

THE CALL FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

Thomas Jefferson's Separation
of Religion and State



*Archbishop's Palace
Prague, Czech Republic
March 7-9, 2007*



SPONSORS

Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies
Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A.

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.

Jefferson Institute
Belgrade, Serbia

John Templeton Foundation
West Conshohocken, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

THE CALL FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

Thomas Jefferson's Separation of Religion and State

The attacks on America on September 11, 2001 renewed the post-Cold War calls for a "New World Order." The end of the Cold War spawned Francis Fukuyama's "end of history," which foresaw the definitive triumph of Western liberalism, and Samuel P. Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations," which warned of future conflicts between Western civilization and the world's other major civilizations, especially between the West and Islam and the West and Confucianism. As an antidote to the Clash hypothesis, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 53/22 for "Dialogue Among Civilizations in the year 2001." Secretary General Kofi Annan called on all governments and "the United Nations system" to promote the dialogue concept through conferences and seminars and to disseminate "information and scholarly material on the subject."

Yet the tragic attacks on America aborted major international efforts to promote the concept of dialogue and prompted the Bush administration to call for a global "War on Terrorism." On the one hand, this call prescribes preemptive military strikes against "rogue" states that possess or could possess weapons of mass destruction likely to fall into the hands of terrorists. On the other hand, it aims at the export of democracy as an antidote to global terrorism. Since the attackers all hailed from the Muslim Middle East, however, the administration aims at the "Broader Middle East and North Africa" as the first and foremost target of the export of democracy in the name of reform.

This conference aims to explore the relationship between the separation of church and state as a necessary or desirable precondition for religious freedom and democracy. The current interim constitution for Iraq, which mandates such a separation, raises urgent and significant questions about the desirability and feasibility of using this principle as an instrument of American foreign policy in pursuit of a "New World Order."

Since in the American political and legal culture, the doctrine of the separation of church and state are so closely associated with democracy, and the Bush administration is determined to export the American model of democracy to the rest of the world, especially the Muslim Middle East and North Africa, it is relevant to ask: Is separation a precondition of democracy? Is non-separation contrary to liberal democracy? By what means is democracy exported? How universal can be Jefferson's metaphor of "wall of separation between church and state"? Are current efforts to export separation consistent with the ideals of Jefferson? Is the religion-state distinction alien to non-Western, especially Islamic, traditions? Is separation against religion? How far have Western, particularly American, efforts pressed for democratic separation of religion and state in trying to remake entire societies in the name of "nation-building"? Is the United States exceptional in its separation of church and state?

The conference brings together a group of scholars, drawn from a variety of disciplines, to debate such questions in a comparative context between Western Christian culture and other Abrahamic traditions, including Judaism and Islam, and between Western Christian culture.

It will also discuss the questions in a historical context beginning with consideration of Jefferson's Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom and the Bill of Rights, and by incorporating individual case studies tracing the relationship of church and state in countries outside the United States.

The selection of the speakers was made in consultation with an informal advisory committee that included Ruhi Ramazani, the Edward Stettinus Emeritus Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia and a current member of the advisory board of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies; Robert Fatton, the Julia Allen Cooper Professor of Politics at the University of Virginia; Merrill Peterson, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation Professor Emeritus in History at the University of Virginia; William Quandt, the Edward Stettinus Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia; Robert O'Neil, Professor of Law at the University of Virginia School of Law and Founding Director of the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression; James Horn, Director of the John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Aaron Presnall, President of the Jefferson Institute; David Martin, Professor Emeritus of the London School of Economics, and his wife Bernice Martin, Emeritus Reader in Sociology, University of London.

PROGRAM

THE CALL FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER Thomas Jefferson's Separation of Religion and State

Prague, March 7-9, 2007

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 7

MORNING. Arrivals. All participants will be greeted at the airport and transported to the hotel.

7 P.M. Welcome dinner (location to be determined). Please meet in the hotel lobby.

THURSDAY, MARCH 8

7-8 :30 A.M. Open breakfast. Hotel Praha restaurant.

8:45 A.M. Transfer to the Archbishop's Palace. Please meet in the hotel lobby.

9:15-11 A.M. Opening remarks and Panel A. Archbishop's Palace.

OPENING REMARKS

Andrew O'Shaughnessy Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, U.S.A.

R. K. (Ruhi) Ramazani University of Virginia, U.S.A.

David Martin University of London (London School of Economics), U.K.

