.ca/ideas/episodes/2012/10/22/the-myth-of-the-secular-part-1/>

2. Historical Perspectives on Religion, Religious Freedom, and U.S. Foreign Policy

- Andrew Preston, “The First Human Right: Religious Liberty and the American Diplomatic Tradition,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 9-14.
- Andrew Preston, “Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations,” *Diplomatic History*, Volume 30, Issue 5 (November 2006): 783–812.
- Leo Ribuffo, “Religion in the History of U.S. Foreign Policy,” In Elliot Abrams, ed., *The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups & U.S. Foreign Policy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 1-32.

- Barry Rubin, “Religion and International Affairs,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 521-534.
- Jack Miles, “Religion and American Foreign Policy,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 543-544.

3. Contemporary U.S. International Religious Freedom Policy

- Amy Black, “Opportunities and Obstacles: Congress and International Religious Freedom Policy,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 49-55. Free online at <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/15570274.2012.760970>.
- Liora Danan, “A Public Diplomacy Approach to Promoting International Religious Freedom,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Volume 10, Number 3 (Fall 2012): 59-66.
- Philip Seib, “Religious Freedom and U.S. Public Diplomacy,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 15-21.
- Leonard Leo and Don Argue, “The U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom: Challenging the Status Quo,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Volume 10, Number 3 (Fall 2012): 67-72.
- Judd Birdsall, “Obama and the Drama Over International Religious Freedom Policy: An Insider’s Perspective,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Volume 10, Number 3 (Fall 2012): 33-42.
- Thomas F. Farr, “Back to the Beginning: Rebuilding and Intellectual Consensus for International Religious Freedom,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, Volume 10, Number 3 (Fall 2012): 43-50.
- Forum of International Perspectives, *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 76-86.

4. U.S. Government Self-Assessments/Reports

- Government Accountability Office, “International Religious Freedom Act: State Department and Commission Are Implementing Responsibilities but Need to Improve Interaction,” online at <http://www.gao.gov/assets/660/653335.pdf>.
- United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, “Executive Branch Roadmap for International Religious Freedom,” online at <http://www.uscirf.gov/newsroom/whats-new-at-uscirf/3963-press-release-uscirf-issues-executive-branch-roadmap-for-international-religious-freedom-march-26-2013.html>.
- USAID, “Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding: An Introductory Programming Guide,” online at http://transition.usaid.gov/our_work/cross-cutting_programs/conflict/publications/docs/Religion_Conflict_and_Peacebuilding_Tool_kit.pdf.
- Religion and Foreign Policy Working Group of the Secretary of State’s Strategic Dialogue with Civil Society, “Ensuring the Opportunity for Mutual Counsel and Collaboration,” online at http://www.globalengage.org/attachments/1300_Religion%20&%20Foreign%20Policy%20Working%20Group%20Submitted%20WP%2016Oct2012.pdf
- President’s Advisory Council on Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, “A New Era of Partnerships,” <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/microsites/ofbnp-council-final-report.pdf>.

5. Policy Recommendations from Think Tanks

- Thomas F. Farr and Dennis R. Hoover, *The Future of U.S. International Religious Freedom Policy: Recommendations for the Obama Administration* (Washington, DC: Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs and Center on Faith & International Affairs, 2009), <http://www.globalengage.org/research/reports/829-the-future-of-us-international-religious-freedom-policy-special-report-.html>.
- Chicago Council on Global Affairs, “Engaging Religious Communities Abroad,” http://www.thechicagocouncil.org/Files/Studies_Publications/TaskForcesandStudies/Religion_2010.aspx.
- Center for Strategic and International Studies, lead author Liora Danan, "Mixed Blessings: U.S. Government Engagement with Religion in Conflict-Prone Settings," http://csis.org/files/media/csis/pubs/070820_religion.pdf.

6. Religion, Religious Freedom, and National Security

- Eric Patterson, “What They Say and Do: Religious Freedom as a National Security Lens,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 22-30.
- Chris Seiple and Dennis R. Hoover, “Religious Freedom and Global Security,” in Allen D. Hertzke, ed., *The Future of Religious Liberty* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 315-330.
- Section IV, “Religion and Conflict,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 177-242.

7. Case Study of the U.S. Military Chaplaincy: New Frontiers in Religious Engagement

- Special Issue, “The Past and Future of the Military Chaplaincy,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 7, Number 4 (Winter 2009), <http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/rfia20/7/4>.
- Micheal A. Hoyt, “The Religious Initiative for National Reconciliation in Iraq, 2006-07,” In Chris Seiple, Dennis R. Hoover, and Pauletta Otis, eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Religion and Security* (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), 260-269.

