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## CONTEXT OF RELIGION SECURITIZATION: CASES OF ARTSAKH AND NORTHERN IRELAND

### Abstract

Securitization of religion, or consideration of religion within the context of the security sector, has returned to the Slovak and Serbian context in connection with the migration crisis. This paper is mostly theoretical, and the question of religious identity is categorized under the sector of societal security. Unlike other conflicts of identity, religion is polarizing, and religious conflicts feature the destruction of cultural heritage and religious monuments. Religious conflicts can be observed among both believers of different religious groups as well as among different denominations of one particular religion. The last section deals with the particular cases of Artsakh and Northern Ireland. In the former conflict, nationalism and overlapping territorial claims play a key role, but the latter conflict can be better understood as a hierarchical ethnic conflict.

**Keywords:** religion, securitization, fundamentalism, Artsakh, Northern Ireland

### Introduction

The issue of securitization of religion, i.e. the perception of religion or religious differences as a security problem, may no longer be completely relevant in the region of Central Europe, but more so in other regions of the world. Especially in the Middle East, for example, the issue of religion began to be perceived through a security prism. In principle, the issue of securitization can be perceived

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across two basic levels. In the first level, the feeling of the threat comes from contact with another religious group, which they present as a threat. The second threat can be perceived less specifically, in the form of, for example, the decline of religion as a threat. In addition to the question of the moral decline of society, the fear of losing the influence of the clergy can also be perceived.

It is also necessary to distinguish between situations involving conflicts within a large religious group between different denominations (such as Catholics and Protestants or Sunnis and Shiites), versus a conflict involving different religious groups (such as Buddhists and Hindus or Jews and Muslims). Our work will be mainly theoretical and based on the work of B. Buzan and L. Hofreiter. It will be supplemented predominantly by examples from the Middle East region. We will focus in more detail on two specific conflicts, namely Artsakh resp. Nagorno-Karabakh and Northern Ireland as case studies. We will primarily use a descriptive and analytical method, and we will try to identify scenarios, circumstances, and situations where religion becomes a matter of security. To understand the relation between religion and security, it is essential to initially understand Security Science.<sup>3</sup>

The work will be divided into five main sections. In the first section, we look at the problem from a theoretical point of view and at the perception of the securitization of religion within the security sectors. In the second section, we will deal with conflicts within religions, looking at conflicts within. The third section will deal with conflicts between religions. The fourth section will be devoted to religious fundamentalism, its characteristics, and its influence on the securitization of religion as such. In this section, we will focus in more detail on Islamic fundamentalism, as this is the most current problem in terms of the securitization of religion facing Western Europe. Finally, the fifth section will be devoted to two current conflicts - Nagorno-Karabakh and Northern Ireland, which to some extent profile themselves as religious conflicts.

### **Securitization of religion as part of the social security sector**

Prosperity, development, and sustainable growth of living standards have never in the past been as strongly dependent on the level of security of the state and citizens as they are today in the current interconnected and rapidly changing globalized world. Ensuring security in such a difficult to predict world significantly influences and complicates the emergence of new, especially asymmetric security threats and the emergence of new conflicts caused mainly by ethnic and religious intolerance, fundamentalism, and radicalism and the spread of these factors.<sup>4</sup>

3 Branislav Todorovic and Darko Trifunović, Security Science as a Scientific Discipline - Technological Aspects, *Security Science Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2020.

4 Radoslav Ivančik and Pavel Nečas, Towards Enhanced Security: Defence Expenditures in the Member States of the European

Religion has not escaped the topic of securitization either. Within the theory of security studies, the issue of securitization of religion is classified under the social security sector (*social security*), which, certainly should not be confused with the term *social security*. *Social security* deals more with the mechanisms of economic security of individuals who find themselves in a difficult life situation and in the welfare state<sup>5</sup>.

It is, therefore, a matter of perceiving social security in terms of problems relating to the protection and maintenance of identity and its elements. These can be, for example, language, culture<sup>6</sup>, customs, or religion.<sup>7</sup> The resulting threats are not usually of a classic, armed form. They are more often minor, creeping threats that are easily overlooked when addressing security issues.

Depending on what is the basic element of the identity of a particular nation's group, this element is given a different degree of severity. France, for example, is very concerned with the promotion of English as a world language, while Latvia, with great caution, follows the different population dynamics of the Latvian nation and Russia as a lingual minority. While in the Netherlands already present religious' affiliation is not decisive, but it is the backbone of the cultural identity of countries such as Bhutan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia. These countries will therefore be concerned about the weakening of religious faith and identity. It is the element of religious identity that is becoming increasingly important again.

Religious nationalism is currently displacing secular nationalism or questions of ideology. Owner-oriented anti-secularistic, anti-universal and if it is not a Christian movement, as well as anti-Western.<sup>8</sup> Thus, many societies around the world are once again placing their main emphasis on their religious identity. Religion is the mainstay of identity, especially in the Middle East.

The structure of loyalty in the Middle East can be characterized as one that is opposite to the Western world. In the West, the most intense loyalty is felt to the nation-state. At a lower level is regional loyalty or loyalty beyond the nation-state. In Islamic society, this structure is exactly the opposite. One feels the most intense loyalty to a clan and tribe, and then identifies with the Muslim world and culture as such. The nation-state is in the last place in this hierarchy.<sup>9</sup>

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Union, *Journal of Security and Sustainability Issues*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 2017, pp. 373-382.

5 "Church Leaders Explore Ways To Slow Christian Exodus From the Middle East", Archdiocese of Baltimore, Catholic Review, January 19, 2012. Available at: <https://www.archbalt.org/church-leaders-explore-ways-to-slow-christian-exodus-from-middle-east/> (accessed February 26, 2021).

6 Štěpán Kavan, Šárka Kročová, Jiří Pokorný, Assessment of the Readiness and Resilience of Czech Society against Water Related Crises, *Hydrology*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2021, pp. 1-17.

7 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Securitology*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milana Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2006, p. 12.

8 Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací* (orig. *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*), Rybka Publishers, Praha, 2001, p. 22.

9 Ibidem, p. 23.

This may explain political weakness and instability in the Muslim world, as tribal and clan loyalty is a major disintegrating and destabilizing factor, while loyalty to the *ummah*, which has no leadership with authority, cannot materialize into a stabilizing force.

