TERRORISM AND RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM: A REACTION TO THE NEW WORLD ORDER

Aleksandra Schindler

UDK

Introduction

September 11 has changed most peoples world view, particularly the one concerning safety. We will never feel safe again. After watching the horrifying pictures of two giant buildings collapsing, what followed the initial shock was revelation of who stood behind the attack. An Islamic terrorist group called al Qaeda. What shocked even more was the motive behind. They said they did it in the name of God.

Religiously motivated terrorism is not new, but it was never purely motivated just by the religion. There was always some kind of political reason behind. What scares the most is that todays terrorism seems to be motivated by religion only. Political and global changes might have contributed to the activation of religious imperative, but the fact that these attacks are so brutal and include mass killings of vide variety of people, shows us that those engaged in this kind of attacks have nothing to loose or gain in this word. All they want to do is to glorify the God and earn their place in heaven.

Many would argue that behind every terrorist attack there is a political agenda. Before, terrorism was used as a tool for political gains. Nonetheless, since the beginning of nineties, things have changed. The ways terrorists have started to voice themselves out became more radicalised.

The main focus of this article is the role religious fundamentalism plays in terrorism. It is argued that fundamentalism is an answer to the processes of secularization and globalization, as a revival of beliefs and restoration of old values, which are felt to become endangered by global processes. Not every religious fundamentalism is negative and produces terrorists, but it does play a main role in formation of public opinion by legitimizing violence in the name of religion.

1. Religion and violence

Connection between religion and violence has always been a fascination to many thinkers throughout history. They were trying to discover why violence is so frequently used in religion, especially in sacred books as Bible and Quran. Religion and violence are two notions inherently incompatible. Taking the philosophical approach, violence entails any cause, any justified or illegitimate force that is exerted–physically or otherwise–by one thing such as person, group, word or an object, on another. Such defined violence finds its prime model, its force and counterforce, in the tradition called religion. ¹

Transporting dogma into religion is dangerous because it creates the delusion of inner experiences ascribed to enlightenment and magical operations or sorcery, and thereby unavoidably promotes fanaticism and superstition. The desire to keep religion pure and to itself is not wrong in itself, however, it would mean abandoning history and finitude to opt for indifference, syncretism and mysticism, and hence to choose the worse of two evils.² This means that religious changes over time with all its practices are inevitable, and have to be accepted in order for religion not to become a tool for destruction of everything else that is different, and does not fit its frame.

If the human race is considered to be constantly progressing towards better and if this progress relies on a force that is not merely individual or spiritual, but descends from the top down, this affirmation can provide reasonable ground for the hope that gradually, violence on the part of the powerful will diminish and the obedience to the law will increase.³

Derrida in his talk on *absolute duty*, which is a duty towards God, implies a sort of gift of sacrifice that functions beyond both debt and duty, and duty as a form of debt. Abrahams case (sacrificing of Isaac) shows that in every genuine decision ethical must be sacrificed and morality ought to be suspended in the name of the absolute duty, which is God. Every action takes place by ignoring, and thus violating others. The logic of sacrifice says that the only wakefulness is the wakefulness with respect to the horror.⁴ While making a distinction between sacred and profane, Emile Durkheim pointed out that religious language contains ideas of an intimate and ultimate tension.

¹ De Vries, Hent. Religion and Violence: Philosophical Perspective from Kant to Derrida. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 2.

Religion and Violence: Philosophical Perspective from Kant to Derrida. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 97.

³ ____. Religion and Violence: Philosophical Perspective from Kant to Derrida. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 97—99.

⁴ De Vries, Hent. *Religion and Violence: Philosophical Perspective from Kant to Derrida*. Baltimore–London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 155–159.

This fundamental dichotomy gives rise to images of a great encounter between good and evil, truth and falsehood.⁵

The striking thing about religious terrorism is that it is almost exclusively symbolic and performed in remarkably dramatic ways, accompanied by claims of moral justification and characterized by the intensity of the religious activists commitment and the transhistorical scope of their goals. Both violence and religion have appeared at times when authority is in question, since both are ways of challenging and replacing authority. Violence claims its power by force, and religion through the ultimate order. Since religion can make ready made replacement for secular leadership, it is not surprising that when morality of secular government is in question; its legitimacy is also questioned. That is how the shift in power happens.