8. Religion, Religious Freedom, and U.S. Support for Peacebuilding

- Daniel Philpott, “Religious Freedom and Peacebuilding: May I Introduce You Two?” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 31-37.
- R. Scott Appleby, “Religious Militants for Peace” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 245-250.
- Brian Cox and Daniel Philpott., “Faith-based Diplomacy: An Ancient Idea Newly Emergent,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 251-262.
- Marc Gopin, “Religion as Creator and Destroyer of Peace: A Postmortem on Failed Peace Processes,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 271-280.

- Susan Hayward, “Religion and Peacebuilding,” *U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report*, August 2012, online at <http://www.usip.org/publications/religion-and-peacebuilding>.
- Douglas Johnston, *Faith-Based Diplomacy* (Oxford University Press, 2003), chapters 1, 2, and 9.

9. Religion, Religious Freedom, and U.S. International Development

- Katherine Marshall, “Religious Freedom in US International Development Assistance and Humanitarian Relief: Ideas, Practice, and Issues” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 38-48.
- Section VII “Religion and Economic Development,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings*, (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 365-408

10. Faith-based and Secular NGOs and U.S. International Religious Freedom Policy

- Virginia Farris, “Non-governmental Organizations: Doing Their Share for International Religious Freedom,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 56-65.
- Elizabeth A., Sewell “Facilitation of Freedom of Religion or Belief through NGOs”, in Tore Lindholm, W. Cole Durham Jr., Bahia g. Tahzib-Lie, eds., *Facilitating Freedom of Religion or Belief: A Deskbook*. (Leiden, The Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2004).
- H. Knox Thames, Chris Seiple, and Amy Rowe, *International Religious Freedom Advocacy: A Guide to Organizations, Law, and NGOs* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2009), chapters 9-12.

11. Religion and Human Rights

- Section IX, “Religious Freedom and Human Rights,” in Dennis R. Hoover and Douglas M. Johnston, eds., *Religion and Foreign Affairs: Essential Readings* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2012), pp. 473-518.

12. Religious Freedom and Multi-lateral Institutions

- Brett G. Scharffs, “International Law and the Defamation of Religion Conundrum,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 66-75.
- W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Brett G. Scharffs, eds., *Law and Religion: National, International, and Comparative Perspectives* (New York: Aspen Publishers, 2010), chapters 3, 5, 12 part i and ii.
- W. Cole Durham Jr., Matthew K. Richards, and Donlu D. Thayer, “The Status of and Threats to International Law on Freedom of Religion or Belief,” in Allen D. Hertzke, ed., *The Future of Religious Freedom: Global Challenges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2013).
- H. Knox Thames, Chris Seiple, and Amy Rowe, *International Religious Freedom Advocacy* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2000), chapters 1-7.
- W. Cole Durham, “Recognizing Religious Communities in Law,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 5/3 (2007): 27-40.

13. Foreign Policy Promotion of Religious Freedom in Comparative Perspective: Canada

- Robert Joustra, “Religious Freedom Beyond Rights: Retrospective Lessons for Canada from America’s Office of International Religious Freedom,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* Volume 11, Number 1 (Spring 2013): 87-89.

- Special Issue of *Cardus Policy in Public*, online at <http://www.cardus.ca/policy/archives/2997/>.

14. Religion and Foreign Affairs Syllabi in Comparative Perspective

- “Introduction to Interfaith Conflict Resolution,” United States Institute of Peace. Online at <http://www.usip.org/education-training/courses/certificate-course-in-interfaith-conflict-resolution>.
- The following syllabi, all available on the website of the Institute for Global Engagement (<http://www.globalengage.org/research/syllabi.html>):
 - “Religion and International Relations,” Faculty of Religious Studies, McGill University.
 - “The Politics of Reconciliation,” Daniel Philpott, University of Notre Dame.
 - “World Religions, Violence, and Conflict Resolution,” Marc Gopin, George Mason University.
 - “Global Religion and American Foreign Policy,” Allen D. Hertzke, University of Oklahoma.
 - “Religion and International Relations,” Elizabeth Prodromou, Boston University.
 - “Ethics, Religion, and International Politics,” David Hollenbach, Boston College.
 - “God and Global Order,” Robert Joustra, Redeemer University.
 - “Religion and International Affairs,” Ruth Melkonian-Hoover, Gordon College.
 - “Religion and Security: Strategic Imperatives,” Kenneth Sampson, National Defense University.
 - “Religion and International Affairs,” Nicole Bibbins Sedaca, Georgetown University.

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