Regardless of what the basic element is of the identity of the nation, group, or society, whether defined based on language, religion, statehood, or otherwise, the following factors are usually perceived as threats from the point of view of social security:

- *Migration*: whereas the influx of a significant number of people with a different identity should jeopardize traditional homogeneity and population structure.<sup>10</sup> This fear, therefore, means fear of being overwhelmed by incoming migrants.
- *Cultural imperialism*: penetrating the cultural and linguistic influence of other countries and taking over foreign influences (often referred to as McDonaldization or Cocacolonization).<sup>11</sup> As in the case of migration, a threat to domestic culture is felt, but it is not accompanied by the arrival of a different population. Rather it comes from within the media and globalization.
- *Disruption of the sense of belonging*: that is, the loss of a sense of belonging to a given community
- *Demographic challenges*: in particular declining birth rates, but this may also be associated with high emigration.<sup>12</sup>

If we read the points above again, we realize that these terms are often used in our conditions by nationalist parties, which reject a fundamental change in character in society, whether with the arrival of people with a different culture or cultural globalization.

If we look at religion as a key element of the identity of a given community, then, it is not difficult to perceive migration as a problem that religious authorities will talk about. Especially in the case of the emigration of minority groups, this is a problem that religious authorities often discuss. For example, representatives of Christian churches in the Middle East.<sup>13</sup> It can also be a problem if members of one religion move to places and areas where members of another religion traditionally live. An example would be the traditionally Christian town of Bartella in Iraq, where after 2003, Shiite Sabac peoples began to move in larger

10 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Securitology*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milana Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2006, p. 17.

11 Ibidem.

12 Ibidem, p. 18.

13 „Church Leaders Explore Ways To Slow Christian Exodus From the Middle East“, Archdiocese of Baltimore, Catholic Review, January 19, 2012. Available at: <https://www.archbalt.org/church-leaders-explore-ways-to-slow-christian-exodus-from-middle-east/> (accessed February 26, 2021).

quantities which the native Christian Assyrians perceived with displeasure.<sup>14</sup> In the case of the second point, ie the penetration of foreign influences, religious leaders oppose it, perceiving it as a threat to traditional values. New cultural and social patterns are often referred to as bankruptcies, leading to the collapse of civilization. Part of this rhetoric can already be observed in Slovakia.<sup>15</sup> This can be discussed more in the case of countries with an officially recognized state religion, especially in the case of Islam.

The specificity of religion in meetings of collective identities lies in their incompatibility.<sup>16</sup> However, unlike other elements of identity, religious affiliation is polarizing. One can be Scottish and British at the same time, one can feel loyal to Siena or to Tuscany as a region, can be an Italian citizen, and at the same time have a European consciousness. In some cases, he may even be able to have the citizenship of several states. However, he cannot be a Buddhist and a Christian at the same time, he cannot be a devotee of Hinduism and Islam at the same time.<sup>17</sup>

We can perceive religious identity on three levels: firstly, through the self-identification of the individual; secondly, through the self-declaration of the individual; and thirdly, as the assignment of the individual to a given group by external observers.<sup>18</sup> If we take a closer look, we see that self-identification is more of an internal identification that does not have to be presented externally. Self-declaration, on the other hand, can be perceived more as a kind of public registration for a given group. This can be whether it is, for example, the ticking of a box in the census form; however, on the third level, we are talking more about a kind of "boxing" of an individual by someone else.

Religious identity is much more pronounced in the territories that were formerly part of the Ottoman Empire. Due to religious heterogeneity, each group (Muslims, Orthodox, Jews...) had its internal autonomy in the form of a system of *millet*s, especially in matters of culture and family law. In the weakening of central power, the loyalty of the subjects began to be associated with religious affiliation, which just encouraged sectarian thinking.<sup>19</sup> The idea of belonging to a religious community thus becomes an alternative, often localized, to the centralized identity of the Ottoman citizen. In the case of their clash, however, the compromise is much more complicated than in the case of, say,

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14 Dave Van Zoonen and Khogir Wirya, "The Shabaks: Perceptions of Reconciliation and Conflict", Middle East Research Institute, August 9, 2017. Available at: <http://www.meri-k.org/publication/the-shabaks-perceptions-of-reconciliation-and-conflict/> (accessed February 26, 2021).

15 "Slovak Convention on the Family", official website: <http://slovenskydohovorzarodinu.sk> (accessed February 26, 2021).

16 Ľubomír Ľupták, "Religious extremism, securitization of religion, clashes of identities", in: *Global Security Panorama, 2005-2006*, Department of Security and Defense Policy of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic, Bratislava, 2006, p. 312.

17 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milan Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2008, p. 62.

18 Ibidem, p. 63.

19 Roger Scruton, *The West and Others: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*, Barrister & Principal, Brno, 2016, p. 29.

the Tuscan and Lombard identities.

Religious doctrines claim "the exclusive right to define what is good, what is evil, what is justice, and what is injustice, what is right and wrong. Religions claim exclusivity for a clear interpretation of the truth"<sup>20</sup>. It is this claim to the exclusivity that has the potential for conflict. That is if the representatives of one religion consider it to be the only "correct" and revealed truth and the same is proclaimed by the representatives of the religion of another. Then it is not possible to agree on a compromise. At the same time, both cannot be right, and if they waived their claims to exclusivity, their moral authority would decline. Here we see the reason why the parties in religious conflicts are much more uncompromising than in the case of other types of conflicts, namely that the subject matter of the dispute is indivisible.

### Conflicts within religions

Even within the individual major religious currents, we find conflicts between individual directions or currents. In such a case, it is often a dispute as to who represents the "true" interpretation of the faith with each of the denominations considering themselves true successors of the religious tradition, while the other denominations are often referred to as heretical.<sup>21</sup>

The great hostility lies in the details "Subtle differences are always much more important in determining membership than differences are great precisely because they allow for comparison. A man whose religion differs from my small article or difficult gesture is not a believer in other deities, but a blasphemer against mine"<sup>22</sup>. Thus, they automatically become the object of enmity because they bring wrong thoughts that threaten the "truth."

In the case of early Judaism, we can consider the relationship between Jews and Samaritans to be this type of conflict. While the Jews worshiped God in the temple at Jerusalem, the Samaritans had their place of prayer on Mount Gerizim. At the turn of the century, there was also a tension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees within Judaism itself.