PANEL A: JEFFERSONIAN WALL OF SEPARATION BETWEEN RELIGION AND STATE

Andrew O'Shaughnessy Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies, U.S.A.

Panel chair

Peter Onuf University of Virginia, U.S.A.

"Jefferson, the Separation of Church and State, and Christian Nationhood"

Jack Rakove Stanford University, U.S.A.

"Beyond Locke, Beyond Belief: The Nexus of Free Exercise and Separation of Church And State"

Gordon Wood Brown University, U.S.A.

"State and Religion: The American Experience"

11-11:15 A.M. Coffee break.

11:15 A.M. –1 P.M. Panel B.

PANEL B: JUDAEO-CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVES

Robert Fatton *University of Virginia, U.S.A.*

Panel chair

John Madeley *London School of Economics, U.K.*

“Church Establishment and the Dilemmas of Civil Religion”

Bernice Martin *University of London (Royal Holloway College), U.K.*

David Martin *University of London (London School of Economics), U.K.*

“A Comparative Analysis of the Factors that Influence the Selection of Motifs from the Religious Repertoire”

Adam Seligman *Boston University, U.S.A.*

“Liberalism, Secularism and the Problem of Tolerance”

1–2 P.M. Buffet lunch.

2–4 P.M. Panel C.

PANEL C: ISLAMIC PERSPECTIVES

William Quandt *University of Virginia, U.S.A.*

Panel chair

Nathan Brown *George Washington University, U.S.A.*

“Constitutionalizing Islam”

Effie Fokas *London School of Economics, U.K.*

“Religion in the Public Sphere: Lessons from Europe’s Religious Margins”

4–4:15 P.M. Tea break.

6–7:30 P.M. Reception hosted by U.S. Ambassador Richard Graber. Ambassador’s residence.
Please bring official photo identification.

FRIDAY, MARCH 9

7–8:30 A.M. Open breakfast. Hotel Praha restaurant.

8:45 A.M. Transfer to the Archbishop’s Palace. Please meet in the hotel lobby.

9:15–11 A.M. Panel D. Archbishop’s Palace.

PANEL D: MIDDLE EAST DYNAMICS

R. K. (Ruhi) Ramazani *University of Virginia, U.S.A.*

Panel chair

Mohammad Ali Abtahi *Institute for Inter-religious Dialogue, Iran*
“Religions, Victims of Cooperation Between Governments and Fundamentalists”

Ann Elizabeth Mayer *University of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.*
“Revisiting Jefferson’s Wall from a Contemporary Middle Eastern Perspective”

William Quandt *University of Virginia, U.S.A.*
“Religion and Politics in the Middle East/North Africa”

11–11:15 A.M. Coffee break.

11:15 A.M. –1 P.M. Panel E.

PANEL E: IN THE SHADOW OF JEFFERSON

Aaron Presnall *Jefferson Institute, Serbia*
Panel chair

A. E. Dick Howard *University of Virginia, U.S.A.*
“The Road from Monticello: The Influence of the American Constitutional Experience in Other Lands”

Attila Molnár *Eötvös University and Pázmány Catholic University, Hungary*
“On Good Order: Peace and Conflict, Immanency and Transcendence”

Robert O’Neil *Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression, U.S.A.*
“Secularism Abroad: How Long the Jeffersonian Shadow?”

1–2 P.M. Buffet lunch.

3–5 P.M. Prague city tour.

7 P.M. Event to be announced.

SATURDAY, MARCH 10

7–8:30 A.M. Open breakfast. Hotel Praha restaurant.

MORNING. Departures. All participants will be transported from the hotel to the airport.

PARTICIPANTS

SEYED MOHAMMAD ALI ABTAHI

Mr. Abtahi's executive activities include: Vice President of International Department of Cultural Ministry 1987; correspondent and representative of Iran radio and television in Lebanon 1993; Chief Secretary of President Khatimi's office 1996; Vice President in Parliamentary Legal Affairs 2000; advisor to President Khatami 2004; and President of the Institute for Interreligious Dialogue. His recent book, *Dialogue with Christian Scholars*, is based on dialogues about common religious basis during residency in Beirut.