2. Terrorism and religious fundamentalism: a reaction to the new world order

Religious fundamentalism is closely connected to religious politics which can easily lead to corruption of religion that is connected to terrorism. Fundamentalism⁷ is used to describe several features such as great religious passion, a defiance of what others defined as *Zeitgeist* (Spirit of the Time), and a return to traditional sources of religious authority.⁸

Fundamentalism is a movement of secondary level male elite, who are dominantly laymen and not clergy. Different from what one might assume they are men of the world in the world "an estranged urban dwellers who continue to have attachment to rural roots and pre modern values." They are individuals of rural origins who came to the city, received secular education, and thus became alienated from the many aspects of rural culture. On the other hand they are not modern in their world view but still remain conservative for example in regard to women, the way they dress and participation in public life including education and work. ¹⁰ Problems arise when adherents

- 5 Juergensmeyer, Mark. Terror in the Mind of God. Berekeley: University of California Press. 2003. 172.
- 6 Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious Terror and Global War. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2002. 2. 11. http://:repositories.cdlib.org/gis/2
- 7 Some argue that it would be better to use the word religious revival instead of religious fundamentalism, because of the more pejorative connotations of the word fundamentalism.
- 8 Berger. L. Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington D. C. 1999. 6.
- 9 Lawrence. Bruce. *Defenders of God.* San Francisco: Harper and Row. 1989. 196.
- 10 Riesenbrodt. Martin. Pious Poison: The Emergence of Modern Fundamentalism in the United States and Iran. Berkley: University of California Press, 1990. 196.

lose sight of the symbolic nature of language about God. That is the point when religion can get easily corrupted. Rigid truth claims, particularly in times of conflict, are basis for demonizing and dehumanizing those who differ. The paradox occurs when by defending the truth claims, one abuses sacred text for justifying violence, which is something that contradicts to central truths of every religion. Therefore, any religion that seeks to limit the intellectual freedom and individual integrity of its adherents with their blind obedience is a sure sign of corrupt religion.

Historians of religions, like Bruce Lawrence, talk about Great Western Transmutation (GWT), that began at the end of the 18th century, and that has changed the outlook of human beings towards the material world, for good. 12 After the Enlightenment, the commercialization and industrialization of life, world that has previously been preoccupied with the questions of moral and salvation, now became preoccupied with the world of expanding markets and opportunities. We now live in time when the questions of abortion, euthanasia, influence of media, are accepted by the majority as normative. GWT has marginalized nations in a way that less and less countries are able to compete effectively in the international arena, and relative political and economical deprivation has become an increasing fact in the modern world. 13

The battle against terrorism can be perceived as global in three ways. The choices of targets are often transnational; the people killed are often of different nationalities and the networks of perpetrators are also transnational. ¹⁴ Every incident that happens becomes global because of the instantaneous coverage of transnational news media, and increasingly terrorism has been performed for televised audience around the world. Thus, politics is becoming religionized, and because every act of performing violence in the public is a political act, it is a way a certain group announces that their power is equal or superior to that one of the state. ¹⁵ The aim of the groups behind terrorist acts is to establish a rule based on religious law.

The reason why secular government is easily perceived as an enemy of religion is because in its nature secular government is opposed to the idea that religion should have a role in public life. The result of religious devaluation has been a general crisis of religious belief. That modernization does

- 11 Kimball. Charles. When Religions become Evil. San Francisco: Harper, 2002. 51.
- 12 Lawrence. Bruce. Defenders of God. San Francisco: Harper and Row. 1989. 50.
- 13 Antoun, Richard T. Understanding Fundamentalism. Oxfored: Altamira Press, 2001. 13.
- 14 Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious Terror and Global War. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2002. 2. 4. 11. Sept. 2006. http://:repositories.cdlib.org/gis/2
- 15 Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious Terror and Global War. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2002. pp. 2. 5. 11. Sept. 2006. http://:repositories.cdlib.org/gis/2
- 16 Bourdieu, Pierre. Language and Symbolic Power. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press. 1991. 117.

not necessarily mean westernization can be seen in different societies which developed ways where they accept from the others what they find useful and reject what they do not need.

We can connect this to the challenge the moral leadership of the 20th century had to face after the break up of the Soviet Union and with the rise of a global economy. The Cold War model of communism was replaced with the free market economy that weakened national sovereignties, and brought new standards in every day lives of the people. Some saw it as a threat to their fundamental believes, while seeing their everyday life change. This shift also brought lots of insecurity because of the job loss and the insight that global economy is without any clear ideological standards of behaviour.