We currently rank among the mainstream Judaism Orthodox, Conservative, Reformed, and Reconstructionist Jews.<sup>23</sup> Another relatively visible branch in modern Judaism is the so-called ultra-Orthodox or Charedim Jews who strictly observe the provisions of the Torah. Given their high birth rates, their share of Israel's population is likely to increase. However, given that they have an exemption from compulsory military service, we can expect growing tensions

20 Hofreiter, Ladislav, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*... p. 52.

21 Heretics: originally the name of a dualistic sect in the south of France in the Middle Ages. Originally from the word *catharos* = pure; later, especially in connection with the Inquisition, any theological idea against Catholic teaching was called heretical.

22 Roger Scruton, *The West and Others: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*... p. 74.

23 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*... p. 62.

between them and the rest of Israeli society.

Conflicts within Christianity were also historically significant. At the time of the migration of nations, the controversy of Arianism caused great problems. Arius was an Egyptian priest who denied the doctrine of the Trinity; his interpretation of Christianity was immediately adopted by many Germanic tribes at the time of the migration of nations, especially the Goths and the Vandals. The distance between the native Catholic Ibero-Romanesque population and the Visigothic conquerors professing Arianism was resolved by accepting the religion of their subjects. On the other hand, the Vandals, whose empire was located mainly in present-day Tunisia, embarked on a violent promotion of their version of Christianity.

Early Christianity was increasingly plagued by theological disputes and contradictions. Chalcedon council in the year 451 brought the church split.<sup>24</sup> "The emperor considered that this document was to unite the western and eastern parts of the empire. However, the confession turned out to be dynamite rather than putty"<sup>25</sup>. On one side stood the future Catholic and Orthodox Church, and on the other was a group of Oriental Orthodox churches which consisted of Copts in Egypt, Armenia, part of the Syrians, and Ethiopians. "Centuries later after the Council of Chalcedon, the Eastern Church was occupied with a dispute over the person of Jesus Christ."<sup>26</sup> The Byzantine emperors sought to enforce a single Christological definition throughout the empire and were willing to compromise in this regard, but seeing that when it didn't work, they decided to essentially force the «Greek» notion of the rest of the empire. After years of repression, the domestic "Christian population of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, which survived the years of persecution by Istanbul, welcomed the Arabs as liberators"<sup>27</sup>. This meant that the Arab conquests in the region took place relatively quickly and without significant resistance.

The Arabs brought Islam with them, but it was soon divided into three major currents: Sunni, Shiite, and Sharjah. The rivalry between Sunni and Shiite Islam still shapes the dynamics of relations in the Middle East. "The major impact, however, had a conflict, which broke out after right after the prophet's death in the year 632"<sup>28</sup>. The Sunnis were considered the true successors along the line from Abu Bakr; however, the Shiites supported Ali. The Khalidas, whose only surviving branch today is Ibaditi, especially in Oman, and some oases in North Africa, considered by locals as God's rightful successor and not necessarily from the Quraysh tribe or the Arab.<sup>29</sup>

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24 The Chalcedon council did not specify any precise normative Christology; rather, it set the limits within which it was to move. It based his conclusions mainly in contrast to the then widespread heresies of Areius, Apollinarius, Nestorius and Eutychus.

25 Thomas Lane, *History of Christian Thought*, Návrát domů, Praha, 1999, p. 61.

26 Ibidem, p. 62.

27 Thomas Haywood, *Encyclopedia of World History Atlas of World History*, Bravebook, London, 2016, p. 162.

28 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milan Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2008, p. 75.

29 Jana Drozdíková, *Lexicon of Islam*, Kalligram, Bratislava, 2005, p. 32.



The conflict between Sunni and Shiite believers is currently the main cause of the civil war in Yemen, with Shiite insurgents in the northwest being supported by the theocratic Shiite regime in Iran, while Sunni factions are strongly supported by Saudi Arabia. Similarly, we can see the war in Syria as a war of representation between Shiite Iran and the Shiite Hezbollah militia supporting government forces on the one hand and Sunni militias supported by Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the Gulf countries on the other. Sunni and Shiite disputes also significantly affect the dynamics of Iraqi politics. Saddam Hussein was a Sunni Arab and oppressed the Shiite population in the south of the country.

Conflicts within Christianity continued after the rise of Islam, even though the victorious Muslims conquered the entire Middle East and North Africa as far as the Pyrenees. The Great Schism occurred in 1054 when the Catholic West and the Orthodox East of Christianity separated. The conflict between the two denominations was observed during the Fourth Crusade when the Venetians conquered Constantinople and founded the Latin Empire. The Greeks later massacred Italian buyers. In modern times, discrepancies between Catholics and Orthodox can be seen in Polish-Russian antagonism, or at the end of the twentieth century in the struggles between Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs.

Luther's, and later Calvin's, reformation brought a new division into Western Christianity. Protestantism, based on the teachings of Martin Luther, brought about a split in Western Christianity, with Protestantism favored by the Scandinavian countries and the Baltics, as well as much of central and northern Germany. Calvinism was less successful, but it managed to appeal mainly to the Scots, the Dutch, half the Swiss, and some French and Hungarians. "The three main denominations, with more and more, focused on the precise and intricate definition of their faith, and wasted their energy on quarrels with each other"<sup>30</sup>.

The religious division of Central Europe and the conflicts resulting from it sought to overcome the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, but the conflict between Catholics and Protestants broke out again in 1618 in the Thirty Years' War hitting Germany in particular. Religious non-murder between Catholics and Huguenots, adherents of Calvinism in France, ended with Bartholomew's Night when Huguenots were the target of massacres. Gradually, however, the idea of religious pluralism began to be accepted within the European continent, and gradually with the rise of nationalism, the question of religious affiliation slowly came to the fore.

It should be noted, however, that not all conflicts within the world's religions have been between members of individual denominations. For example, at present, within Islam, there is also a conflict between its moderate and radical interpretation, which is embodied by several terrorist groups or militia. This internal conflict affected almost all Muslim communities and did not lead to the emer-

30 Thomas Lane, *History of Christian Thought*, Návrát domů, Praha, 1999, p. 135.



gence of new denominations. Similarly, Sufism, a mystical interpretation of Islam, exists among both Sunni and Shiite believers.

### Conflicts between religions

In the course of history, conflicts occurred between the major religious groups. As mentioned above, the claim to exclusivity, which is present especially in the case of monotheistic religions, means the impossibility of reaching a compromise on the question of values without losing moral authority. Of course, conflicts between religions also arise in different perceptions of the scale of values: what is unacceptable to believers of one religion (consuming beef for Hindus, associating other deities with Muslims) may be common practice for believers of other religions.

