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**John Cabot University**

Department of Political Science and International Affairs

Bachelor of Arts in *Political Science*

Minor in *History*

*Impacts of Religion and Nationalism in Religiously Identified Conflicts*

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## **Abstract**

This thesis presents the connections and repercussions of the various forms of religion and nationalism in conflict and governmental regimes, and how religious sentiment, national or religious unity, and patriotism have proven as relevant concepts in various instances of conflict, incited by religious or patriotic nature. This, mostly in cases of revolution and toppling of governments, wars, and border disputes. The paper shall progress into the study of several case studies: The Libyan Jamahiriya (republic) of its leader Muammar al-Gaddafi, and the correlation of radical Islam in Libya, North Africa, and the Middle East in the politics of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; the infamous debacle in the Irish territories, with specific focus in the border disputes of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland in the mid to late twentieth century. In this case, the socio-religious tensions, along with the dispute in the region over full Irish sovereignty or continued separation of the Irish Republic and the Northern territory under jurisdiction of the United Kingdom will be of particular interest; finally, the genocide of Bosnian Muslims during the Bosnian War of the 1990's, and the motives behind the bloodshed and the socio-political tensions in the region of the ex-Yugoslavia throughout the conflict. It will be of paramount importance to depict religion and nationalism, with relative sub-concepts of religious and national unity's contributions in the events that have taken place. A conclusion shall examine if and how the tension/s, conflict/s, and bloodshed that have occurred ultimately have been incited by religious and nationalistic sentiments and factors.

## Dedications

Dedicated to my parents, for the work they tirelessly put into their own lives for me to have this amazing opportunity. Mamma, Papa, *vi voglio bene*.

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## 1. Introduction

Considering the diverse socio-political aspects that have dominated the spectrum of contemporary international affairs and politics, it is interesting to see how a set of population's respective beliefs can play out when it comes to conflict, tension, or simple discussion. This is most certainly the case when looking at two aspects that have defined individuals and their beholding to faith, or attachment to their societies. *Religion* and *Nationalism* have been at the forefront of precedent and contemporary societies, and will continue to do so, as they define some of the most irreplaceable factors that make up states and their peoples. Despite their importance in the forming and maintaining of states and their peoples, in addition to the correlation between religious and political ideologies, religion and nationalism have proven as important factors in the contribution to past conflicts and contemporary tensions in the international community. Considering this, aspects of religious and national unity can be considered some of the most effective factors in the diverse cases of conflict that shall be analyzed, in addition to the affects in a particular outlook of the past fifty years. The factors that shape conflict and tension in correlation to religious and national unity, and what distinctions come about when looking at these periods and the events that have shaped them into the pillars of history, are of paramount importance. These instances, albeit diverse, have had effective implications in the cases of religious conflict, with connections to the nationalistic tendencies that have defined their confines. This constitutes a particular feeling in the socio-political spectrums that have shaped societies in past years, and in the ever shifting religious and political spectrums that are present in contemporary terms. Religion, in the political scheme, has proven as a not so recent concept in its definition, but the ways in which "political religion" has been seen in recent times is significant, and will be reviewed. Despite the importance in religious diversification and preservation, or the implementation of patriotism

in societies looking for freedom in a national sense, the implications that have come about in these instances have been both positive and negative. The negative sense revolves around the sheer numbers of individuals who were negatively affected by these events, such as in instances of revolution or in governmental shifts, or in cases of war and tensions among fellow countrymen, in which the lust for independence (or the lack thereof) has also defined a significant period and defines many of the nations present in the global sphere today. What will be essential is the absolute certainty in how religion, and religious sentiment have shaped not only the cases mentioned, but in international society. What is essential regarding religion and its correlation to nationalism are the effects of political ideology, and ethnic tensions which have given way to new and radical forms of discrimination in the past half century and has contributed to the ways in which religion and nationalism have coincided in governmental terms, in addition to conflict and tension in major societies. The global factor in this case, has given way to new forms of religious unity and patriotism, in preservation of ideals, and in their diffusion. In further discussion, examples of these issues shall be examined, and deducing what exactly distinguishes these instances in their use of religious or nationalistic sentiments from other forms of conveying ideals, or deciphering the instances of conflict, and to note how religious national conflict has been driven forward by the capacity of religion to provoke unity or patriotic sentiment, in preservation ideological or religious values. This thesis will look to identify how religious and national unity relate to the tension, and disastrous effects that arise to due religious national conflict and discrimination. The analysis will go about the examination of religious nationalistic sentiment and discrimination in political and militaristic schemes, and will analyze how the factors of religion and nationalism have contributed to cases of conflict, their impacts in political regimes, and relevant uprisings and tensions.

## 2. Literature Review

A goal in the analysis of these two factors shall be to portray what diverse mindsets argue regarding the aspects of religion and nationalism, exactly how they have coexisted in diverse instances over the years, and how they relate specific cases of conflict. Additionally, how the aspects of *relevance* or *belonging* that an individual has for his or her state, or beliefs, comes into play in instances of tension or conflict and in subsequent implications. Distinct analysis of these ideals in case studies shall be done, in gaining a comprehension of what the works selected to assist relative research, their authors' view and description of the analytics of religion and nationalism, and how they are relevant in the relative studies, are some of the goals that will look to be achieved. In specific terms, deducing the correlation/s of religion and nationalism is regarding instances of tension, or conflict, in addition to the implications of religion in nationalistic "campaigns," so to speak. Firstly, noting exactly what the diverse resources that have been selected in preliminary bibliographical work are, what the diverse authors of these works state regarding religion and nationalism in a theoretical and methodological sense, and how this framework will be applied in subsequently. *Religion* and *Nationalism* have had a direct, but diverse, effect in various instances of conflict, tension, and in the conveying of ideology, in the contemporary spectrum of international relations and conflict, and in the rights of citizens.

To gain a sense of the correlation of religion and nationalism in a part of the world where these two topics have been sparse in both their utilization and sentiment, eastern and western Europe, in addition to the Middle East, have proven to be some of the most relevant locations in geographical terms, this thesis will focus on the specific roles of religion and nationalism in recent conflicts on the Middle Eastern and European stages. Motivations behind this include the ideals' relevance in these regions' societies, and how they have been relevant in socio-political terms. To

do this, Annika Hvithamar's work, "*Holy Nations and Global Identities: Civil Religion, Nationalism, and Globalisation*" could serve well in gaining this initial comprehension, with a focus on nations of the world that practice Islam, contain a diversification regarding religious practices within diverse populations, and how the latter civilizations coexist among themselves. Hvithamar uses civil religion and nationalism to demonstrate the prevalence of its background in globalized worlds, and how the insertion of a religion or nationalist principles in a new environment, contrast to where it has been frequent, can affect a population and bring about discrimination or political backlash. With this, she gives an initial background regarding *Civil Religion, Nationalism, and Globalisation* in the initial proceedings of her work. In the first chapter, she attempts to lead into subsequent case studies by offering readers a definition of how the concepts prove as important. With Hvithamar's discussion, she (and author Margit Warburg who assisted in excerpts) looked to place their own methodological background of religion, and how it has been connected to various states (and their affairs), in addition to religion's presence on the political, and nationalistic, schemes. Hvithamar brings in the concept of the correlation of religion in a civil sense, and its connection to politics, noting this connection of religion being described as "*political religion.*" What Hvithamar looks to convey regarding this principle, using the example of the French Revolution and the expertise of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is that a direct correlation between religious sentiment/s and favoring of religion in state affairs is evident, and that it has been present in an entity's governing coalition or in political parties, methods of governing, or in specific provision in state, whether they be domestic or national. Rousseau also looks to depict the connection of religion and state, and how religious views are enacted within populations, and how they can be utilized as resources in governance, thus the phrasing of *political religion*. With the French case, sentimental elements of religion managed to make an impact in

socio-political terms in a state that, in this case, was experiencing difficulties in retaining national autonomy and was also amid expanding national sentiments past its borders (which can also be tied into elements of spreading nationalistic sentiments that will be seen). Her statements in this initial chapter look to not only specify how religion can be a playing factor in political terms, but also shows how a state that relies on the use of religion itself influences its citizens, who are not in accordance with various policies or ideals that play into a state's governmental system. In addition to the role of religion, Hvithamar also brings in the concept of nationalism in a state's entity, and her use of the studies of experts Carlton Hayes and Hans Kohn regarding the presence and effects of nationalism in Europe was particularly interesting in gaining an understanding of it in "European terms." She brings in the analyzation of nationalism in Europe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by specifically classifying its role in the development and implementation of national ideologies in European states, but not limited to others. In this case, ideology could prove to be one of the main factors that nationalism has in its implications, and where it has proven to be a deciding principle in a state's affairs, conflicts, and domestic and ultra-national politics. Radical ideology, which stems from a set of radical ideals that promote violence in the realization of a common goal or objective, could in fact be connected to the superiority of religion in ideologization, and how a religion, for example, is superior to many or even all others in existence and should be fought for in terms of preservation or expansion, with the use of force not taken out of question. Considering this, Hvithamar, regarding Hayes and Kohn's relativity to the subject/s, states, "Kohn claims that the nationalist ideologies were more focused on the myths and history of each nation coupled with a critical attitude concerning Western cultural development and liberalism and rationalism, which were seen as Western attributes" (Hvithamar, 5). This "theory" brought in shows the importance of a nation, or its people's respective beliefs and how they play into their own beliefs regarding

another set of religious or political beliefs, for example. Ideology proves as extremely powerful in a nation's ideals, and the people play a large part in the use of ideology, and how their own beliefs are placed on highest terms. An introduction of the relationship of eastern and western Europe, and how the pair state the importance of nationalistic movements (and how they proved to be relevant in subsequent declarations of independence and creation of independent states), shows how nationalism can be described as a key factor in denouncing or explaining movements that led to the creation of states, noting its presence and importance in socio-political terms, such as with nationalistic movements in political factions, for example having had implications in the power of regimes, or in subsequent declarations of autonomy. The role of nationalism and religion in state formation, or reconstruction serves as essential in the fundamental aspects that can be used to construct a society impacted by conflict or difficulty. Religious belief, when inserted into the formation or reconstruction of a state entity impacted by conflict, especially when the opposing parties possess diverse religious beliefs, proves as essential in finding the society's "scapegoat" in a sense, for problems faced. This also serves in the unification of perhaps divided internal parties or groups against a common enemy, which can lead to religious or nationalist tension or conflict.