2.1. IS THERE AN INSEPARABLE CONNECTION BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND RELIGION?

There is a connection between religious fundamentalism and globalization. Globalization brought changes in the lives of ordinary people by bringing them closer geographically, but at the same time separating them from tradition and culture. This melange of different cultures and beliefs threatened with extinction of traditional way of life in many societies. Religious fundamentalism has emerged as a strong reaction to these effects of globalization, by facing the old values against the new ones. Religious revival was the most common reaction.

It is debatable whether globalization brings people together by eroding cultural misunderstandings and distance, or it results in increased anger of the poor against rich. Standard definition of globalization is "a social process in which the constraints of geography on social and cultural arrangements recede and in which people become increasingly aware that they are receding." The more realistic definition could be the one focusing on its economic aspect, or global capitalism which is taking over the entire world. Capitalism is often equalised with Westernization, therefore it seems like a take over of not only the economies, but of the cultures and different non western lifestyles, as well. ¹⁸

Global economy is characterized by transnational business accountable to no governmental authority and with no clear ideological or moral standards of behaviour. This transnational commerce which transported westernized popular culture to the rest of the world, threatened to obliterate the local cul-

¹⁷ Walters, Malcom. Globalization. New York: Routledge, 1995. 3.

¹⁸ Howard-Hassman, Rhoda E. Culture, Human Rights and the Politics of Resentment in the Era of Globalization. Human Rights Review. 2004. Vol 6/1. 6. Academic Search EBSCO. 10. September. 2006. http://search.epnet.com

tures and traditional forms of expression. To all this was added public sense of insecurity, because of the different political changes happening at the time. This sense of insecurity was felt even by those living in economically stronger industrialized societies. Some of the most intense movements for ethnic and religious nationalism arose among the nations whose local leaders felt most exploited by the global economy, betrayed by the corrupt leaders and bombarded by the American TV and pop culture. The effect of globalization has undermined the modern idea of nation state, and in the absence of any other demarcation of national loyalty and commitment, religion, ethnicity and traditional culture, have once more become resources for national identification. ¹⁹

The historical moment of global transformation has provided an occasion for religion to be reasserted as a public force. ²⁰ Search for a deeper meaning and the values which are so different from the modern world are in the core of any new religious movement. People are searching for security and a safe place to be, by trying to escape from the dangers of the real world.

The forms of religious terrorism that have emerged at the end of the 20th century have been global in two senses. Targets and the character of their conspiratorial networks have both often been transnational. The very good example is World Trade Centre with its victims from eighty six different countries, and on the other side, members of al Qaeda who came from Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan; plotting their attacks in diverse places such as Spain, Germany, Morocco and the US. ²¹ Not to mention the instant, transnational news media coverage that made possible for the world to be a part of that tragic moment at the same time. This was the reason for the generally shared feeling of insecurity all around the world where no one felt safe any longer.

Terrorism has increasingly become a real global event, and has become a more potent global political force than the organized political efforts to control and to contain it. This global dimension of terrorisms organization and audience, and the transnational response to it, gives special significance to the understanding of terrorism as a public act of violence therefore, as a social event with both real and symbolic aspects. ²² This brought an alternative view

¹⁹ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious Terror and the State. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2004. pp. 22. 4–6. 11. Sept. 2006. http://:repositories.cdlib.org/gis/22

²⁰ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Terror in the Mind of God. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. 15.

The National Comission on Terrorists Attacks Upon the US. The 9/11 Commission Report.
63. 21. Sept. 2006. http://911.gnu-designs.com/TOC.html

²² Juergensmeyer, Mark. Terror in the Mind of God. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. 147.

of the world challenged by religious resurgence and rites of violence as an answer to global changes.

Even though there are numerous reasons urging us to label fundamentalism as a global problem, the very use of new technologies in fundamentalist actions, prompt us to recognize negative aspects of information availability and achievements of modern science.²³ In relation to this, the acceptance of technological achievements does not mean the acceptance of values of globalization.