In these conflicts, it is the differences between religions that are exaggerated, and believers in those religions are often demonized and dehumanized with religious buildings and temples often being targeted.<sup>31</sup> For example, during the war in Bosnia, both Franciscan and Orthodox monasteries and mosques were often attacked.<sup>32</sup> Religious objects perhaps best express the cultural heritage of the country and are connected with the civilizational affiliation of a certain territory. Similarly, the Islamic State (Daesh) attacked the Assyrian cultural heritage, whether from antiquity or at ancient Christian churches and monasteries in the conquered territory.

The American political scientist Samuel Huntington wrote in particular about the longevity of conflicts between the world's major religions and identified the world's major religions with individual civilizations: "It can be said that to a large extent the world's major civilizations are identical to *the world's largest religions*"<sup>33</sup>. Civilization is thus understood as the broadest cultural entity, the first-degree division of humanity in terms of its values, faith, institutions, or social structures. "Of the world's five religions, four are associated with the *most important civilizations* – Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and *Confucianism*".<sup>34</sup> Huntington explains this situation, on the one hand, by adapting Buddhism to Chinese conditions in China itself, and, on the other hand, by the fact that the Theravadic parts in Southeast Asia do not feel more closely tied to Lamaist Tibet and Mongolia.

As Huntington notes, there is a worldwide revival of religion: "Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Orthodoxy experienced new waves of piety before only lukewarm believers"<sup>35</sup>. Especially after the fall of communism, there was a revival of religion in many countries of the former East-

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31 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*... p. 77.

32 Samuel P. Huntington, *Strět civilizací*, Rybka Publishers, Praha, 2001, p. 23.

33 Ibidem.

34 Ibidem.

35 Ibidem.

ern bloc. Consequently, the American philosopher, economist, and writer Francis Fukuyama admits that despite his vision of the end of history, accompanied by the rise of liberal democracies and peace, conflicts between religions will continue, especially based on "nationalism and other forms of racial and ethnic inequality" and other causes. Persistent conflicts, "extreme religionism, in particular, religious fundamentalism", should remain, with contradictions between Islam and the Christian religion appearing to be fundamental.<sup>36</sup>

The fundamental problem here seems to be the lack of separation between the religious and secular spheres in the Muslim world, as well as the lack of a concept of secular law in Islamic thought. This, on the one hand, makes it difficult to integrate Muslim communities into Western society, and, on the other hand, does not lead to building a common understanding with its non-Muslim neighbors of loyalty to their country.<sup>37</sup> In many Muslim countries, sectarian logic still prevails over the civic principle.

Religious conflicts have a high mobilization potential and are characterized by high cohesion within the group. There is a "clear structure of 'they' and 'we'... A simple vision of the enemy denying and fanatically fighting against all that is 'holy' to us, has a high mobilizing effect and is a rich source of political capital"<sup>38</sup>. Believers can cross the borders of the state, while their co-believers come to the aid of other countries or volunteer for them. This was the case, for example, with the Bosnian civil war, where thousands of *mujaheddin* from many Muslim countries fought on the side of Muslim Bosniaks,<sup>39</sup> At the same time, Orthodox Greeks, Romanians, Russians, and Ukrainians came to the aid of the Serbs.<sup>40</sup> On the contrary, during the war in Yugoslavia, it was Germany that pushed for rapid international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia.

The civil war in Bosnia is an example of what S. Huntington calls the war on fault lines. These conflicts are characterized as particularly cruel and are of a long-term nature. "Conflicts on fault lines are communal conflicts between groups or states from different civilizations"<sup>41</sup>, adding "Wars on fault lines take place between people professing a different religion"<sup>42</sup>. Not only states can be actors in these conflicts, but there are often non-state actors who represent part of the population and have separatist tendencies.

Enemy parties receive support from countries belonging to their civilization. Neighboring states that share ethnic ties with the parties to the conflict are directly involved (i.e. Croatia and Serbia during the civil war in Bosnia, Armenia

36 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*. ... p. 59.

37 Roger Scruton, *The West and Others: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*, Barrister & Principal, Brno, 2016, p. 68.

38 Ibidem, p. 69.

39 Darko Trifunović, Goran Stojaković i Milinko Vračar, *Terorizam i Vehabizam*, Filip Visnjic, Beograd, 2011, p. 168.

40 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*. ... p. 77.

41 Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací*. ... p. 23.

42 Ibidem.

in Artsakh ), and indirectly, through logistical, material, and diplomatic support. Tertiary states that are far from the battlefield tend to be involved e.g., Germany, Russia, or Turkey, but often holds the position of the central state within a given civilization. However, the most active are diaspora communities, which tend to be the most radical in their demands.<sup>43</sup> We believe that the radicalism of the diaspora is because those members of the diaspora, who have maintained a high national awareness, are especially active. On the contrary, those who have assimilated are no longer so intensely interested in what is happening in their country of origin. It should also be borne in mind that there were often people in the diaspora who were politically persecuted during communist regimes in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.<sup>44</sup>

S. Huntington then gives examples of wars on fault lines. He cites the struggles between Serbs and Croats in Europe or Buddhists and Tamils in Sri Lanka as examples. However, in most of these conflicts, Muslims were one of the actors. Whether it is a dispute between Israel and the Arabs, or the war in Sudan, or the Maronite-Shiite conflict in Lebanon.<sup>45</sup> He concludes from this finding that no matter what the boundaries of Islam, Muslims have problems coexisting peacefully with their neighbors, while arguing for the high militarization of Muslim society.<sup>46</sup> Of course, the causes can also be based on these factors and population pressure. However, it is necessary to look at the issue of conflicts on fault lines also from a geographical point of view. Namely, if we look at the map, we see that Islamic civilization occupies the central region of Eurasia and Africa, which is adjacent to the largest number of other civilization groups. In other words, no civilization has as many common land borders (on which a mixed population could live) as that of Islam.<sup>47</sup>

It is therefore logical that Muslims will be involved in most conflicts on the fault lines. Muslims in the Balkans, Caucasus, and Central Asia encounter Orthodox Christians in Xinjiang and Indonesia, the Chinese Muslims and Hindus clash in South Asia<sup>48</sup>, in the Philippines, and Timor with Catholics. In Africa, Islam meets partly already Christian and partly still animist sub-Saharan civilization.

The relationship between Christianity and Islam is the most discussed one.

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43 Ibidem.

44 These could often be persons associated with a nationalist or religious movement. E.g. much of the people associated with the Independent State of Croatia fled abroad before the end of World War II for fear of repression by Tito Yugoslavia. It is therefore natural that among this diaspora will be the most supporters of the "hard line".