In addition to Hvithamar's work and her focus on religious and nationalistic principles, Lloyd Kramer's work, "*Nationalism in Europe & America*," also investigates the confines of nationalism, and how it has been significant in the territories where national unity and patriotism have proven as significant. With Kramer's interpretation of nationalism, he makes a more specifying definition in contrast to what was stated in Hvithamar's text. Regarding nationalism's background (in terms of the manners in which nationalism's sentiments can be expressed in violent manners), Kramer gives information on the emotional and psychological effects of nationalism. He states, "...nationalism gives people deep emotional attachments to large human communities

and provides powerful stories to explain the meaning of public and personal lives. Modern people encounter stories about their nations in almost every sphere of their political, social, and economic activities - from election campaigns and tax payments to professional training, military service, and family relationships... virtually everyone refers to national cultures when they describe personal or group identities... Nationalism expresses the deep and apparently universal human desire to participate in and identify with social communities, but these identities have only acquired their distinctive nationalist meanings over the last two or three centuries. The history of nationalism thus leads everywhere to the history of modern politics, cultures, and personal identities” (Kramer, 7). In this case, Kramer argues that religion could be an extent for the “meaning of public and personal lives” that he infers to. It could in fact, tie into the public view of an aspect/s that fundamentally defines ones’ state or the area in which they live, or also in how societies in their midst or abroad are viewed. Kramer’s mentioning of aspects such as emotional attachment, culture, and how the importance of said culture or national identity can reflect on a nation or its population, will be fundamental in a further discussion of the relation of nationalistic and religious sentiments. Religion, in some cases, proves as capable in the influence of individuals, or in creating a national or religious attachment which denounces the openness for other cultures or beliefs. Culture, as Kramer has implied, has proven to be of the most important factors that defines an individual or nation’s use of nationalistic tendencies, and both religion and nationalism could be noted as elements of culture, as they define many of the diverse societies that have made up numerous international communities. Religion, with Christianity and Islam, make up some of the world’s largest states in terms of population of religious practitioners, and nationalism, in the proceeds of national unity, is noted as one of the most defining principles for many individuals who advocate or fight on behalf of their nations and/or beliefs. Christianity and Islam, arguably

being the most practiced religious faiths, make of the nations in which they “reside” determining factors in public opinion and use, also when it comes to the use religious nationalistic sentiment in forms of public protest, tension, or domestic and international conflict. Religions such as Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Hinduism, among the most prevalent and practiced in a multi-ethnic and cultural globalized world, define a sense of beholding to ones’ nation or belief in contemporary nations, and the respective beliefs can prove as greatly impactful within a nation’s affairs, or within the consensus of its people/s. In this way, a particular religious belief that sets its basis on strict or principles its existence spanning thousands of years provokes an even greater sense of attachment, or sense of patriotism in the case of nation or belief being provoked by another power or entity. In this way, religious and nationalistic cultures are some of the most relevant in the entire world, no matter the socio-political ideals that do in fact divide many states and their societies.

Considering the vastness of *nationalism*, and the even more vastness of *religion*, it is fundamental to note how it plays a part on its own in the question of international relations and states’ affairs. John Myhill’s work, “*Language, Religion, and National Identity in Europe and the Middle East*” helps gain a comprehension in the role of religion in states’ affairs, and how it has played a part in diverse populations’ mentalities and ideologies. Chapter five of Myhill’s work, that regards the Middle East, is important in analyzing the role that Islam (and other pertinent religious beliefs) have had in middle eastern entities’ affairs, such as in the political scheme. In the comparison of Myhill’s work to the texts of Hvithamar and Kramer, his insertion of the aspects of national unity in Arab and European nations bears significance in the explanation of how they fare in religious presence in their own societies, and ways in which ethnicity and religious backgrounds have contributed to unrest that has also resulted in mass destruction and death (such as in

genocide). He goes into detail regarding the implications of religion in specific instances of colonization, and in the coexistence of various religious groups (who either share the same language or nationality, but not the same religious principles). Myhill implies that diverse ethnic or religious groups who live near one another, such as Arabic Muslims and Christians and Arabic speaking Jews, have been affected by their reliance and hope in the church or religion over time, which has also had a direct effect on their own views of national and religious identity.

Religious unity is an aspect that directly ties into the question of national unity of the Islamic peoples, and thus, the Islamic religion in the world. National unity can be considered to have been at the forefront of Arab nations' positions, especially across a turbulent 20<sup>th</sup> century for the entire region/s. Myhill states that religion, in connection to nationalism, is an aspect that has had both positive and negative affects across the spectrum of national and religious autonomy, as well as in international relations. An example that could also be considered is that of Muammar Gaddafi and the Libyan Jamahiriya, or nation, which under rule of the dictator in the 20<sup>th</sup> century looked to directly unite Arab governing entities to form a single Islamic nation, which embraced both anti-colonialism, and importantly, anti-Israelism, noting the presence of Islamic dominance. In the case of Gaddafi's goal of the constructing of a league of Arab states, this certainly would have created not only a discomfoting factor on the international stage, but also would have represented a relatively new phenomena of the unification of states and their peoples under both religious and radical political ideals against the common values of democracy. Religious dominance of Islam is at the heart of this goal and ideology, which also represents the case of religious dominance that Myhill implies is relevant. Diverse ethnic and religious peoples were in fact, united, under diverse principles of national and religious unity, but also implies that the outcomes were to all be similar in a sense. For example, gaining a sense of autonomy and national

righteousness on both the governmental and religious fronts, which could define a new era for an ethnic population looking to find a sense of definition (ex. Struggle of the modern Kurds, an ethnic group who are spread out between diverse middle eastern nations, in the search for a single, autonomous state).

In addition to Myhill's views, James Kurth brings in an interesting concept in his text, "*Religion and National Identity in America and Europe*," citing, "*religious individualism*," which essentially cites the presence of secularization in European and American societies, and hints at how this could leave negative connotations in the coexistence of religion and politics. With this, analyzing other source materials such as Mark Juergensmeyer's works on "*Religious Nationalism Confronting the Secular State*," and "*Religious Nationalism in a Global World*," along with texts such as Thomas Hachey's "*Perspectives on Irish Nationalism*;" Adis Maksić's "*Ethnic Mobilization, Violence, and the Politics of Affect*;" in addition to other relevant texts, will be of crucial importance on gaining an understanding in the events that have transpired in past years that have contained elements of religious personification, nationalistic sentiments, and understanding the complications and implications that society has witnessed in these distinct instances. Some events that have transpired in the past half century have undoubtedly contributed to unrest and bloodshed that cases of the personification of nationalistic and religious sentiment that have occurred. With this, firstly understanding in full what the concepts of religious and national unity truly signify, in addition to gaining a sense on the religious connection to nationalism, and their implications is essential. This will also help comprehend the political and social consequences in instances of conflict or tension due to religion and nationalism, as we shall note with the dynamics of how religious and national unity, in addition to radicalism, play into societies experiencing conflict of nationalistic or religious nature in the next section.

### ***3. Religion & Nationalism: Relationships in Contemporary Conflicts***

These works do in fact display a sense of both theoretical and methodological validity, as they provide diverse viewpoints on the positive and negative effects of religion and nationalism in diverse entities and regions of the world. Specifically, in this case, through the analysis of events, instances in which nations or groups of people have found accords or entered conflict with one another over disagreements in the spectrum of religion, or the outcoming of national identity can be seen. Therefore, nationalistic sentiments being utilized in the promotion or spreading ones' nation, its government, or its socio-political ideologies (as we have seen with the case of Libya), or religious or ethnic backgrounds and/or sentiments. The information ascertained has represented a valid initiation into a further discussion of the distinct details and impacts of religion and nationalism in international relations, with the assistance of the comprehension of diverse case studies and their respective impacts in the question.