NATHAN BROWN

Nathan J. Brown is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University. He is author of four books on Arab politics and governance, including *The Rule of Law in the Arab World* (Cambridge, 1997) and *Constitutions in a Nonconstitutional World: Arab Basic Laws and the Prospects for Accountable Government* (SUNY Press, 2002). He was a member of the international advisory committees for drafting the Palestinian and Iraqi constitutions.

ROBERT FATTON

Robert Fatton, Jr., is the Julia A. Cooper Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia. His recent publication is *Haiti's Predatory Republic: The Unending Transition to Democracy* (2002). He is also co-editor with R. K. Ramazani of *The Future of Liberal Democracy: Thomas Jefferson and the Contemporary World* (2004). He has just completed a book to be published in 2006 on the roots of authoritarianism in Haiti. He has a doctoral degree from the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, U.S.A.

EFFIE FOKAS

Dr. Fokas teaches in the Government Department of the London School of Economics (LSE), and is a Research Associate of the University of Uppsala, Faculty of Theology, in which capacity she manages a project on welfare and religion. She is co-editor (with Aziz al-Azmeh) of *Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence* (forthcoming 2007, Cambridge Univ. Press), and is presently completing a text, co-authored with Peter Berger and Grace Davie, entitled '*Eurosecularity*': a Theme and Variations (forthcoming 2007, Ashgate Press).

TOMÁŠ HALÍK

Since 1993, Professor PhDr. Tomáš Halík Th.D. has lectured at the Institute for Philosophy and Religious Studies of the Arts and Philosophy Faculty of Charles University in Prague. He serves on a number of expert bodies and scientific societies at home and abroad. He has over 200 publications, including full-length books, teaching texts, and articles. He was one of President Václav Havel's external advisors.

A. E. DICK HOWARD

A. E. Dick Howard is the White Burkett Miller Professor of Law and Public Affairs and also Earle K. Shawe Research Professor at the University of Virginia School of Law. He is often consulted by constitutional drafters in other countries including Brazil, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, Malawi, and South Africa. He is an honorary member of High Table at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 2001 he was the first Distinguished Visiting Scholar in Residence at Rhodes House, Oxford.

JOHN MADELEY

John T.S. Madeley is a Lecturer in Government at the London School of Economics and Political Science. His recent publications include *Church and State in Contemporary Europe: the Chimera of Neutrality* (ed. with Z. Enyedi) (London: Frank Cass, 2003); *Religion and Politics, a Reader in The International Library of Politics and Comparative Government* (Dartmouth: Ashgate, 2003) and most recently "The State and Religion" in P. Heywood et al (eds.) *Developments in European Politics* (London: Palgrave, 2006) and "Religion, Politics and Society: Still the Century of Antidisestablishmentarianism?," *European Political Science* (2006).

BERNICE MARTIN

Bernice Martin, since 1988 has been an Emeritus Reader in Sociology, University of London (Royal Holloway College). She conducts research and has publications in the fields of the sociology of contemporary culture and religion. She is currently completing a book with David Martin on Pentecostal lifeworlds in Latin America.

DAVID MARTIN

David A. Martin, since 1989 has been Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of London (London School of Economics). Since 1986, he has been an International Research Associate, Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, Boston University. From 1975-83 he was President of the International Conference for the Sociology of Religion. Author of some twenty books (and some 300 articles) including *A General Theory of Secularization* (1978), *On Secularization: Towards a Revised General Theory* (2005) and two books on the global spread of Pentecostalism.

ANN ELIZABETH MAYER

Ann Elizabeth Mayer is an Associate Professor of Legal Studies and Business Ethics at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. She earned a Ph.D. in History from the University of Michigan and obtained a Certificate in Islamic and Comparative Law from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and a J.D. from the University of Pennsylvania. She has published extensively in scholarly journals and edited collections, and the fourth edition of her book *Islam and Human Rights* appeared in 2006.

ATTILA MOLNÁR

Attila Molnár was born in Hungary and is a Professor of the Eötvös University, Budapest and the Pázmány Catholic University in Piliscsaba. He has a M.A. in history and sociology, a Ph.D. in sociology, and Habilitation in History.

ROBERT O'NEIL

Robert M. O'Neil has been the director of the Thomas Jefferson Center for the Protection of Free Expression since 1990. From 1985 to 1990, he was the president of the University of Virginia, where he continues as University Professor and Professor of Law teaching constitutional law – church and state. He is the director of the Ford Foundation's Difficult Dialogues Initiative and a member of the National Advisory Board of the American Civil Liberties Union. His next book, due out in 2007, is on academic freedom. He holds three degrees from Harvard University, Massachusetts, U.S.A.