45 We can also mention hostility between Turks and Armenians, Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, Russians and Chechens in the North Caucasus, Greeks and Turks not only in Cyprus. See: Samuel P. Huntington, *Štřet civilizací* . . . p. 102.

46 Ibidem.

47 Further land borders between civilizations can be found in Eastern Europe between Orthodox and Western civilization, then on the Rio Grande River between Latin American and Western (although there is no religious conflict), then between Hindus and Buddhists in Asia, and finally on Russia. Chinese border. With the exception of the Eastern European fault of civilization, many of these borders were first demarcated and later settled, respectively. Separated by natural barriers.

48 This was most intensely observed during the riots surrounding the partition of India. At present, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is manifested in the case of Kashmir.

During the first centuries of its existence, the early Islamic Caliphate conquered more than half of the then Christian world, from the Pyrenees and Morocco in the west, along the entire Mediterranean coast of Africa, and Egypt to the Fertile Crescent. Initially, Muslims did not attempt mass conversions of Christians in the conquered territory, as they would lose revenue from the special religious tax *jizya*.<sup>49</sup> The Muslim expansion in the west was stopped by the Franks under the leadership of Karol Martel in the battle of Tours.

A new dynamic of relations between Christianity and Islam begins with the proclamation of the Crusades at the end of the 11th century. Even today, Muslim fundamentalists call any Western army a "Crusader."<sup>50</sup> The Crusaders established a series of states on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean, where a multicultural society was formed at the time consisting of Western Christians, Orthodox, Jews, Muslims, Armenians, and other Eastern Christians.

*Reconquista* was taking place in the Iberian Peninsula at that time when Christian kingdoms in the north of the peninsula gradually pushed out Muslim emirates and statesmen in the south until they finally conquered Granada, the last Muslim fortress. The current conflict between Western Christian countries and Muslims, although largely based on the same Abrahamic tradition, differs significantly, especially concerning interpretation and approach to the tradition. According to the British philosopher R. Scruton, the fundamental difference is that while Western civilization is held together by plurality and open discussion, the word *Muslim* means someone who has surrendered, submitted, and thus gained security. These completely different concepts make the coexistence of Muslim refugees and Western society difficult.<sup>51</sup>

## Religious fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism is often considered to be the main cause of religious conflicts.<sup>52</sup> Etymologically, the word fundamentalism comes from the Latin root *fundamentum* = base, *fundamentalis* = basic.<sup>53</sup> Religious fundamentalist movements are preaching a return "to the roots" of their religion. In this context, we find a close comparison with political radicalism, which also seeks to solve problems in society "from the root". In both of these phenomena resp. streams,

49 *Jizya* is a tax which, under the Sharia law, is intended for adherents of tolerated monotheistic religions, such as Islam, Christianity and Zoroastrianism.

50 In general, during religious wars, the enemy is identified with the archenemy in the past. For example, during the Bosnian wars, former Croatian militias labeled "Ustashes", Serbs as "gendarmes", Muslims as "Turks". See: Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací*... p. 40.

51 Roger Scruton, *The West and Others: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*, Barrister & Principal, Brno, 2016, p. 103.

52 Originally, the term fundamentalism referred to a movement of American Protestants in the 20th century, which interpreted the Scriptures literally and absolutely. See: Jana Drozdíková, *Lexicon of Islam*, Kalligram, Bratislava, 2005,

53 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Theory and Resolution of Conflicts*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milan Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2008, p. 91.

one can observe an effort to enforce one's vision and one's action, often regardless of plurality in society.

"Fundamentalism rejects compromises and critical interpretations of sacred texts. It proclaims the return to Scripture as the only basis of all renewal. He points to an ideal past, which he contrasts with the bankrupt presence. The lost ideal can be achieved by returning to the original text and reforming society"<sup>54</sup>. Religious fundamentalists respond to the decline of the moral authority of religion, proclaiming a kind of "revival" of society, claiming infallibility and the right to truth, from which they subsequently derive their legitimacy and their share of power.

"Fundamentalist movements, in particular, are a way to deal with the experience of chaos, loss of identity, meaning and secure social structures caused by the rapid introduction of modern social and political models, secularization, scientific culture, and economic development"<sup>55</sup>. People feel partly disoriented and are looking for a simple guide to life offered by religious leaders. Therefore, these movements "originate in countries where a rapidly growing population makes it impossible to continue the old village way of life, and where the urban way of life penetrates the villages, thus beginning to disintegrate the centuries-old framework of peasants' lives"<sup>56</sup>.

Religious fundamentalism is essentially present in all the world's major religions. Within Christianity, it was represented in some way by Martin Luther when he rejected some practices of the Catholic Church based on the principle of *sola scriptura* (based only on the Holy Scriptures) and rejected the later "deposits", the tradition of the Catholic Church. As part of the Reformation, Calvinism was even more radical in this regard. Ján Kalvín even tried to subject society to monastic discipline.<sup>57</sup> English Puritans destroyed decorations in churches.

At present, however, Islamic fundamentalism, in particular, is attracting worldwide attention. It is often associated with the term Islamism, and there is a clear effort to implement the principle of Islamic *Sharia law*, which can be found in the Koran, respectively. Thus, Islamic fundamentalism is specific in that Muslims already know exactly how society should be organized. For the Slovak orientalist J. Drozdíková, Islamism is only a synonym for Islamic fundamentalism.<sup>58</sup> "Politically, he demands God's government and rejects the idea that the highest authority is the people. For Islamists, God is the highest authority. They reject the secular state because it means the division of the ummah"<sup>59</sup> in areas

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54 Jana Drozdíková, *Lexicon of Islam*... p. 39.

55 Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací*... p. 30.

56 Ibidem.

57 Ibidem... p. 53.

58 Michal Čejka, *Encyclopedia of Middle Eastern Terrorism*, Barrister & Principal, Prague, 2007, p. 55.

59 *Ummah* = Muslim community of believers.

with its jurisdiction"<sup>60</sup>.

On the contrary, the Czech lawyer and political scientist Čejka in his Encyclopedia of Middle Eastern Terrorism defines Islamism as: "1. a form of a more significant blending of Islam with politics (political Islam), 2. as a form of Islamic religious fundamentalism ... 3. as the spread of Islam by terrorist methods, 4. sometimes *Islamism is considered* a new political ideology... The concept of Islamism is not necessarily associated with violence, political radicalism, and terrorism, although this is so often the case"<sup>61</sup>.