What is crucial regarding the correlation of religion and religious sentiment/s in nationalistic conflict lies in the fact that these ideals, in connection with the “global diaspora” described by Mark Juergensmeyer, can work to create a great deal of unifying sentiments or discontent among peoples, which also can unify individuals against a particular set of belief/s, people/s, or nation/s. In defining how religion and nationalism contribute to the global sector, and specifically conflict, Juergensmeyer tells us how, “As nation-states are permeated by transnational economics and trends and secular nationalism is challenged by the global diaspora of peoples and cultures, new ethno-religious movements have arisen to shore up a sense of national community and purpose. One can project at least three different futures for religious and ethnic nationalism in a global world: one where religious and ethnic politics ignore globalization, where they rail against it, and where they envision their own transnational futures” (Juergensmeyer, *religions*). In this case,

Juergensmeyer brings in the concept of the “globalized” aspects of religion in relation to nationalism, which is extremely relevant when looking at the sparsity of nationalistic principles in terms of statehood and radicalism regarding religious beliefs, in addition to introducing a theoretical basis which states how reactions to globalization in secular or single-practicing religious societies can determine potential outbreak of conflict, due to secularization of religious or nationalistic belief or sentiment. Once again, the correlation between the globalized world and the relation of religion and nationalistic principles becomes evident. In this context, Juergensmeyer states how, “Globalization is marked by a rapid mobility of peoples, mass migrations, the proliferation of diaspora cultures, and a transnational sense of community provided by internet relationships. Yet despite these features, religious nationalism persists. In fact it seems to flourish in a global world. Religious affiliation, while providing a connection to transnational networks, also offers resources for shoring up local identities” (Juergensmeyer). In this way, the notion that expanded and rampant globalization in diverse societies have contributed to the expanding of nationalistic principles and affiliation to religious beliefs is what he intends to depict. In noting a true connection of religious principles to nationalism, and the implications of the latter’s own “affiliation,” Juergensmeyer discusses these aspects in detail in his discussion of *Ethnicity and Religion to the Rescue of Nationalism*. In specific terms, I found his insertion of the aspects of multiculturalism and immigration proving as particularly pertinent to diversifying religious and nationalistic conflicts, and in defining the severity of the implications of said conflicts. In fact, Juergensmeyer states, “As secular ties have begun to unravel in the post-Soviet and post-colonial era, and a wash of new immigrants have arrived to create multicultural societies out of traditional national communities, local leaders have searched for new anchors to ground their social identities and political loyalties. Many have turned to ethnicity and religion. What is ideologically significant

about these ethno-religious movements is their creativity. Although many of the framers of the new nationalisms have reached back in history for ancient images and concepts that will give them credibility, theirs are not simply efforts to resuscitate old ideas from the past” (Juergensmeyer, religions). These aspects are essential, in the sense that, Juergensmeyer’s points of local leaders witnessing the flux of multi-culturalism and migration into their own societies, and with this, the insertion of aspects such as culture and especially religious beliefs, does bring about the notion that leaders in this case will resort to all means necessary in order to maintain what they feel is the sanity of their own societies, whether they practice a single religious belief, or feel that the concept of a society being “multi-cultural” could bring about its eventual dissolution or even destruction. To comprehend the ways in which *religion* and *nationalism* coincide with crucial events of conflict or religion in connection to political ideologies or other tendencies, what must be done is a distinct comprehension of the two aspects in detail, and what peculiarities regarding their contents diversifies the religious / nationalistic conflicts and events in which the aspects have contributed their ideals in. Barbara Ann Rieffer gives an interesting and helpful distinction in both the concepts of religion and nationalism, and the ways in which they have coincided over the years, both in positive and notably, negative manners. Regarding religion, Rieffer states how, “It is widely acknowledged that religion has been a very powerful force for good and evil throughout history. In the name of an eternal being, pious men and women have carried out inquisitions, crusades and wars... In attempting to define religion, we begin with the belief in the sacred... Religion as a creed, a cult, a code of conduct and a confessional community often creates individuals who act on its behalf... Religion provides an identity, as well as direction and guidance to pious individuals” (Rieffer, 217). Rieffer’s argument goes about validating religion’s role as a creed-like figment, which looks to unify the population or society in which it is found. In fact, Rieffer’s

mentioning of religion acting as a moral code is significant, it verifies the notion that religion could be a factor that works in instances of unification, which could also play out in the inciting or breakout of conflict and tension, primarily based on disagreement or the non-acceptance of diversity of religious belief, or insertion of ethnic-cultural diversity in societies where the openness to a diversity of this scale is not prevalent. Religious ideologies and concepts that can relate to these instances “of the sacred” such as the implementation of religious ideals or a state based upon single religious values and tendencies, Rieffer’s interpretation becomes clear in how religion itself proves as extremely powerful in the confines of states and their most notable individuals, for example. In terms of nationalism, Rieffer gives off the impression how its confines are particularly distinct, but also difficult in their full comprehension. She tells us how, “Nationalism addresses a fundamental human need - having a secure and established identity. Humans need something with which to identify and need to connect with some part of the world. One's identity could come from ties to a community, religion, gender, nation or sexual orientation. Identity, in whichever form, provides individuals with a sense of belonging in a community and assists in the development of self-esteem” (Rieffer, 218). With nationalism and the sense of belonging or relevance, the beholding of an individual, or in the case of a political figure or leader perhaps, to a particular community, religion, or nation, as Rieffer cites, could hold the key in nationalistic tendencies that have been seen in the past in the promoting or expanding of national interests or propaganda. This could be the case as well regarding the expansion or divulging of sentiment regarding religion, and in particular, the favoring of a religious belief over another, with the concept of religious radicalism and superiority in connection to nationalist sentiment. In this case, Rieffer’s citing of various works and interpretations shows how tendencies of this nature could prove to be particularly dangerous, and have, in the past.

Having seen these interpretations, the main goal in mind will be to depict the manners in which religion and nationalism coincide, in both an analysis of early political and religious theories and tendencies, with a look at aspects such as Jean Jacques Rousseau's interpretation of religion and its effects in politics (so called "*political religion*"), and other religious ideals in correlation to politics and governmental practices. This shall be done to ascertain an in-depth comprehension of religious and nationalistic effects on various conflicts, tensions, major socio-political events, and the implications that they have had. A question that can be asked in the analyzation of relevant study is: Do the concepts of religion and nationalism, with adequate or sufficient conditions, help invoke tension, violence, or conflict, in addition to the development of continuation of democratic or authoritarian governing coalitions? A major study will be taken as well into the sub concepts of religious law and unity in states or their peoples, in addition to national unity and patriotism, which can prove as some of the most effective factors that help invoke violence, or pro-religious and nationalistic sentiments. It will also be important to note how religious or nationalistic sentiments been involved in cases of national upbringing or revolution, in governance of states and regimes, or through crimes against religious groups or individuals. A focus will be taken into the regime of Muammar Gaddafi in Libya, and its effects on the Libyan population in terms of "religious politics," in addition to conditions that as years went on, deteriorated with other states in the region, many of whom practiced predominately Islam. Gaddafi and his beliefs in Islamic superiority can relate back to the question of religious unity, or the feelings that one can have for his or her nation in a sense of passion or relevance, which he had for both his state and his religion. Gaddafi's goal in the long term during the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was to institute a league of Arab nations that would have been united under a series of undemocratic, socio-political, religious beliefs, and his goals embraced both anti-westernism and democratic ideals. In addition to anti-Israelism, in

which his regard for diverse religious beliefs in respect to Islam was of little importance. It is crucial to note what the effects of nationalistic and religious sentiments of superiority did in the international community during its time, and how it led to death and destruction. This goal of Libya went in the advocacy for a distinct union of African and Middle Eastern nations, united in their political and religious beliefs against the west (US, Europe). In fact, Libya's attempt to "Arabize" the rest of northern Africa and the Middle East to create a great Islamic state, was at the heart of the goal for its leader, in the creation of a superior Islamic state. Gaddafi himself expressed his relevant views of religion and nationalism in his "Green Book" which discusses both the aspects of statehood and socialism in his government and nation, in addition to the connection with a greater Islam, and how it was pertinent to institute this infamous "Islamic Legion" of states. Regarding these ideals, it will be important to note how Libyan politics and religious views contributed to conflict or tensions, and above all, how they did during the dictatorship. With Libya and Gaddafi, the expectation will be to note how the global factor mentioned by Juergensmeyer coincides with the religious theology of Islam in the state, in addition to comprehending the effects of Islamic unity and sentiment on the Libyan peoples and extended to other Arab entities like it.

In addition to the Libyan case, it will also be crucial to shift focus in the spectrum of the "west," and this will be accomplished examining Europe, and the religious political correlations that have been seen. In specific terms, the famous debacle between the borders of the Republic of Ireland, a full member of the European Union and sovereign state, and Northern Ireland, a member of the United Kingdom and as of 2021, former EU member along with the rest of the UK. How do the aspects of religion and nationalism relate, and are they relevant in contemporary terms, previously, or in both periods? How are the Irish related to religion and nationalism in conflict? The two entities, in the mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century were involved in a series of socio-political struggles

that went on to be called “The Troubles,” which defined a period of unrest in Ireland, the UK, and Europe for almost 30 years. During *The Troubles*, Irish nationalists in the divided island fought over whether it being justified to unite Ireland as one nation or maintain the divide that is still present today. In this struggle, two groups of individuals fought a tense battle of how the Irish territories were to be viewed, and subsequently governed, as a struggle over autonomy came about. In terms of nationalistic sentiment and the relation of conflict and tension, the Irish border disputes became a question of great unrest not only in Ireland and the United Kingdom, with terrorist and paramilitary groups terrorizing the borders of Ireland and were also attributed to acts throughout Europe. With the sovereign English - Irish disputes, and their impacts in international terms for the casualties that were witnessed, the case proves as extremely relevant in further study of specific events and aspects regarding the correlation of religion and nationalism in Europe. The expectations of the Irish case will be to identify and conceptualize the nationalistic sentiments that arose from the tensions of a unified or separated Irish border, and how religious divisions contributed to the movements of paramilitary groups looking to create havoc in the realization of this goal and eliminate the continued separation of the Irish peoples.