In this context we can talk about the globalization of religion. David Lehmann discuses two aspects of the globalization of religion: cosmopolitan and fundamentalist. Cosmopolitan globalization of religion is seen as "a cultural globalization, practiced by Catholic Church since 16th century, which introduces the permeation of the learned and the popular religious experience, where local rites and symbols were condensed and blended with Christian rites."²⁴ On the other side fundamentalist globalization of religion is marked by the

"saturation of the local cultural and religious practice, particular attention paid to controlling sexuality, especially female, belief in the literal meaning of every word from the holy scripture, where the change of faith is seen as a breakdown in the life of the individual, ability to conceive the fight against serious social harm among marginal and impoverished social groups[...] and the possibility to overcome political, ethnic, linguistic[...] barriers." Therefore, we can conclude, that in a globalized world religion establishes new boundaries among the people.

The similarity between globalization and religion can be seen as both being a phenomenon that crosses the borders and leads to homogeneity, but on the other side, religion while breaking the borders at the same time creates new ones, and throughout that process becomes more a sign of difference than similarity. It is hard to predict if globalization can be developed fully in the world with so many cultural–religious differences, and so many different quests for identity. Globalization brings some kind of standardization of values and criterias, and that can provoke a need for protection of "its own" values. ²⁶ At the same time fundamentalism is not acceptable for the reason that

²³ Gavrilović, Danijela. The Modernization Process-religion-Globalization. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 6.

²⁴ ___. The Modernization Process-religion-Globalization. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugo-slav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 14.

²⁵ ___. The Modernization Process-religion-Globalization. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugo-slav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 14.

²⁶ Cvitković, Ivan. Religion and globalization. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 24.

it starts from the position that only one tradition is acceptable. When there is no tolerance or dialogue the only thing we can get as a contra product is terrorism in the name of "belief."

To culture, and religion as a part of it, has been ascribed a huge importance for the development of global society. Some argue that political globalization has sucked the culture in and turned interculturalism into a mere substitute for the truth of the modern world. ²⁷ Commercialized culture is sold more successfully in those places where it has adapted itself to the local taste (glocalization), and religion is supposedly loosing its importance, which we already showed it is not so true.

2.2. IMPORTANT FEATURES OF RELIGION AS AN ANSWER TO SECULARIZATION AND MODERNIZATION PROCESSES

Another important aspect connected to fundamentalist revival of religion is secularization which was largely introduced in the period of Enlightenment in 18th century that brought big changes in the lives of people struck by it. Separation of State and the Church was one of the things that happened. The process itself is called secularism. Secularism changed the role that Church played in the society for centuries before, by loosing clerical control and religions ideological and intellectual grip on society. Science replaced the role the Church had as the source for truth and social identity. In many parts of the world, secularism is viewed as an alien cultural construction in the project called modernity. Modernity brought insecurity, and resurgence of religion. What does this have with resurgence of violence? Both violence and religion have emerged in the times when the authority is in question, because they both can be used to replace authority. Violence gains its power from force, and religion from its claims to ultimate order. Together they make a powerful claim. ²⁹

The logic of this kind of military religion is not easy to comprehend. Since religious authority can provide ready—made government for secular leadership, its not surprise that when the government is corrupt, legitimacy based on religion is used. The idea is that modernization necessarily leads to decline of religion, both in society and in the mind of individuals. But that is exactly what turned out to be wrong, because secularization on societal level does

²⁷ Gavrilović, Danijela. The Modernization Process-religion-Globalization. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 8.

²⁸ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Terror in the Mind of God. Berkeley: University of California Press. 2003. 231.

²⁹ Juergensmeyer, Mark. Religious Terror and the State. Santa Barbara: University of California, 2004.. 22. 4. 12. Sept. 2006. http://:repositories.cdlib.org/gis/22

not necessarily leads to secularization on the level of individual consciousness.³⁰ This means putting religion in to the private sphere where everyone is free to practice whatever belief they have as long as it stays a private matter.

Two strategies, rejection and adaptation, are open to religious communities in the secularised world, because it is not easy for the individual to reject modern ideas and values in everyday life. Rejection strategy would be *religious revolution*, where one tries to take over the society as whole and make ones counter modern religion obligatory for everyone with the example of Iranian revolution. Adaptation strategy is the other way by creating *religious subcultures* to keep out the influences from the outside society. ³¹ The example for this would be the Amish people in Pennsylvania, USA.

That modernization does not necessarily means westernization can be seen in different societies which developed a ways where they accept from the others what they find useful and reject what they do not need. According to Richard. Antoun, there are two types of such processes called selective modernization and controlled acculturation.