As mentioned above, religious fundamentalism thrives especially where there is a change in the way of life and people seek anchorage in religion. Therefore, we are not at all surprised by the profile of Islamists. "Activists of Islamic fundamentalist groups are not ... aging conservatives or illiterate peasants ... even for Muslims, religious revival is an urban phenomenon and appeals to people who are modernly oriented, well educated, and are building careers in government, business or other professions"<sup>62</sup>.

The propensity for fundamentalism within Islam is reinforced by the non-existence of the separation of the state and church spheres. While Western Christianity resolved this conflict, especially during the struggle for the investiture,<sup>63</sup> "this is fundamentally different from the vision presented to us by the Qur'an, according to which sovereignty lies in God and his Prophet and the legal order is based on divine command"<sup>64</sup>. Therefore, devout Muslims will more often try to implement the elements of Sharia law into the legal order of the state.<sup>65</sup> "According to Islamists, Islam is a complete guide to life, the ecclesiastical laws from God are perfect. They do not recognize the principles of democracy, which are to respect the will of the majority, because it is contrary to God's established laws and God does not recognize the separation of religion from the state"<sup>66</sup>. Thus, Sharia promotes a comprehensive conception of the organization of society, and secular legislation is not separated from individual morality.

One of the problems that have led to a rise in Islamic fundamentalism is the decentralized nature of the entire Muslim religion. Islam lacks a religious authority that would be a kind of Muslim "pope" or "patriarch", bindingly interpreting the Qur'an and texts, or deciding which notion of Islam is over and which is not

60 Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací*... p. 105.

61 Jana Drozdíková, *Lexicon of Islam*... p. 32.

62 Samuel P. Huntington, *Střet civilizací*... p. 32.

63 A medieval struggle between the Roman-German emperor and the pope over who has the right to choose the person of the bishop.

64 Roger Scruton, *The West and Others: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat*... p. 107.

65 The concept of territorial jurisdiction has long been foreign to Islamic thought. For example, in the Ottoman Empire, which included not only Muslims but also Christians and Jews, this problem was solved through a system of millets (from the Turkish "nation"), which represented individual religious groups. They had their own jurisdiction in matters of religious, cultural or family law. The arbitrators in their possible disputes were the sultan. See: Ibidem, p. 89.

66 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Securitology*, Academy of the Armed Forces of General Milana Rastislav Štefánik, Liptovský Mikuláš, 2006, p. 12.

yet. At present, the interpretation of the Qur'an is often based on local imams who "often name themselves in this role". Unlike the Christian church, Islam did not develop as an institution or legal entity.

Given the benevolence over when violence can be used, many adherents of Islamic fundamentalism have decided to push their worldview with a gun in their hand. Within the Muslim world, therefore, a relatively wide range of different militias and terrorist groups operate, aimed at enforcing *Sharia law* into the life of society.

On the other hand, some fundamentalists are trying to enforce their vision of society in terms of resources in a more moderate way, in the form of a parliamentary journey. The Muslim Brotherhood can be seen in this sense<sup>67</sup>, as a kind of Islamist international, with branches in several countries of the region. Behind the growing tendencies towards radical Islamism, we can see a radical ideology seeking to promote the idea of a worldwide caliphate,<sup>68</sup> following the ancient Muslim division of the world into the *gift of al-Islam* (house of Islam) and the *gift of al-gharb* (house of war), which originally included territories under the rule of unbelievers. As Muslims later found it impossible to conquer the whole world, a third concept, *dar al-ahd* or *dar al-suhd* emerged, which can be characterized as a ceasefire house that includes all countries that have a certain treaty with Muslims. At present, most non-Muslim countries in the world technically fall under this term, as they have established diplomatic relations with Muslim countries and concluded international agreements. Here we can see the radicalism of Islamists, who reject this later concept of *dar al-ahd*, and all non-Muslim countries consider it a *gift of al-gharb*. The thorn in the side of many Islamists is the very existence of the state of Israel, which they perceive as a foreign element, decomposing and on the sacred ground around Jerusalem.<sup>69</sup> The goal of "destroying the state of Israel" is therefore often repeated in many Islamist organizations.

The existence of Muslim fundamentalism, whether in individual Muslim states or among the Muslim diaspora in Western Europe, especially among second- or third-generation immigrants, means that in the eyes of the majority society, religion itself is associated with fundamentalist groups. Such perceptions are often reinforced by the fact that no "relevant" Muslim authority has condemned such actions. The presence of Muslims in a given society is then perceived as a potential security threat.

The phenomenon of religious fundamentalism has not escaped Hinduism either. Hindu fundamentalists are associated with the *Sangh Parivar* movement, and manifestations of their xenophobia and intolerance are mostly di-

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67 The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in r. 1928 in Egypt as a movement against the semi - colonial position of the country, carrying out humanitarian and charitable activities. From Egypt, the movement spread to other Arab countries: Jordan, Palestine, Syria and Sudan. See: Jana Drozdíková, *Lexicon of Islam...*

68 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Securitology...* p. 12.

69 Ibidem.



rected against religious minorities, especially Muslims and also Christians, but also against members of the lower castes like Dalits.<sup>70</sup> According to Hindu fundamentalists, India should become a purely Hindu state just as Pakistan was founded as a state for Indian Muslims.

### **Artsakh and Northern Ireland as examples of religiously motivated conflicts**

The religious element of conflict can be observed in two current conflicts. The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict over Artsakh, Nagorno-Karabakh flared up again in September 2020, and the fragile peace in Northern Ireland<sup>71</sup>, which may have existed due to the actual absence of an inland border in the context of the Brexit process, is becoming increasingly volatile.

#### **Artsakh as an example of an ethnic-territorial conflict with a religious element**

The origin of the dispute over the Arcas can be dated to the Soviet machinations with the borders of the individual republics. To favor Turkey, Stalin annexed Nakhichevan and Nagorno-Karabakh to Azerbaijan, although at that time, Nagorno-Karabakh was inhabited almost exclusively by Armenians, and Nachichevan had a mixed population. The Armenian presence in the region can be documented as early as the fifth century BC, and Artsakh retained a degree of self-government under the rule of the Muslim dynasties in Persia. During the liberation of the Soviet regime, the Armenians in the Nagorno-Karabakh ASSR voted in a referendum in December 1991 to join Armenia after which the Azerbaijani forces marched on the area.