In addition to the Irish case, examination of the Bosnian War, and specifically the genocide of over 8,000 Bosnian Muslims in 1995 by the self-acclaimed Serbian military, who represented a new territory in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The genocide took place during the Bosnian War, which lasted from 1992 to 1995, and involved the deaths of over 100,000 people, mainly Bosniaks, an ethnic group native to Bosnia, and over 8,000 men, women, and children in the Srebrenica massacre in July of 1995. Many of the dead included mostly practicing Muslims. In this instance, radical Serbs (many still loyal to the authoritarian regime of the ex-Yugoslavian entity) looked to display dominance in the regions, and their vicious methods also tied into their nationalistic nature,

as radical Serbians intended to establish a state in the regions of modern Serbia and Bosnia. In the case of the genocide, it will be crucial to analyze both the nationalistic sentiments and methods expressed by the Serbs during the war, and specifically in the act of genocide, the motivations behind the brutality expressed, and what effects this act had left behind in the region and the international community's tolerance of acts of genocide, religious persecution, and radicalism in the concepts of nationalism and patriotism, which at the time, were rampant in pro-Serb and Yugoslav sentiments. Analysis of Bosnia and the tensions of the period of conflict will look to examine the effect of anti-religious sentiments and Islamophobia, in addition to the introduction of nationalist sentiment in the conflict of the Balkan states who looked to eliminate religious and ethnic diversities in the construction of a state that resembled the one that had fallen several years prior. The concepts of religious superiority and unity, in addition to national unification and proposed statehood will be at the forefront of analysis in subsequent cases, which will look to conceptualize and verify how religion and nationalism have been present in instances of religious unification such as with Libya, and how nationalistic sentiment and movements can contribute the relevant unrest against individuals of diverse religious or ethnic groups. These will be the expectations in relevant study of the Libyan regime under Gaddafi, the unrest in Ireland, and in the years of unrest during the Bosnian War and relevant push against religious belief and unification under nationalist Balkan entities.

#### 4. Case Study: *Libya & The Years of Gaddafi*

Noting what has been said regarding religion and nationalistic sentiment and patriotism, it will be fundamental to examine an instance, or regime, in which these characteristics had made themselves known within a governing entity and individual population, in addition to how unrest and the political regime in Libya during the dictatorship of Muammar Gaddafi can be tied to religious sentiment and Islamic nationalistic tendencies. What is known of Libya since the takeover of Gaddafi in 1969 and throughout his years in power up until 2011 is the fierce tendency to make Libya's name known on the map and with this, make known to the entire world of what Libyan intentions would be in the domestic and international communities. Gaddafi himself wished to do this by taking up two principles dear to him, and to much of the radical world as well: religion and nationalism. Religion, and specifically Islam for Gaddafi and his Libya came to be known as a guiding principle for the present and future of the nation and the absolute necessity of making Islam a deciding factor in all levels of Libyan life was of utmost importance for the regime. In fact, Gaddafi himself had a sort of dream, which will be discussed further, of the institution of an Arab League of states, most notably of north Africa and the Middle East, united in their practice and utilization of Islam in a sort of radical sense, united in opposing both political ideals not based on their own, such as democracy, and religions not in line with the faith of Islam. Opposing would have been towards Israel and Judaism, in addition to the United states and the democratic ideals which formed its nation and constitution. The regime's goal, in line with the use of religion for radical purposes regarding political agenda/s, in addition to the use of nationalistic sentiment uniting against another party or set of ideals, would have been the goals in the institution of this league of nations. Fortunately, this turned out only to have been proposed and never concrete reality, however, it is important to note how the factors of religion and nationalism were relevant

in this case and in the regime's power. In Gaddafi's implementation of Islamic ideals in his society, and the ways in which religion and nationalism contributed to the regime, he called for a sort of correlation of socialist political theology, and the imposing of Arab nationalist ideals in which he and the regime specified how Arab nationalism and Islam were to be utilized in the scope of political and international scenes in terms of the Libyan governing entity. With this, the question of how Gaddafi's political and religious theologies and views contributed to the position of Libyan affairs and movements in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and initial part of the 21<sup>st</sup>, is key. The correlation of religion and nationalism, in addition to religious unity and nationalistic tendencies shall be seen in the analyzation of these factors. With the fall of the previous regime and Monarchy, Gaddafi felt the implementation of Arab nationalist ideals in addition to a sole following of Islam were ways in which Libya could consolidate its place in many authoritarian regimes in the mid twentieth century, in addition to making a new name for itself in the spectrum of contemporary international relations. Indeed, the goal of the institution of a sole Islamic, authoritarian union in the region/s was of great importance. Creating a radical-like Islamic authoritarian norm in North Africa and the middle east, raged by conflicts of interests and the declaration of borders for years represented a fundamental goal for the entire union of Arab states and practicers of Islam for Gaddafi and Libya. The role of other figures, such as Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, inspired this goal of Gaddafi and Libya, and it ushered a new era of religiosity in politics, as well as nationalistic and religious unity among populations of predominately Arab states. These tendencies, most notably unite against the factors and specifically nations who had until that point kept the Arab world somewhat divided, such as the United States and Europe, were at the forefront in the wave of religious and nationalistic calls to power and unity in Libya following the institution of the Jamahiriya (State of the Masses or of the People), and in other states such as Iran or Iraq. As the

movements of Arab nationalism and religious patriotism through Islam swept through the region/s at lightning pace, it is important to note that citizens of these nations, such as Libyans, also contributed to what came after. Libyans themselves proved to be discontent and tired of the monarchy and its unfavorable policies for creating a solidified Libyan state, and Gaddafi capitalized on this discontent as to take power for his own gain, but also provide a new sense of Arab nationalism which would unite the people under him and a new political ideology. Gaddafi looked to capitalize on a personal discontent of progress of political and religious westernism, in the 1970's following his rise to power, by the instituting of Islamic ideals in domestic affairs such as with the Socialist agenda of the Third International Theory, which aided in a new era of Islam in Libyan affairs and the role of religious sentiment in nationalistic tendencies. This, such as in the Arab position against western entities and ideals in past years. The scope of these tendencies, and the manners in which both the political ideals and role of Islam rendered these times diverse in comparison to other tensions comes in the form of religious and political denominations that were utilized in Gaddafi's authoritarian agenda, both in the goal of the institution of an Arab league of states, and in the uniting of Islamic nations against, as it seemed, the entire world. In this way, the Libyan case managed to institute a fierce set of ideals internally among the people, united under the ideals of a greater Islam, in addition to the demonstration of force that Gaddafi intended for the weakened Libyan position in the 1970's above all, and thereafter. In worldwide terms, the message was clear for other states: Islamic Socialism and Arab Unification are fundamental ideals to abide by, and their messages should be transmitted without question. Religion and nationalism render these tensions diverse, as in the Libyan case, Islamic unity and Socialist ideals under authoritarian terms were utilized in the aftermath of both failures of political ideals under the monarchy and the agenda that rendered the entity fragile and led to its later collapse and seizure,

and nationalistic tendencies uniting a people/s against a common enemy, both in political and religious terms. It is perhaps these factors that render the effects of religion and nationalism, with the concepts of unity and patriotism alongside them, as truly effective in the institution of radical ideals in government as was in the Gaddafi regime, as well as the implementation of diverse, yet powerful political ideals and tendencies on the domestic and international spectrums. Here, we can see a diverse yet effective approach to the utilization of religious unity in the connection of peoples, such as in the case of unifying a divided Libyan people while transitioning to a use of Islam as a sort of defining factor for the new Libyan Socialist regime. Gaddafi's intention of unifying Libyan and Arab peoples both under Islam, and against other religious and political ideals, such as western Christianity and democracy, represent the main aspects that define his regime and how religion and nationalism play fundamental roles in its span. Diversities in respect to other examples which shall be noted come in the fact that religion and nationalistic sentiment come into play in a unity which proves as relatively dangerous for the international community and in the coexistence of religious beliefs and political ideals amongst each other. The insertion of Islam into the Libyan regime's staple, in addition to unifying the people, and potentially, all Arab Islamic states under this staple mark Libya and Islam as distinct in the presence of religious nationalistic principles.

On both the domestic and international front, the Third International Theory proposed by Gaddafi in his agenda of government made a great connection in the concepts and uses of religion and nationalism, and what rendered the regime and its movements unique. The theory, summarized in Gaddafi's own work entitled, "*The Green Book*," brings in the definitions of the ideal state according to him, in addition to outlining the factors that would render the state itself as a transparent, powerful entity. Again, sentiments of Islamic unity and nationalistic pride through religion are outlined by Gaddafi, as he cites them as key in the process of uniting peoples under

religious and political ideal/s. in terms of government, one concept reigns supreme in the theoretical political framework of Gaddafi and the Libyan regime, in addition to uniting the people under Islam in this sense: anti-westernism. In this regard, on the lack of solid basis of western democratic ideals, it is stated how, “The instrument of government is the prime political problem confronting human communities... *The Green Book* presents the ultimate solution to the problem of the proper instrument of government... All political systems in the world today are a product of the struggle for power between alternative instruments of government... The outcome is always the victory of a particular governing structure - be it that of an individual, group, party or class - and the defeat of the people; the defeat of genuine democracy...” (Gaddafi, 1). In this way, he hints at what could bring a nation, through the utilization of democratic ideals, to an inferior political spectrum within a state, defeating the core values of worldwide respected genuine democracy. He views as lacking proper strength in the governing of a nation and makes a case for the use of authoritarian and socialist ideals as he does, giving off the idea that a nation that wishes to project both strength and unity under a concise set of political and religious ideals is to do, as Libya united under Socialism and Islam. He also reiterates the concept of unification and patriotism in *The Green Book*, citing it as one of the fundamental pieces to the puzzle in the unifying individuals in the state, under a system of distinct class which can be influenced by “common interests” and beliefs in relation to the institution of political entities and groups. He states how, “Classes, like parties, sects or tribes, are groups of people within society who share common interests. Common interests arise from the existence of a group of people bound together by blood-relationship, belief, culture, locality or standard of living. Classes, parties, sects and tribes emerge because blood-relationship, social rank, economic interest, standard of living, belief, culture and locality create a common outlook to achieve a common end. Thus, social structures, in

the form of classes, parties, tribes or sects, emerge. These eventually develop into political entities directed toward the realization of the goals of that group” (Gaddafi, 17). Through the class system, he goes further in the specification that all individuals united under this system must be in common accordance with one another, on a basis of some of the aforementioned factors, such as belief in religious terms. Not finding common accord in these grounds leads to internal fragility and marginalization, the very demise that Gaddafi looked to avoid in his own unification of peoples, and in the institution of his Arab League of States. He cites this fragility as a common factor in contemporary democracy, and in the utilization of nationalistic sentiment to achieve common ground on a basis of religion for example, is key in avoiding discontent and finding the solution to the institution of an advanced state-system.