Selective modernisation is the process in which certain technological and social innovations are accepted and other refused. Fundamentalists reject modernism or the valuing change over continuity, quantity over quality and profit over human sympathy for traditional values, together with rejection of globalization, bureaucratization and pluralization of private beliefs.³²

On the other side, controlled acculturation is the process in which an individual of one culture accepts a practice or belief of another, and incorporates that belief in his own system of values. Fundamentalists use the antagonistic acculturation, where by accepting something from someone elses culture, they use the goals of the other culture to discredit, undermine and humiliate. These are all examples of how inside the fundamentalist movement the difference between "them" and "us" is made. This is important because it shows how terrorist organizations inside the fundamentalist movements are being induced. The point is that every religious tradition changes over time by adding some new interpretations. Feature of the new movements is their use of this bond between old and new for their own understanding. This can result in justification of terrorist attacks which are directed towards anyone who is not in the same line of thought.

³⁰ Berger. L. Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Washington D. C: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999. 2.

³¹ Berger. L. Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Washington D. C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999. 4.

³² Antoun, Richard T. *Understanding Fundamentalism*. Altamira Press, Oxford. 2001. 118.

³³ ____. Understanding Fundamentalism. Altamira Press, Oxford. 2001. 118.

Another important feature of fundamentalism is Scripturalism, which means literal loyalty to the Scriptures. This constant reference to the scriptures is related to the thirst for certainty in an ever changing world. Scripturalism meets this need for certainty and authority, and gives people confidence to continue their pursuits, even when it seems like all odds are against them. Heresting thing is that fundamentalists often refer to those teachings and practices from the past which clearly do not fit in within modern society. For example, Jewish fundamentalist find the justification of the violence, in order to acquire the Holy Land, in the Scriptures. What is important is the very role of the God who fought along the side of ancient Hebrews while trying to conquer the Promised Land. Connection to the contemporary political scene is in the usage of such verses which has the goal to shock their opponents. The scriptures is the scriptures of the scriptures which has the goal to shock their opponents.

Other two interconnected features underlying fundamentalist ideology are activism and totalism. Scriptural basis for them can be found in Quran where it states that, "Never will God change the condition of people until they change it themselves." From this we can see that fundamentalists are not against the change, but they are rather for the change where their particular religious practices are implemented above others. They are reacting to the ideology of modernism, mostly because of the dominance of a secular society that separates religion from the dominant spheres of activity, especially the schools, the market place and economic activity in general.

New challenges to tradition are also new religious movements. This is bound to the change of cultural values and institutionalization of modernization. Modernization is a global transformation of traditional or stagnant society into modern dynamic society.³⁸ The utopian notion of *good society* stands for the expectations of an ideal society which can provide all individuals with peace, security and benign rule.³⁹ This reflects a society united by shared values and rules of behaviour.

Modern society is differentiated into social spheres of politics, economics, law, religion and so on, which all function on the basis of self generated modes of operation. While politics is concerned with collectively binding decisions, economy with satisfaction of future needs, religion is concerned with the

^{34 .} *Understanding Fundamentalism*. Altamira Press, Oxford. 2001. 41.

³⁵ Antoun, Richard T. Understanding Fundamentalism. Oxford: Altamira Press, 2001. 50.

³⁶ The Qur'an 13: 11 Text, Translation and Commentary. Tahrike Tarsite Quran. 1987.

³⁷ Antoun, Richard. Understanding Fundamentalism. Oxford: Altamira Press, 2001. 85.

³⁸ Gavrilović, Danijela. *The Modernization Process-religion–Globalization*. YSSSR Annual, YearXII, Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of religion: Sven. 2005. 7.

³⁹ Halfmann, Jost. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California, 2003 pp. 2 6. 12. Sept. 2006. http://repositories.cdlib.org/res/op/2

meaning of transcendence.⁴⁰ This pursuit of people for the experience of transcendent is also a reaction to rationalism and enlightenment, which, rejects any sense of mystery, but instead chooses to deal only with things that are possible to control logically and without any emotions. What modern society lacks is the way to integrate all these systems.

This implicates democracy as a system that secures submission to political decisions along with the free market as a main mean by which economic system becomes institutionalized. They both lack addressing the real problem. Democracy only guarantees the participation of citizens, while free markets do not guarantee life free from want for everyone. ⁴¹ That is where religion substitutes.