The war in Nagorno-Karabakh meant the displacement of about 700 to 800 thousand Azeris and 220 to 330 thousand Armenians. For the Armenians, the key was to ensure a direct connection between Armenia itself and Nagorno-Karabakh through the town of Lačín. The Armenians gradually gained control of the territory west and south of Nagorno-Karabakh, gaining direct borders with Armenia and Iran. As a result, Azerbaijan has lost control of 15% of its territory.<sup>72</sup>

According to L. Hofreiter, "the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh is considered a model cultural-civilizational conflict and is also key to achieving stability

70 Rastislav Kazanský, *Security Policy - Conflict Theory*, Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica, 2011.

71 The term Ulster is sometimes used as a synonym for Northern Ireland, but it also includes adjacent territories in the Republic of Ireland. Historically, Ireland is an island separated the four regions: Ulster to the north, Leinster to the east, Munster to the south and Connacht in the west.

72 Tomáš Šmíd, "Armenian Symbolism and Azerbaijani Revanism. What is happening in Nagorno- Karabakh?", *HlidacíPes*, September 29, 2020. Available at: <https://hlidacipes.org/armensky-symbolismus-a-azerbajdzansky-revansismus-co-se-deje-v-nahornim-karabachu/?hlite=Tom%C3%A1%C5%A1+%C5%A0m%C3%AD> (accessed February 26, 2021).

in the whole region"<sup>73</sup>. For Armenia, the Christian faith is a significant element of its own cultural identity. On the other hand, most believers in Azerbaijan are Shiite Muslims. Nevertheless, Azerbaijan's key allies in this conflict are not religiously close to Iran, but linguistically close to Turkey. According to Renard for the *Journal International*, the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is not about religious or raw material disputes, but about territory above all.<sup>74</sup>

However, the ethnic element seems to be more important than the religious element of the conflict. Mutual Armenian-Turkish relations are marked predominantly by the experience of the genocide perpetrated by the Ottoman Empire's state apparatus during the First World War, which Turkey has so far denied as the successor state to the Ottoman Empire. "Azerbaijanis, as close relatives of the Turks, represent an identical enemy in the Armenian collective subconscious"<sup>75</sup>.

The key issue in the conflict itself is the territorial dispute. The values at stake in this conflict are, above all, the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan, as opposed to the right to self-determination and security for the Armenians in Artsakh. As Christian Heitmann writes for the newspaper *Postoj*, the level of hostility has reached such a dimension<sup>76</sup> that the resumption of control of Azerbaijan over the disputed area would mean a humanitarian catastrophe for Armenians. "The autonomy of Nagorno-Karabakh within Azerbaijan is not a reality, but at least a short break before the final goal of Azerbaijan-Karabakh without Armenians"<sup>77</sup>.

In assessing the conflict, we repeatedly come across a statement comparing the political regime in Armenia and Azerbaijan. Despite the role of oligarchs and Russian influence, there is a degree of democracy in Armenia, while Azerbaijan is considered to be a dictatorship.<sup>78</sup> Although a religious element is present in the conflict, nationalism and revanchism play a much more prominent role in the conflict. Evidence of this is Iran's non-involvement in favor of Azerbaijan, despite its strong support for Turkey. On the other hand, raids on the Armenian cathedral in the city of Shushha or the earlier destruction of Armenian monuments around Nakhichevan, prove the importance of religion as part of a collective identity. R. Kazansky writes " The objects of attack are firstly religious symbols - churches, monasteries worship, cultural booths, religious leaders

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73 Ladislav Hofreiter, *Securitology* ... p.12

74 Andrew Renard, "Thousands Died For Nothing? Armenia VS Azerbaijan", *Le Journal International*, May 28, 2020. Available at: <http://www.lejournalinternational.info/en/des-milliers-de-morts-pour-rien-armenie-vs-azerbaïdjan/> (accessed February 25, 2021).

75 Tomáš Šmíd, "Armenian Symbolism and Azerbaijani Revanism. What is happening in Nagorno- Karabakh?"...

76 In 2005, the mayor of the Azerbaijani capital, Baku, was told that his goal was the complete elimination of Armenians, just as the Nazis had eliminated Jews ( Renard , 2020). Revanism and anti-Armenian sentiments have also entered the school curriculum in Azerbaijan, with Armenian education also sparking anti-Azerbaijani passions. See: Ibidem.

77 Christian Heitmann, "The War in Nagorno-Karabakh: How to Save the Armenians From Destruction", October 6, 2020. Available at: <https://www.postoj.sk/62681/preco-uznat-nahorny-karabach-a-zachranit-tamojsich-armenov-pred-znicenim> (accessed February 22, 2021).

78 Tomáš Šmíd, "Armenian Symbolism and Azerbaijani Revanism. What is happening in Nagorno- Karabakh?"...

and authorities"<sup>79</sup>.

*Northern Ireland as an example of a hierarchical ethnic conflict with a religious element*

The conflict in Northern Ireland can also be called sectarian, with the parties to the conflict being identified with the Catholic and Protestant populations of this troubled British province, but the conflict has long since lost its religious essence. The cause of the conflict can soon be found in the model of a hierarchical, vertically integrated system of relations, where cultures for the division of labor are created between individual groups,<sup>80</sup> or in other words, where one group is privileged while the other is subordinate to it.

Such a pattern was once applied in Ireland, where Protestants were a privileged group while Catholics were subordinate. The decisive criterion is the social process of the individual as belonging to Protestantism like Catholicism. Scottish and English Protestant colonists settled mainly in the coastal areas of Northern Ireland. Originally a religious conflict, it receives a class charge - poorer Catholic Irish as opposed to wealthier Protestants.

The end of the First World War and the emergence of an independent Ireland brought a new dimension to the conflict. Those who demanded an independent Ireland called themselves nationalists, while those who wanted to remain part of Britain were loyalists or unionists. Due to the largely Protestant population in the north of the island, the island was divided, and six northern Irish counties remained part of the United Kingdom. While most Protestants remained on the British side of the Inland border, a significant portion of the Catholic population remained who wanted to be part of a united Ireland.

The political division into unionists and nationalists has persisted to the present day: "The dominant division of Welsh and Scottish society is primarily socio-economic; in Northern Ireland, it is linked primarily to the country's religious and national identity, which is reflected in the country's constitutional order"<sup>81</sup>. In terms of political orientation, the two strongest unionist parties, the Official Unionist Party and the Democratic Unionist Party, are more right-wing and conservative, and the dominant nationalist parties, Sinn Féin and the Social Democratic Labor Party are more left-wing.<sup>82</sup> This is related to the above-mentioned class division. The influence of religion on political programs was reflected primarily in the programs of unionist parties, which are partly inspired by strict Calvinism.