Shifting from the state side of aspects regarding religion and nationalism, the ways in which religious and nationalistic tendencies played their roles in Libyan society are important to consider as well. The Libyan governing entity looked to provide its people, following the collapse of the monarchy and rise of the new regime, a new wave of optimism came about through policies that seemed somewhat favorable. To compensate for the difficulties of the past and to gain the desire implementation of religious and nationalistic policies in the nation, Gaddafi resorted to forming his own socio-political agenda which is outlined in *The Green Book* through the confines of the *Third Universal Theory*. His feeling is that traditional democracy and the capitalism of western entities will not serve Libya in a favorable manner, and Gaddafi enacted his own views and opinions in several fundamental sectors of society, specifically in the services and rights provided to citizens. despite the nationalistic views of Islam that were implanted into Gaddafi’s views on a personal basis, these policies seemed to want to assist the Libyan people in both their socio-economic rebirth, in addition to solidifying the stature of the nation in later years. He mentions

these aspects in the chapter, “*The Solution of the Economic Problem: Socialism*” and outlines factors such as *public necessities, housing, income, means of transportation, and land*. In this way, the advancement of a socialist political agenda which looked to provide the people with undeniable rights that, Gaddafi himself admitted, are present in the western democracies that he considers far different than the states of the Arab world, and managed to gain a large following based on both this new job of the state in providing to the well-being of its citizens, as well as the advancement of a new socialist political agenda that in the long run looked to unite the Arab world under the sole concepts of Islam and Socialism, united against the west and its various beliefs on the political and religious spectrums. Perhaps one of the most powerful concepts laid out by The Green Book comes in the definition of the social factors in relation to the *Third Universal Theory*. The “social basis” is described as one of the most important factors in this context, and Gaddafi’s correlation of it in regard to nationalism in a state and population helps define its significance in the connection of nationalistic and religious tendencies to the regime and its people. In this way, the importance of the relationship of state and citizen is discussed, in addition to the impacts of nationalism in the state and people/s in question. He sees this as a fundamental concept in the realization of the state under the socialist agenda through the theory. Gaddafi states how, “The social factor, the national factor, is the dynamic force of human history. The social bond, which binds together human communities from the family through the tribe to the nation, is the basis for the movement of history... Nationalism, then, is the base upon which one nation emerges... The social relationship is derived from society, i.e., the relationship among members of one nation. The social relationship is, therefore, a national relationship and the national is a social relationship. Even if small in number, communities or groups form one nation regardless of the individual relationship amongst its members. What is meant here by a community is that which is permanent because of the

common national ties that govern it” (Gaddafi, 69). The “social bond” as is stated, can be defined as not only a bond united under both concepts of religion and patriotism, under the sole factor of unity which proves as fundamental. The social bond described in which nation and people come into play as some of the most emerging factors that had defined the Libyan people under the leadership of Gaddafi, as the social bond which was constructed involved both nationalistic sentiments advocating Arab unity against western democratic governments in addition to a new wave of national pride and belonging to the state and its leader. As we can see, the concepts of both Islamic unity and beholding to the nation and its leader defined well how the Libyan case can relate to the overall concept of nationalistic and religious unity, with Islam and Socialism being the defining factors in uniting a people against both socio-political and religious beliefs that were considered as inferior and irrelevant to the new wave of religious nationalism to strike the semi contemporary basis of the mid to late twentieth century, and the contributions on both domestic and international conflict/s. Gaddafi combined Islam and its values in the principality of governance, with the need to utilize its message in uniting a people against western democracy and capitalism. His goal was essentially to create a new sort of Islamic hegemony, which would have combined religious ideals in state affairs. Islam had less of an effect on the domestic Libyan stage, but Islamic fundamentalism and practice was more of an ideal that attributed Gaddafi on the international scene, with his own conquests and interests in Europe, in addition to his relations in the Cold War. I feel that Islam for Gaddafi worked as he had hoped in uniting the Libyan people, in addition to defining his *Jamahiriya* on the international stage.

## 5. Case Study: *Ireland & The Troubles*

Expanding on the effects and use of religion and nationalism in instances of conflict and tension, another instance, which spanned also for many years, is worth examining. The case of Ireland and, “The Troubles,” as the period of tension and violence was known, represents one of the more “western” examples in the correlation of religion and nationalism in conflict and tension, and in the coexistence of religious unity and patriotism in relevant instances as in Libya. In Ireland, specifically along the borders of the Republic of Ireland, a sovereign nation, and Northern Ireland, which is part of the United Kingdom, a series of events and years of tension and conflict took place in the latter part of the twentieth century, which included both the use of religious sentiment through tension/s, and nationalistic tendencies in instances of tension, conflict, and terrorism in Irish territories and throughout Europe. In the Irish case, paramilitary and radical groups fought each other in the question of sole Irish autonomy and the Irish land that still belongs to the United Kingdom. Over the years, the question of absolute legitimacy of Northern Ireland’s part of the UK has been a matter of debate, and a socio-religious war erupted in the mid twentieth century over the legitimacy of the Irish divide and potential unification. Through these tensions, religion and nationalism have once again been noted as deciding factors, as Irish nationalists fought for years amongst each other over sovereignty and national unity in Ireland and Northern Ireland made its mark in the fight for autonomy from an entity that it felt it did not rightfully belong to. This is what defined the official skirmish between the Irish Republicans and Ulster Loyalists, with paramilitary activity and terrorism shrouding the crisis over a period of three decades, with an eventual agreement of preliminary ceasefire, with utmost peace never being instituted in the region up to this day. This period of Irish tension is known famously as, “The Troubles,” in which nationalist sentiment was brought about for retaliation in both the separation of Irish peoples across a highly

controversial border, in addition to a standoff between Irish republican practitioners of Catholicism, and Northern Irish Protestantism, which also contributed to the unrest during the Troubles. The first of the two groups, the Irish Catholics, wanted a united, Irish state. With their term of Irish Republicanism, which defines the UK's possession of northern Irish land as illegitimate, those involved advocated for a united Ireland under sentiments of national unity and patriotism, in addition to a religious division with between the autonomous Irish Catholics, and the Ulster Protestants. On the other side were the Ulster Loyalists, who were predominately protestant, wanted Northern Ireland to remain separated from the rest of Ireland and remain in the United Kingdom, and were loyal to the British monarchy. Tensions between Irish nationalists and loyalists to the British Crown provided for bloodshed over the years, and one instance that occurred in 1972 remains painfully familiar regarding the difficulties faced in the "revolutionary" struggle, in addition to events spanning up until the very end of the twentieth century.

In comprehending the nature of religious national conflict, and the motives behind Irish national extremism and its effects on the international community, Patrick Finnegan, in his text, *"Religious Motivation During the Troubles"* cites Jonathan Fox's views on the correlation of religion to national or domestic conflict, and potential motivations behind the two's coinciding. He states how, religious conflict "...is between groups who belong to different religions; it is between groups that belong to different denominations... the issues in the conflict include... issues, such as state religion policy or the role of religion in the regime...one or both of the parties involved in the conflict must make some form of religious demand or have some form of religious goal. This can include changing the nature of the government in that it either increases or decreases its support for religion or the extent of religious exclusivity in the state" (Finnegan, 53). Considering these factors, it is important to note how the unrest had become famous for both the illegitimacy

that Irish republican nationalists dubbed the “occupation” of contemporary Northern Ireland, and a religious division that contributed to the disaccord of the Irish Republican Catholics and Ulster loyalist Protestants. In particular, the instance of “*Bloody Sunday*” which has become known all over the world for the horror that surrounded the events and the bloodshed that saw them gain notoriety, shows how the Irish case plays into the correlation of religion and nationalism and its connection to instances of conflict. The *Bloody Sunday* massacre involved fourteen people being killed by English military officers, in response to apparent tension that had been ravaging the region/s in the years prior. To gain a sense of the correlation of religion and nationalism in the Irish case, Barbara-Ann J. Rieffer, in her text, “*Religion and Nationalism – Understanding the Consequences of a Complex Relationship*” brings in examples from The Troubles and the standing religious and political tensions that were all too frequent in the Irish scene in the past decades. In fact, she discusses how violence managed to reach the younger population/s among free and UK Irish territories, citing the importance in the religious division and how nationalistic sentiment played a part in the tensions. Rieffer states how, “On a quiet Tuesday afternoon at the end of June, a group of young boys were throwing stones at some girls as they walked home from school. Unfortunately, this was not a typical, playful act of youthful immaturity; the young boys were Protestants, and the girls were leaving a Roman Catholic school located in a Protestant neighborhood in Belfast, Northern Ireland. This led to riots and fighting in which rival Catholic and Protestant threw bombs, stones, and bottles at each other and at the police... While the initial difference between the two groups is one of religion, nationalism also lies at the heart of these problems. Protestants in Northern Ireland identify with and want to remain a part of Great Britain, while Catholics would like to see the entire island joined together under the flag of the Republic of Ireland... The situation in Northern Ireland demonstrates how easily religion and nationalism