PETER ONUF

Peter S. Onuf is the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He received his Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins University. Professor Onuf has authored and co-edited many books on the subject of Thomas Jefferson's political and social legacy, including *Jeffersonian America* (2001), *The Revolution of 1800: Democracy, Race, and the New Republic* (2002). His most recent publication, coauthored by his brother and political theorist Nicholas G. Onuf, is entitled *Nations, Markets, and Wars: Modern History and the American Civil War* (2006).

ANDREW O'SHAUGHNESSY

Andrew Jackson O'Shaughnessy is the Saunders Director of the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies at Monticello and Professor of History at the University of Virginia. He is the author of *An Empire Divided: the American Revolution and the British Caribbean*.

AARON PRESNALL

Aaron Presnall is the Director of Studies at the Jefferson Institute in Serbia and a political economist specializing in issues of banking and telecommunications regulatory transition. In addition to scholarly papers and opinion pieces, he has written analytical works on the business and political environment of Europe for the Economist Intelligence Unit, the United Nations Development Program and numerous other agencies. He formerly served with the U.S.-based EastWest Institute in Prague and in Belgrade as EastWest's Regional Director of Southeast Europe.

WILLIAM QUANDT

William B. Quandt holds the Edward R. Stettinius Chair in the Department of Politics at the University of Virginia. He served as a staff member on the National Security Council (1972-1974, 1977-1979). His most recent book is *Peace Process: American Diplomacy and the Arab-Israeli Conflict Since 1967* (2005, third edition). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and serves on the Board of Trustees of the American University in Cairo and the Foundation for Middle East Peace. He received a Ph.D. in Political Science from Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

JACK RAKOVE

Jack N. Rakove is the W. R. Coe Professor of History and American Studies, and Professor of Political Science and (by courtesy) Law at Stanford University. His leading works include *The Beginnings of National Politics* (1979) and *Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution*, (1996), which received the Pulitzer Prize in History. He is currently a fellow at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral Sciences, where he is working on two books: *Revolutionaries: Inventing an American Nation, 1773-1791*; and *Beyond Belief: The Radical Significance of the Free Exercise of Religion*.

R. K. (RUHI) RAMAZANI

Ruhi K. Ramazani is Edward R. Stettinius Emeritus Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia. He has specialized in international law, diplomacy and Middle East studies since 1952. He is the recipient of numerous awards, including Thomas Jefferson, Fulbright, and Social Science Research awards. He has authored and edited 15 books and some 150 articles. He has been a consultant to various U.S. departments of government and the Secretariat General of the United Nations.

BERNARD REICH

Bernard Reich is Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at George Washington University in Washington, D.C. He is Chairman of Advanced Area Studies (Middle East – Fertile Crescent) at the Department of State's Foreign Service Institute, and a member of the adjunct faculty of the United States Air Force Special Operations School and the Naval School of Health Sciences. In 1996, he was appointed to the Marine Corps War College Chair of National Security Economic Affairs, a position he still holds. His most recent book is *A Brief History of Israel* (2004). Dr. Reich received his Ph.D. from the University of Virginia.

ADAM SELIGMAN

Adam Seligman is Professor of Religion at Boston University and Research Associate at the Institute for Culture, Religion and World Affairs. He has lived and taught at universities in the United States, Israel, and Hungary where he was a Fulbright Fellow from 1990-1992. He is director of the International Summer School on Religion and Public Life, which leads seminars on contested aspects of religion and the public square. His latest book is *Modest Claims, Dialogues and Essays on Tolerance and Tradition* (Notre Dame University Press, 2004).

GORDON WOOD

Gordon S. Wood is Alva O. Way University Professor and Professor of History at Brown University. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is the author of many works, including *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (1969), which won the Bancroft Prize and the John H. Dunning Prize in 1970; and *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (1992), which won the Pulitzer Prize for History and the Ralph Waldo Emerson Prize in 1993. His latest book, *Revolutionary Characters: What Made the Founders Different*, was published in 2006.

Mr. Jefferson
MONTICELLO

ROBERT H. SMITH INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR JEFFERSON STUDIES
MONTICELLO
POST OFFICE BOX 316
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA 22902 U.S.A.
TELEPHONE 434.984.7500
WWW.MONTICELLO.ORG/ICJS/