The originally religious conflict that polarized the people of Northern Ire-

79 Rastislav Kazanský, *Security Policy - Conflict Theory*, Matej Bel University, Banská Bystrica, 2011.

80 Ibidem.

81 Benedict Kiely, "The New Threat to Iraq's Christians", *Real Clear Politics*, 2018. Available at: [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/12/18/the\\_new\\_threat\\_to\\_iracs\\_christians\\_138951.html#!](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2018/12/18/the_new_threat_to_iracs_christians_138951.html#!) (accessed February 23, 2020).

82 Logan Straight, *Who rules Britain?*, Sociologické nakladatelství (SLON), Praha, 2004.

land into a Catholic and Protestant camp has transformed into a clash of collective identities, with doctrinal differences between Catholicism and Protestantism being secondary and the collective consciousness and political affinity of either British or Ireland as more significant.

Good Friday Agreement, in English known as the *Good Friday Agreement* from 1998, stopped the bloodshed. The decisive precondition for a peaceful solution to the conflict was the de facto removal of the internal border. With the departure of the United Kingdom from the European Union, the question of the course of the customs border became relevant again. The Republic of Ireland certainly does not want to leave the European Union, and the restoration of the internal border will meet the reluctance of the Catholic population of Northern Ireland. For Unionist Protestants, it is inconceivable that the border should lead through the North Strait and the Irish Sea, as they would see this as one of the steps to weaken Northern Ireland's ties with the rest of the United Kingdom.

## Conclusion

The issue of securitization of religion at the beginning of the 21st century remains relatively topical. Religion has become one of the forms of identity, and with the revival of the world around the world, this form of identity has gained importance. We can classify the issue of religion in the security studies under the category of social security, and it tends to be threatened by migration, cultural imperialism, loss of awareness of belonging or demographic problems.<sup>83</sup> Especially in the Islamic world, the question of the securitization of religion is very topical and important, because together with loyalty to a tribe or clan, it is one of the main elements of identity and belonging that is felt to the state in a much less intense form. In the case of the securitization of religion, the settlement of a conflict is often a compromise, as the values, especially the subject matter of the dispute as such is indivisible. If the party to the conflict in matters of religion and belief were willing to compromise, it would question its claim to exclusivity.

The second chapter was devoted to conflicts within religions. From the beginning, we looked at the controversies in early Judaism, then examined the history of the division of Christianity into individual currents and schisms. We found that it was the disputes between the various currents of Christianity that ultimately facilitated the advent of Islam, as Muslim troops welcomed Christians oppressed by Constantinople as liberators. However, the Muslims themselves also relatively soon split into three different sects, from which the animosity between Sunnis and Shiites determines the dynamics of conflicts in the Middle East to this day. Examples include Iranian support for Iraq and the government in Syria and insurgents in Yemen, as well as Turkish and Saudi support for insurgents

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83 Břetislav Štěpánek and Pavel Otrřál, Possibilities and Limitations of Selected Indexes of Public Orders Effectiveness in Action of International Military Organization NATO Joint CBRN Defence COE, *China-USA Business Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4, 2013, p. 374.

in Syria and Sunnis in Yemen.

The Reformation of Christianity under the leadership of Martin Luther and John Calvin brought a new wave of conflict to the previously relatively unified world of Western Christianity. From the dynamics of their mutual conflicts and the vision of the nation-state, a modern concept of a secular state was finally born, the boundaries of which are justified by ethnic affinity.

The third chapter dealt with the conflict between religions. At the beginning of the chapter, we looked at the theory of the American political scientist S. Huntington, who in his book *Clash of Civilizations* identified major world civilizations, many of them based on religion, and then examined his theory of wars on civilizational breaks. We can characterize these as particularly cruel, involving ethnic cleansing and the destruction of cultural heritage. From a historical perspective, we can perceive the dynamics of the struggle between Christianity and Islam, which initially was characterized by relatively rapid Muslim expansion into the area of the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa, which was subsequently reversed by the Spanish *Reconquista* and the crusader expeditions.

Finally, the fourth chapter analyzes and issues of religious fundamentalism. Within it, we deal in more detail with Islamic fundamentalism, as it is the phenomenon that is the most current and which is faced either directly or indirectly by the states of the European Union.

Looking at the two conflicts with a semi-religious background, the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict in Artsakh and the Northern Irish conflict, we find that religious differences alone are not a decisive factor in the conflicts. The Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict is primarily a territorial dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh. Azerbaijan argues by respecting territorial integrity. The fact remains that it was exclusively Armenian territory, which, however, Stalin crossed Azerbaijan. The second significant element in the conflict is the Turkish-Armenian animosity, which has transformed into Azerbaijan-Armenian hostility. The conflict in Northern Ireland, which began as a religious dispute, was transformed into a class conflict, where British-preferred Protestants opposed the oppressed poorer Irish. Subsequently, since the creation of independent Ireland, there has been a conflict between nationalists who would like to join a united Ireland and loyalists who want political ties to London. The membership of both countries in the European Union and borderless communication meant that neither nationalists nor loyalists felt the existence of a border in their daily lives. In the context of Brexit, the issue of the resumption of border controls is becoming relevant again and may lead to a resumption of conflict.

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## **СЕКУРИТИЗАЦИЈА РЕЛИГИЈЕ: СЛУЧАЈЕВИ АРЦАХА И СЕВЕРНЕ ИРСКЕ**

### **Сажетак**

Секуритизација религије, односно перцепција религије у контексту безбедности, поново је присутна у словачком и српском контексту, углавном у вези са миграционом кризом. Рад је углавном теоријски. Питање верског идентитета може се укључити у сектор социјалне сигурности. За разлику од осталих сукоба идентитета, религија поларизује, а верски сукоби праћени су уништавањем културног наслеђа и верских предмета. Религијски сукоби могу се уочити како између верских група, тако и између конфесија. Последње поглавље посвећено је студији случаја Арцаха и Северне Ирске. У оба наведена сукоба религијски фактор је споредан. У Арцаху је то првенствено националистичка борба за територију, док је у случају Северне Ирске хијерархијски етнички сукоб.

**Кључне речи:** религија, секуритизација, фундаментализам, Арцах, Северна Ирска