can be intertwined and connected in a political movement” (Rieffer, 216). In these descriptions, Rieffer gives a good sense in the impacts that religious and national divisions truly had on the Irish societies, and how the consequences called for both political and national division in terms of state and people, in addition to bloodshed that spread not only in the Irish island, but further to Europe through instances of extremism. Religion was important in this case, as it made a case for those who felt that irreconcilable differences between the Irish Republicans and Ulster Loyalists were better if set aside, or if common ground was found, inciting a need something to be done to break the divide in Ireland, with the religious identity, and the divide behind it, incited a need for Irish Republicans or Ulster Loyalists to not stand aside, which proved as significant. Indeed, *The Troubles* constituted also paramilitary groups and extremist cells, a notable one being the IRA, or Irish Republican Army, whose movements and calls for independence and revolution came using violence and tension in Ireland and beyond. Violence behind the geo-political and religious separation of Ireland stems back to an issue of far larger importance for the Irish people. Here, religion plays a diverse role in respect to the Libyan case. In fact, it is less evident in its presence due to more of a nationalist sentiment in the unification or division of the Irish land as an independent nation or in keeping ties to the British crown, however, the religious division of Christianity and Protestantism certainly contributed to relevant unrest between Irish nationalist revolutionaries, even though religious autonomy or unification was not at the heart of the agenda. Similarities to Libya and the utilization of religion in nationalist movements can certainly be seen in terms of a potential correlation to Libya and Gaddafi’s agenda, as the Irish case redefines the correlation of nationalist movements in connection to religious belief, such as that of the IRA’s involvement in religious-nationalist terrorism along the borders of Ireland and Europe. Irish Republicans and Ulster Loyalists’ respective goals took upon diverse objectives and utilization of

both religion and nationalism, however the case of The Troubles and Ireland represents a more nationalist case through the sentiment of patriotism and unity, along with religious belief on the side defining these respective nationalist movements. The division of the land following an independent Irish state that preceded the divide between north and the rest of the mainland comes in the discontent in the lack of a free sovereign entity, as can be seen with contemporary Scotland and the willingness of many to want to separate from the United Kingdom. This comes in with the concept of self-determination, which under the modern confines of international law, states that all peoples have a right to a free and unbiased state so long as several distinct characteristics would apply in the eventual formation of a government/s. in fact, this is what the Irish Republicans, who made the case for an independent Irish nation, made in their struggles. Barbara Rieffer also discusses this concept, with religion and nationalism's connections to the advocacy for the Irish state. She states how, "Religious nationalism is the fusion of nationalism and religion such that they are inseparable. Nationalism, as noted earlier, typically refers to the animating spirit of a community of people with an aspiration to be politically self-determining. This incorporates the general belief that a group of individuals with a common heritage should be identified with and have control over their own political unit. This need not lead to an independent sovereign state. Political autonomy for a region or area within a state is sometimes an acceptable substitute for statehood" (Rieffer, 225). In this case, the Irish people during *The Troubles* relied on the fact that they themselves were too diverse and detached from the United Kingdom and British Crown, as socio-political and religious diversities, as Rieffer states, come into play in this question of diversification. Considering this, what went about in the years of tension, regarding extremist movements and bloodshed can be compared to the concept of religious nationalism, and in the sense of national unity in sentiment of patriotism. The Irish border dispute, disagreement between

Irish Republican Catholicism and Ulster Loyalist Protestantism, and subsequent tension caused by paramilitary groups such as the IRA, do in fact relate to the overall concept of religious nationalism, as the combination of these factors, the disagreement over legitimacy in the division of the Irish lands, and the religious division among the Irish people give a sense of how the factors can prove as dangerous when mixed in this manner. What Rieffer states regarding religious nationalism is chilling when considering the Irish case, as many factors can apply to the tension and what it caused in this supposed religious-national movement. Rieffer states how, “In religious national movements, the influence of religious beliefs, ideas, symbols and leaders is essential to the development and success of the national movement in a particular territory. In these cases, religion is so important to the nationalist movement that it adopts religious language and modes of religious communication, builds on the religious identity of a community, cloaks itself in the religion and relies on the assistance of religious leaders and institutions to promote its cause. Furthermore, when a religious national movement is successful in obtaining some form of political autonomy, often the religious beliefs will be institutionalized in laws or procedures governing the region” (Rieffer, 226). What Rieffer describes of having individual laws and procedures, in addition to gaining the sense of autonomy that is sorely lacking in the Irish case (which is labeled as one of the key indicators in the causes for nationalistic/religious conflict) she gives off the impression with these examples that the case of Ireland and The Troubles is no different. The question of legitimacy of division of the Island of Ireland into two diverse nations is an aspect at the heart of the national-religious tensions that swept Ireland and Europe, and in the divisions of the population in religious terms. The “national movement” that is being brought in by way of religious nationalism contributes to the values of self-determination and complete autonomy that the Irish Republicans felt during these years, in contrast to continued division by way of the United

Kingdom and pressure of the Ulster Loyalists. The question of the Irish effects in both the island and mainland England in addition to mainland Europe is interesting. The Irish nationalist movement that came due to separation involved both revolutionary and nationalist sentiment and instances of extremism. In response to a lack of concreteness in the resolving of the tension in Ireland, in addition to lack of agreement in the legitimacy of separation and question if Irish unification, Paramilitary and extremist groups took their anger and disgust and showcased it in the use of violence, as to demonstrate the true forms and reaches of contemporary Irish nationalist movements and groups, in retaliation for the lack of progress in their intended goals in a governmental level. The Irish Republican Army was and is one of the most infamous Irish nationalist extremist groups, and their quest for Irish independence and end of the British “grip” of the northern territories defined the Irish nationalist agenda in the mid to late twentieth century in Europe. In her work, *Northern Ireland’s Troubles: The Human Costs*, Marie-Therese Fay describes the IRA in their early forms as a group that, “...became recognised as defenders of the Catholic people and attracted large numbers of young Catholic volunteers to their ranks. Their analysis of the conflict in Ireland was simple. British presence in Ireland was the root cause of all conflict on the island. Only a British withdrawal would address the problem” (Fay, 11). The IRA combined both the concepts of religious unity under Catholicism, which they viewed as the greater Irish religion, and under sentiments of national unity in the case that Ireland, as we have noted, should be its own nation and lack the British influence that undermines its existence as a separated nation and people. Events such as Bloody Sunday increased support for groups of this stature, and the resolve to rid Ireland of the British became even stronger. Despite this, the methods used to try and achieve these goals were far from pacifist or peaceful-like. Fay describes a movement which based itself on the use of violence to achieve its objectives, and the group became involved in both

drug use and distribution, and in instances of extremist attacks on Irish businesses and also on the border between the north and south. It is these ideals that led to later agreements on a ceasefire to the region in later decades. Expanding on the groups and their roles, Fay also describes the role of the Ulster Loyalists or Parliamentaries, who wanted continued Irish separation and a role of the British crown in the region/s. Fay states how, “Loyalist paramilitaries are dedicated to maintaining Northern Ireland’s status as part of the United Kingdom. They see themselves as counter-revolutionaries. Unlike Republican paramilitary groupings that are perceived as well disciplined and having a hierarchy of authority, Loyalist paramilitaries have been seen as more factionalised and there have been many splits among the various groups” (Fay, 18). The Irish division is represented as the core issue in extremist movements and tensions in Ireland, and the religious division that also became a factor during the decades of tension. Fay justifies the events and their validity in the core of Irish nationalism and in the question of unification and/or separation. She states how, “The traditional Nationalist/anti-imperialist interpretation of the Northern Ireland situation can be summarised in two main propositions. First, the people of Ireland form one nation, and second the responsibility for Irish division lies solely with Britain... The only solution to the conflict, therefore, has to lie in a united Ireland” (Fay, 66). Fay Also brings in outside context that dives further into the question of Irish separation and the true motivations behind its validity on both the Irish and British points of view. In the Irish sense, separation was seen solely as an English cause for advantage on the political and industrial stages, classifying its case as a unifying cause for resolution in the British party scheme. On the other hand, it is seen as more of a territorial issue, as Fay states, with British interests in the “northeast’s shipbuilding, engineering and textile industries” (66), as to gain an economic and territorial backhand in the region. Fay states that this also due to the fact of the British failure in maintaining the entire landmass of the island, which

would have brought about much more economic and industrial gains as far as the British crown was concerned (66). As we can see, the Irish case in connection to religious-nationalistic factors has proven as diverse, yet effective in its resolve for action on the part of the “revolutionaries” or nationalists, in addition to bringing in the factor of religious division within the tensions and bloodshed provoked. The factor of the aforementioned “political religion” comes into play with the case of Ireland, as nationalist movements provoked by territorial and religious divisions created an ultra-national juggernaut which where the tensions provoked during the period of The Troubles, which included both domestic violence and tension, in addition to international provocation and terrorism, which called for international recognition and intervention and the eventual ceasefire, not agreement, of the main parties involved. In the Irish case, although religious values and sentiment proved to have a much smaller impact than the national division and objectives of the Irish Republicans and Ulster Loyalists, it does prove that a factor such as religion, enclosed in a conflict or tension of a much larger scale, as was the official division of the Irish land and legitimacy of its division between the Irish Republic and the United Kingdom, defined how the Republicans and Loyalists most likely incited more tension into an already difficult situation on the Irish borders. This was a main cause for unification or continued division. The aspects of national and religious unity have had a distinct correlation, with patriotism and nationalism proving as more of a factor in *The Troubles*. However, this does not denounce the impact of religious values in the Troubles’ main years, which served as a factor which only inflamed an already heated debate over a territorial division’s all-around legitimacy.