The society viewed from the religious perspective is not defined territorially but universally. Secular nation state is a target of fundamentalism because modern society is seen as a society of fragmented identities, where one can choose to look the society from many and always different perspectives. ⁴² What fundamentalists aim for is not at the society of fragmented identities but exactly the opposite, a society based on one true identity, possibly religious and everyone behaving on the same pattern and living by certain rules of conduct.

2.3. DID SECULARIZATION BECOME A MYTH?

It was shown before that the rise of fundamentalism was a reaction to secularization which pushed religious practices into the private sphere that brought a new upsurge of religion. Two most dynamic religious upsurges today are Islamic and Evangelical. Islamic one is better known because of its obvious political ramifications. It continues to gain converts by bringing the restoration of not just Islamic beliefs, but also distinctive Islamic styles which contradict modern ideas, such as the role of women and boundaries of religious and moral tolerance. ⁴³ Evangelical upsurge is most notable in the rise of Pentecostalism, which follows the similar path as Islam by combining biblical orthodoxy and rigorous morality, with an ecstatic form of worship stressing

- 40 Halfmann, Jost. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California, 2003 pp. 2 7. 12. Sept. 2006. http://reposito-ries.cdlib.org/res/op/2
- 41 ___. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California, 2003 pp. 2 8. 12. Sept. 2006. http://repositories.cdlib.org/res/op/2
- 42 Halfmann, Jost. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California, 2003 pp. 2 9. 12 Sept. 2006. http://repositories.cdlib.org/res/op/2
- 43 Berger. L. Peter. *The Desecularization of the World.* Washington D. C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999. 7.

the importance of spiritual healing.⁴⁴ These examples show that people are not becoming less religious as secular theory implies, but exactly the opposite.

What could be a reason for such a religious upsurge? First of all it could be a loss of certainty. It looks like the modernity tends to undermine the certainties people lived by for centuries before. Secondly, it could be the resentment towards an elite culture, which has influences on many who have no control over it.⁴⁵ It is not possible to predict the future of these religious revivals but most likely the world will not become less religious than it is today, as long as there is fear of death and evil, and desire to overcome the fears by using religious teachings of good.

Dissatisfaction that occurred was the result of loss of faith into secular nationalism or belief that the society is rooted in a secular compact rather than religious or ethnic identity. This happened through the process of globalisation which weakened secular nationalism and the nation state in several ways: economically by eroding its sense of national identity and unity through the expansion of media and communications, and through the unchallenged military power of the US. ⁴⁶ Religion in this case, once again, showed itself as a good tool for bringing people together away from the feeling of alienation that modern society brings.

2.4. THE REAL REASONS BEHIND THE RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM

The question of the type of motives behind religious fundamentalism is important if we want to search the real reasons behind religious terrorism, be they religious or political. The ground ideology of the different fundamentalist movements in Muslim societies is Islamism. There are a number of such movements but I will mention here briefly just some of them, such as al Jihad and al Oaeda.

Al Jihad has circled the logic of islamistic argumentation by insisting on the central meaning of "forgotten duty"⁴⁷ exercised through armed fight. "There is no doubt that the idols of this world can be eliminated only by the

- 44 ____. The Desecularization of the World. Washington D. C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1999. 8.
- 45 Berger, L. Peter. The Desecularization of the World. Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington D. C. 1999. 11.
- 46 Juergensmeyer. Mark. The New Cold War? Religious nationalism Confronts the Secular State. Berkley: University of California Press. 1987. 11–25.
- 47 "Forgotten Duty" is a term coined by the Muhammad abd al—Salam Faraj, who was on of the Egypt's most important Islamic revolutionary theorists. 22. Sept. 2006. http://www.pwhce.org/faraj.html

power of the sword"⁴⁸ but that was not considered to be a terrorism. These "holly warriors" often called fundamentalists, represent a direct fight with the modern world and not just the renunciation of the same.

Al Qaeda is an example of bringing together powerful Islamic ideology with the careful usage of modern technique, showing that modernization does not call for "westernization" but that it can turn against West in service of Islamic point of view. ⁴⁹ In the same line of thinking we must remind ourselves that fundamentalism does not belong exclusively to Islam, but also to Jewish and Christian groups.

This resurgence of violence, moved by religious feelings was a reaction to the new values brought by the influence of West, which were surprising traditional values more and more. Reaction to that was a militant activity which had in goal re–establishing of the old values and the only way was through reinstatement of Islamic state, because in Islam religion and politics are entwined. For such radical groups religion becomes a tool for justifying violence conducted in the name of religion.