## 6. Case Study: *Bosnia, the Ethnic Cleansing of War, & Religious Marginalization*

In the consideration of a more “contemporized” scenario in the confines of religion and nationalism, and how the aspects can play into an instance of conflict, the events that took place in the mid 1990’s in eastern Europe represent a case in this context. The Bosnian War in eastern Europe, specifically considering the debacle of Serbia and Croatia, two nations who made up the former entity of Yugoslavia, is significant in considering the impact of religion in bloodshed and its correlation to nationalistic sentiment in conflict. Particularly, it is important to note the impacts that the Bosnian War and the self-proclaimed Bosnian-Serb military, known as the Army of Republika Srpska, the had in the ethnic marginalization and in later instances of evident genocide, which shall be noted, against the Bosniak population. Events which came at an extremely pressing time for the international community, and for regions which were looking to break ties with their authoritarian past, the genocide, and the Serbian display of extremism and radicalism in their actions, will be of paramount importance in a study of semi-contemporary effects of nationalism in conflict, such as in genocide. In addition to this, religious persecution of Bosnian Muslims who were systematically targeted by a regime will also be a cause for further analyzation, and just how important the methods and brutality witnessed, in addition to an evident failure on the part of the international community for prudent and swift intervention. This time period represented evident difficulties for ultra-national entities such as the United Nations, in addition to the powers of the time such as the United States or European Community (contemporary European Union), which failed not only in intervening to save lives, but also a year earlier, in the Rwandan genocide, in which ethnic diversities that had spanned decades, in addition to nationalistic sentiment of the Hutu, in a period of just four months, left behind around one million people dead. With the Bosnian case occurring just a year later amid a civil war. The Bosniak’s represented an ethnic group native

mainly to the contemporary areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and who practiced mainly Islam in terms of religious faith. The Bosnian-Serb extremist army, under the command of Ratko Mladić, was involved in the ethnic marginalization of ethnic groups in former deposed Yugoslav lands, in addition to the ethnic cleansing of over 8,000 Bosnian Muslims in an instance now known as the Srebrenica Massacre which took place in July of 1995. Serbian nationalist objectives looked to do far more than rid the land of a religious or ethnic group, and as frightening as it may seem, the Serb radical nationalist agenda looked to tie in aspects such as the construction of a “greater Serbian state” and included instances of religious backlash such as Islamophobia in its political agenda. The goal of the construction of a greater Serbian state in the area that had once been the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, before its dissolution and subsequent declarations of independence, such as in the fall of the USSR, many did not feel that the absence of power that socialism and Yugoslav nationalism brought to the international scenes could be disregarded and swept away, thus bringing about the Yugoslav conflicts and nationalistic nature of the Bosnian-Serb armies in the overall goals of bringing back the entity that had been once the state of Yugoslavia. The agenda, which included both radical and extremist policies such as lack of autonomy for the states that had once made up the Yugoslav territories, in addition to the revocation of individuals rights to belief, also in religious terms, defines the nationalist Serb objectives in the pre and post war eras in the regions, as well as during the conflict/s. In the case of the Yugoslav and Bosnian war/s, the case brings in more of a sense of national unity and a lack of religious freedom and practice, as religious unity and belief was seen as more of a liability than a strong point, which for the radical Serbs, would bring about the destruction of the Socialist agenda of creating a greater Yugoslav-like state in the region.

To note exactly what the Serb extremist view was in the situation during the conflict, it will be important to analyze the concept of religious autonomy in terms of the Bosniaks for example, in a setting of the post socialist and anti-religious practicing entity that was the former united nation of Yugoslavia, and the ways in which they were viewed by the Serbs in this regard in the late 30<sup>th</sup> century, in addition to others such as the Croatians and other Bosnians. David Bruce MacDonald discusses these views in his work, *“Balkan Holocausts? Serbian and Croatian Victim-Centred Propaganda and the War in Yugoslavia,”* and in particular brings in the opinion of other Yugoslav peoples in terms of the Bosnian practice of Islam, which could tie in to the sentiment of Serbian and Yugoslav nationalism that was in part responsible of the genocide’s taking place at Srebrenica. MacDonald, in terms of the Yugoslav nationalist view of peoples who practiced religion and specifically Islam freely in the post-Socialist Yugoslav years, states the Bosnian Muslims had gained their own sense of autonomy and identity in terms of religious practice and differentiation from other Slavs. In modern terms, this would not be represented as a particular problem of issue, but the Serb nationalist agenda saw this as an extreme weak point that had to be dealt with by any means. MacDonald states how, “Contrary to Serbian and Croatian desires, Bosnian Moslems had their own sense of identity, their own political parties, and their own military forces to back up their autonomy... If the Moslems rejected their ‘true’ ethnicity, and continued to promote their own form of identity, it followed logically that they had betrayed their Croatian or Serbian brothers. They had betrayed the nation because of their adherence to Islam. The theme of the Bosnian Moslems as traitors became influential in nationalist circles early on in the conflict. Islam was caricatured as a fundamentalist, exclusivist and thoroughly dangerous religion, bent on the destruction of ethnic nations in the Balkans” (MacDonald, 232). As we can see through MacDonald’s statements, the Bosnian case represented a true case of both religious persecution

alongside radical sentiment of national unity, through policies that in the modern democratic scheme would prove as particularly severe. Despite the Bosnian Muslims being the weakest party in numbers in the conflict, they were seen in a large basis as a party that was to be thrust out of Balkan societies. With this, the notion of “betrayal” brought in by MacDonald correlates well to the radicalism in the potential construction of the greater Serbian state objective by marginalizing Bosnian Muslims for their very practice of Islam and the religious autonomy that they felt entitled to following the collapse of the former regime/s and the new wave of democratic values to come through the region. This also, following the great instances of both the collapse of the USSR and iron Curtain in Europe, as well as historic German reunification. The motives behind what took place and the gruesome practices that were seen during the war and at Srebrenica come into play through what, in my opinion, MacDonald states regarding the supposed objective of Bosnian Muslims to destroy ethnic nations in the Balkans, and therefore bring about chaos and anarchy. It was these views that also contributed to the subsequent bloodshed and sentiment of nationalistic pride by the Bosnian-Serb military forces during the war, as they felt that the eradication of these “traitors” and their religion would serve as crucial in the construction of the greater Serbian nation that would depose foreign peoples and beliefs, and remain strictly Slavic in both belief and practice/s. this can also be noted in what MacDonald tells us in regard to the concept of these individuals being classified as “invaders” to the region, and their beliefs proving as detrimental to Balkan societies. MacDonald states how these views were seen as, “The theory of Moslems as ‘fallen Serbs’ was often mixed with a view of the Moslems as traitors to the Serbian nation... Serbs who converted to Islam were seen to have renounced their chosen status, embracing the religion and culture of the invader... While certain propaganda focused on the need to ‘save’ the Moslems, another more virulent strain called for the Serbs to ‘save’ themselves and the Western world from

Islamic invasion” (MacDonald, 233). The cases of religion and nationalism being coincided with the radical Serb notion of Muslims not belonging to the a true Serbian ‘hegemony,’ we could say, based solely on religious belief and the unfounded stereotypical factors surrounding the Islamic faith in particular, gives off the impression that religious belief, mixed with stereotypical or biased factors based on a faith’s intentions, background, or scope in practice, teaches us that these factors can have a great impact on societal conditions, as it did in the case of the Serbian view of Islam and Islamophobia’s impact in the war and genocide. With this, the radical Balkan view was that individuals who were faithful in the practicing of Islam, and other Serbs or Bosnians who had been through the processes of religious conversion were therefore seen by the Serb nationalist agenda as “enemies to the state,” which sealed their fates in what transpired subsequently. Of course, as MacDonald also states, these tensions were not new to the regions of the ex-Yugoslavia by any means. Religious persecution and the concept of foreign “invasion” had swept the region for decades. What is fundamentally diverse in this case, and is important to note, is that the Balkan nationalist forces and agenda, in both the construction of a new socialist state following a wave of independence to the region and abandonment of socialist political ideologies, in addition to religious persecution constituted for the events of the Bosnian war and specifically the massacre at Srebrenica. Nationalist forces were simply given the opportunity that they had been looking for to strike at the “heart of the enemy” amidst conflict spanning thousands of miles and a lack of effective international support. The effects of propaganda in the nationalist scheme in Serbian terms was truly great in this regard, as the impacts that Muslims had in Balkan societies were noted in similarity to the impact of Jews in Nazi Germany, and the Hitlerian agenda of mass extermination on a basis of utter inferiority and superfluousness. This is also noted in MacDonald’s quoting of Bosnian Serb figure, Milorad Ekmečić’s speech to the final congress of Serbian

Parliament in Sarajevo, as he quotes Nazi Germany's views of the Jewish population and the threat they posed, comparing it with the Muslim populations of the Balkans in a similar manner. He stated to the congress how, "In the history of the world only the Jews have paid a higher price for their freedom than the Serbs. Because of their losses in the war, and because of massacres, the most numerous people in Yugoslavia, the Serbs, have, in Bosnia Hercegovina, fallen to second place, and today our policy and our general behaviour carry within themselves the invisible stamp of a struggle for biological survival" (MacDonald, 237). Behind the statements made by Ekmečić, MacDonald stated, "Another general theme in propaganda circles was to compare an exaggerated view of an Islamic conspiracy with the horrors of Nazi Germany. As with the Croats, Serbs could confidently claim to be defending themselves against a Moslem-inspired genocide" (MacDonald, 237). The socio-political agenda of nationalist Serbs and Balkans demonstrated clear issues of unbased Islamophobia and the great sentiment of national unity under radical ideals in the need for a greater Balkan nation. The potential threat of Islam taking over Balkan society and ideals was too great of a threat to ignore, despite its unfounded proof in concrete terms that Bosnian or Balkan Muslims possessed such great religious beliefs that it would tie into a supposed "Islamic Revolution" and loss of the very Balkan and/or Serbian identities. On the contrary Balkan Muslims had been in the very center of religious persecution despite clear needs for integration into the post Yugoslav societies. Despite these intentions, Serb nationalistic ideals prevailed, and radicalism proved to be a deciding factor in the deaths of thousands. Additionally, regarding the socio-political tensions and how Muslims were placed in the center, it is important to note how the potential "threat" as seen by Serb and Balkan nationalists in the early 1990's was seen as an apparent threat to the very future of Serbia and the Balkans. On the political front, elections in the early 1990's in Balkan states had place the Islamic threat" and what it supposedly intended for the

regions on the forefront of the radical nationalist scene, which also contributed to the unrest that came in later years regarding religious practice being seen as a true threat in Balkan societies, in addition to the implementation of radicalism in post-Yugoslav affairs. Adis Maksić, in his text, *“Ethnic Mobilization, Violence, and the Politics of Effect: The Serb Democratic Party and the Bosnian War”* discusses the correlation of political movements in correlation to the supposed “Islamic threat” that plagued Serbian and Balkan societies in the late twentieth century. Maksić also discusses the supposed “Islamic Threat” and ties it into elections into the shifting environment of the Balkans in the early 1990’s through post-Yugoslav election campaigns and the public view of freedom of religion and the impact of Serbian nationalism on practitioners of Islam in the Balkans. Maksić states how, “...the portrayal of BiH (Bosnian & Herzegovinian) Muslims was dependent on immediate contextuality became apparent with the rise of the Islamic threat frame in February of 1991. The trigger event was the SDA-proposed declaration of sovereignty that failed to pass in the BiH parliament amid the objections from SDS. Serbian media led the way, with NIN (newspaper) describing the declaration as an attempt to create a de facto Islamic state (Musliman u Nišu, Srbin u Sarajevu)” (Maksić, 215). Religious identity had a great impact in the eventual conflict, as it can be said that a faith that you were attributed to, in those times, defined much of your place in the confines of society, and how you were treated or viewed as such. In the Balkans in these times, Catholicism and Orthodoxy for example, were among some of the most practiced religious beliefs, and, combined with radicalism and extreme nationalistic sentiment, practitioners of those faiths felt that people of Islamic faith or background had no place in Serbian, Bosnian, or Balkan societies. Thus, placing the tarnished view and reality for Balkan Muslims discussed earlier with the difficulties of Islamophobia contributing to unrest and eventual bloodshed. Maksić also brings in the socio-political tensions that were present in the Serbian and Bosnian societies, and

essentially gives off the impression that Bosnian-Serb nationalist were looking for scapegoats in the tensions that came in the post-Yugoslav era. With this, a wave of increased Islamophobia increased tensions among Balkan peoples and contributed to the later unrest and marginalization of Bosnian Muslims in the death that came during the war. What is interesting is the wave of islamophobia and the notion put forth by Serbian nationalists of Islam's intentions for the regions, which Maksić also discusses. Islamic practitioners were seen as enemies in every sense, and the political scheme in the pre and post Yugoslav Socialist states looked to disadvantage them at every opportunity. Maksić brings in the experience of Bosnian leader Alija Izetbegović, and the notions put forth by radical Serb parties and tabloids regarding his Bosnian nation and the clear Islamic identity that it held. Maksić states how, "The Banja Luka SDS went the furthest, calling Izetbegović an Islamic fundamentalist, "Serbophobe," and a potential "Serb-eater" ("Sukob dvije opcije," 1991). It was time for discursive dramaturgy that could escalate general anxiety into outright fear, and resentment into hatred. This meant turning every person, object, or practice associated with the Muslim ethnic "other" into objects to which the floating anxieties could be anchored" (Maksić, 216). As we can see, the sheer marginalization which Muslims faced in Balkan societies in the pre and post Socialist eras was of great importance, for its relevance in the scheme of religious persecution and radical nationalist sentiment. The persecution of Bosnian Muslims in the pre-war era, and during the Bosnian war and conflict/s were based on instances of clear unfounded Islamophobia, in addition to radical nationalistic sentiment in the need for the creating of a predominately Bosnian-Serb state which marginalized religious groups and practitioners such as Muslims, and that entitled for radical policy such as the lack of religious freedom and autonomy in a state which would have undoubtedly resembled the one that had fallen only several years earlier. These tensions, in addition to the resolve of Bosnian-Serb nationalists such as Mladić and

the Republika Srpska army constituted for the horrors that were witnessed and carried out at Srebrenica, with over 8,000 Bosniak Muslims losing their lives for unfounded tensions and beliefs that had been brought forth by radicalization and extremist nationalism in the Balkans. With this, the factors of nationalism in a context of unity, no matter the facts that extremism and radicalism did play their roles, is evident. And with this, the manners in which Balkan military groups and the general populations were coerced into viewing individuals of diverse religious or ethnic backgrounds in unfavorable ways is evident.

## 7. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to examine the fundamental factors that contributed to the various cases of religious and nationalistic sentiment and tension that has been seen through the analyzation of relevant case studies, in addition to the implementation of various characteristics in the case studies and the events that have been analyzed through them. Specifically, the analysis of the unrest that has been provoked through instances of religion and nationalism, such as in calls of religious or national unity with Gaddafi and his goal of an Arab Union united in Islam and anti-Democratic and non-Socialist values, the complexity of Ireland and the separation of north and mainland which, as has been seen, can be tied to various instances of religious extremism and rise of paramilitary groups united in a common goal, also in terms of a religious national conflict which had raged tension and bloodshed even beyond Irish borders, and the religious discrimination seen in the Islamophobic societies of the Balkans in the pre and post Yugoslav eras, which ultimately contributed to the targeting and murder of Islamic Bosnians during the war and massacre at Srebrenica, in addition to the conspiracy of Islamic nationalism overtaking other religions and cultures coexistence in the Balkans is significant. With this, it is evident how the concepts of nations and their peoples shifting in a cultural sense have had diverse, yet effective backlashes on societies such as the authoritarian regimes of the Middle east and north Africa, in remaining predominately closed off from other beliefs and ideologies. In these cases, religious and national unity have been at the forefront of regimes and their movements, as we have seen in the case of Libya, through Islam and authoritarianism. With Ireland, the question of religious national conflict and tension had been at the heart of the debate of the separation of North and “mainland,” inciting both political and religious tensions throughout the span of tensions and instances of extremism or barbaric acts, such as that of Bloody Sunday. Through the years of the Bosnian War and the

division of the Balkans in both territorial and religious aspects, national unity and patriotism had united many Balkan societies, but not in the ways that western democracies had hoped. Serbs and other ex-Yugoslav people became united under the assertion that Islam and its beliefs would bring about an apparent end to the end of Slavic peoples if it had the opportunity for its belief to spread freely throughout the Balkans. It is in this way that eventual unrest and war had seemingly marginalized all practitioners of Islam, or other political dissidents not loyal to the Bosnian-Serb socialist regimes in the mid to late 1990's, and the combination of both a "religious war" as stated by Patrick Finnegan, in addition to ideological dissolutions and disagreements for the fate of the Balkan states contributed to both the Bosnian conflicts and political unrest that plagued the regions for years following the collapse of the united Yugoslav nation. The combining of the two aspects of religion and nationalism in these cases, both in the rejection or utilization of some of these factors, or both in diverse cases, have contributed to many of the difficulties that the international community has faced over the years, particularly in the mid to late twentieth century. In the case that have been examined, there have been common factors that can relate to one another, creating a sort of religious-nationalistic juggernaut. In the diverse instances examined, the effects of either religious institutionalization and utilization in domestic forms, such as in government or in coercing populations, or in contrast, the rejection or marginalization of religious groups and practitioners have in fact seemed to have contributed to eventual unrest and tension internally and externally, such as in the internal Bosnian conflict through targeting of Muslims, or the Irish troubles and Religious based extremist groups sending their messages through force at home and abroad. It is these factors that have contributed in the greatest manner to the unrest provoked by instance of religion and nationalism and their uses in conflicts, instances of tension, or on the scheme of governmental regimes and movements.

Through this research, I have gained a very clear sense of the implications that religion and nationalism have had, and still have in a contemporary sense, in instances of conflict, tension, or in governmental regimes. Although religion and national unity are very effective factors in the uniting of peoples under regimes or national movements, the negative implications that these movements have had, and could have are very severe if utilized for the gaining of power or in demonstrating one power over another, or one ideology over another, have seemed to prove rigorous in the political and social implications in the societies which have seen instances of this nature. Diversity that comes in nationalistic sentiment and conflict has been vaguely but surely impacted by religion's effects on population/s, particularly in the unifying factor that belief/s can have on a population. This also has proved as a defining factor in the national unity of a people against another set of beliefs, populations, or nations, also on a political standpoint. I believe that the concepts of religious and national unity can greatly define a set of individuals based on belief/s or loyalties, and the religious and nationalistic senses of many nations can relate in this context. Considering this, noting that the utilization of religion and nationalism, and specifically religious belief and national unity and patriotism to coerce or defy traditional humanitarian and unifying political beliefs has proven as extremely troubling, mainly for the effects that leaders of political regimes or radical groups can gain from the utilization of these factors for the vendettas of a radical regime or entity. The hope for the future is that religion and nationalism will continue to be used in less instances of conflict or tension and prove as unifying concepts for peoples of diverse ethnic, cultural, or religious backgrounds rather than continue to be a means of separation and the main contributors to instances of radical acts or senseless murder.

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