Genuinely, Islamic activism has a pacific standpoint. It means the avoidance of any confrontation and a strict compliance to persuasion as a mean of carrying convictions. We can substantiate this with the verse in Quran: "Therefore give warning. Your duty is only to warn them: you are not their keeper." ⁵⁰ The task of a good Muslim is to give the message but not to engage in to violent means of making people accept that message.

3. From fundamentalism to terrorism

Fundamentalism today is a more of an issue in the states like Turkey, Iran, Egypt and Algeria, which are on they way to become more secularised in the opposite to the strong religious elite struggling for the importance of religion in the politics. Political Islam attacks two issues of such transitional regimes. One is the territorial basis of nation statehood which undercuts the universal supranational idea of religious community, and second is the firmness of these modernization regimes in keeping religion out of politics, which has the consequence of keeping out religious elite from access to power and privileges. ⁵¹ Religion is, according to Juergensmeyer, used as justification for vio-

- 48 Townshend, Charles. Terorizam. Sarajevo: TKD ŠAhinpašić, 2003.. 115.
- 49 ___. Terorizam. Sarajevo: TKD ŠAhinpašić, 2003.. 118.
- The Qur'an 88: 21–22. Text, Translation and Commentary. Tahrike Tarsite Quran. 1987.
- 51 Halfmann, Jost. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California,. 2003 pp. 2 13. 12. Sept. 2006. http://repositories.cdlib.org/res/op/2

lence in three cases: to defend basic identity, when loosing the struggle becomes unthinkable and when the struggle cannot possibly be won.⁵²

One should note that terrorism today is a feature of modern days as much as democracy is. Fighting terrorism may weaken terrorist organisation but not fundamentalism. It is good to remember that Christianity for centuries claimed that it possesses absolute truth and treated its godless enemies with all necessary rigors. The same thing today is with Islam. Politics itself, as a force for promoting absolute values, will contribute to the continuation of religious terrorism, because it confirms fundamentalist belief that they are engaged in holy war about absolute values and truths. ⁵³

We can conclude that religious fundamentalism itself does not have to be something negative, but it can be used and turned against everyone who thinks different and is not a part of a certain group or a society which exists on a belief that they are the one possessing the ultimate truth. The wish to manipulate and control, can result in violent manners of conducting such aspirations. Unfortunately, negative examples are all around us, and it is hard, when we talk about religion, fundamentalism, or even charismatic persons, not to have negative connotations in relation to all that. History is still fresh for many people, and the abuse of religion has taken its toll on people during the history and in this very moment. The very recent and one of the reasons for the fascination with this topic is the use of religion as a cover for modern terrorist attacks whose indiscriminative nature leaves everyone mesmerized.

Conclusion

Every religion is authentic if it reflects the values of individuals intellectual freedom, personal integrity and common sense as an indispensable quality. ⁵⁴ Unfortunately this has been misused for so many times. Religion has become a tool for justifying violence of the worst kind, such as the terrorism done in the name of religious belief. It was shown throughout the paper that religion and violence, therefore terrorism, are two inherently incompatible notions, and although used together, they do not go together. It is hard to say why religion is so easy to get manipulate with. Maybe because of its universal na-

⁵² Juregensmeyer. Mark. *The New Cold War? Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State.* Berkley: University of California1993. 12.

⁵³ Halfmann, Jost. Fundamentalist Terrorism –the Assault on the Symbols of secular Power. Berkley: University of California, 2003 pp. 2 17. 12. Sept. 2006. http://repositories.cdlib.org/res/op/2

 $^{\,}$ 54 Kimball. Charles. When Religions become Evil. San Franciso: Harper, 2002. 95.

ture and mission of Christianity and Islam to spread throughout the world and preach their beliefs for which they both believe is the only valid.

Religion as a tool for justifying violence is just a sign of corrupted religion used for the purpose of undermining other persons and their beliefs. Religious terrorism, as shown, is closely connected to religious fundamentalism as a reaction to globalization and secularization. The major global changes brought the feelings of uncertainty all around the world, not just in poor and oppressed countries. Although the history of the world is the history of globalization, change and human achievement, it is at the same time history of struggle, wars and intolerance between the nations and religions. Religion was always seen as a safe haven but at the same time, wars conducted in the name of religion, were the bloodiest wars. These have left the deepest scars in the memory of people.