Which are the values Europe needs? Courage, self-confidence and militant democracy!

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Literature
Rise and Fall of Blasphemy Law

The Fall and Rise of Blasphemy Law

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with a foreword by Flemming Rose
What is terrorism?

• Non-state actors use violence to intimidate citizens of a nation-state to comply with their demands

• Many forms:
  - *Non-religious* or political terrorism (Rote Armee Fraktion, IRA)
  - *Religious* terrorism (or quasi-religious or politico-religious)
Religious terrorism: a few examples

- 1995: Jigal Amir kills Jitzak Rabin (Israel)
- 2009: Scott Roeder kills George Tiller (abortion physician) (USA)
- 2004: Mohmmed Bouyeri kills Theo van Gogh (the Netherlands)
This religious terrorism is “theoterrorism”

• “Theo”, a conception of God, is a motivating factor for the terrorist mindset

• Terrorism is perpetrated as a result of some sort of “divine command”
The three terrorists: monotheist

- Jigal Amir killed Jitzak Rabin for what he saw as a religious cause: the defense of Judaism
- Scott Roeder killed George Tiller for what he saw as a religious cause: the defense of Christianity
- Mohammed Bouyeri killed Van Gogh for what he saw as the defense of Islam
Two types of (theo)terrorist attacks

1. The type of attack that seems *random* (9/11, bus-, train-, metrostations, British Parliament)

2. The type of attack where the (theo)terrorist thinks there is room for *negotiation* (murder of Van Gogh or the French cartoonists)
The second type: discourage the people from using their rights

Molly Norris drew the original, poster-like cartoon on April 20, 2010, which declared May 20, 2010, to be the first annual "Everybody Draw Mohammed Day".
Do we win or loose the battle for free speech?
The death of Charb: in vain?

"Je n'ai pas peur des représailles. Je n'ai pas de gosses, pas de femme, pas de voiture, pas de crédit. C'est sûrement un peu pompeux, mais je préfère mourir debout que vivre à genoux."

Charb en 2012
The history of this conflict
Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.
Article 18

1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right shall include freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice, and freedom, either individually or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.
The freedom to relinquish a religion (i.e. the freedom to apostatize) seems less protected.
The Satanic Verses (1988)

- Fatwa in 1989
- Khomeini
- Clash of ideologies?
In the name of Him, the Highest. There is only one God, to whom we shall return. I inform all zealous Muslims of the world that the author of the book entitled The Satanic Verses – which has been compiled, printed, and published in opposition to Islam, the Prophet, and the Qur’an – and all those involved in its publication who were aware of its content, are sentenced to death.
I call on all zealous Muslims to execute them quickly, wherever they may be found, so that no one else will dare to insult the Muslim sanctities. God willing, whoever is killed on this path is a martyr.

In addition, anyone who has access to the author of this book, but does not possess the power to execute him, should report him to the people so that he may be punished for his actions. May peace and the mercy of God and His blessings be with you.
Fatwa discussed in books on Rushdie
The Dutch prehistory

- Rudi Carrell’s spoof on Khomeini banned from Dutch television in 1987
The Dutch prehistory 2

- Death of a princess in 1980
- Drama-documentary, produced by ATV, believed to be based on the true story of Princess Masha’îl who had been publicly executed for adultery.

- Murdered in 2004
Danish Cartoon Affair (2005)

- Kurt Westergaard
- Danish cartoon experiment
- Jyllands Posten invited 41 cartoonists to make cartoon
Pope Benedict XVI in Regensburg (2006)

- The Regensburg lecture or Regensburg address was delivered on 12 September 2006
- Pope quoted a passage about Islam made at the end of the 14th century by Manuel II Palaiologos, the Byzantine emperor

- Wrote an article in *Le Figaro* in 2006
- Protesting against situation around Regensburg address of Pope
- Under police protection
Pastor Terry Jones (2010)

- Gained national and international attention in 2010 for his plan to burn Korans on the ninth anniversary of the September 11 attacks.
French Cartoon Affair (2015)

- January 2015
How to define this conflict?

- A Clash between racist provocation and decency?
- Or a Clash between the spirit of the First Amendment and theocratic dictatorship?
- But theocratic dictatorship by non-state actors
New limits to free speech?

- Limits for novels (Rushdie)?
- Provocations (Van Gogh)?
- Satire (Westergaard/Charbonnier)?
- Provocations (Jones)?
Solutions to this conflict

1. Present a realistic analysis of the nature of the conflict

2. Defend free speech by using it (a value Europe needs)
Solution 1 Realistic analysis

What moved me to do what I did was purely my faith. I was motivated by the law that commands me to cut off the head of anyone who insults Allah and his Prophet.

— Mohammed Bouyeri —
« Je veux répondre à la menace terroriste. Notre pays a été frappé dans sa chair ces dernières années. La bataille se fait à l’étranger. J’étais il y a quelques semaines aux côtés de nos soldats qui se battent pour nous défendre. Je veux que notre politique à l’étranger soit intraitable. Nous devons combattre ce terrorisme islamiste pour protéger nos enfants. »

– Emmanuel Macron, samedi 18 février 2017
• Defeat Jihadist Terrorists
• “Jihadist terrorist organizations present the most dangerous terrorist threat to the Nation.” (p. 10 Ibid.)
Elements of theoterrorism

- Religion all-important
- Divine will commands execution of blasphemers
- Individual zealots have to act according to this
- Fear of death should not distract true believer (martyrdom)
- Religious legitimacy more important than secular legitimacy (theocracy vs democracy)
Dominant explanation after 2 November 2004 in Holland

Not religion is the basis of the problem but:

- polarization
- marginalization
- racism
- Enlightenment fundamentalism
- Western arrogance
- Provocating religious criticism
Solution 2

Defend the values by using them
First example Queen Beatrix in address during Christmas

On december 25, 2004

**Extremism, in words and deeds, fissures society**

“Extremisme, in woord en daad, splijt de gemeenschap.”
Address during Christmas 2006 on principles of morals and civilization (two years later)

“Ze zijn het fundament van een samenleving die uitgaat van eerbied voor de medemens. Een recht om te beledigen bestaat dan ook niet.”
Second example, member of Cabinet L.J. Brinkhorst in 2006

“When I saw the film Submission, I thought: oh gosh, is this going to end well? You know what happens when you light a cigarette in an ammunition magazine. You may make such a film, but I thought it unwise. I find it totally understandable that this causes furor among Muslims. Pardon me, but who is naïve here?” Kleijwegt, Van Weezel, Het land van haat en nijd, p. 184.
Some questions

1. Was/is the Netherlands an ammunition magazine?
2. Who is responsible for this situation?
3. Does the state/government has a role here?
4. Can the state (cabinet) in all reasonableness require from citizens to abstain from exercising their civil rights?
5. Does not mr. Brinkhorst say we’re in a state of exception?
The implications of this view

The maintenance of the civil order, the security of the state, seems to shift from the shoulders of the state to that of the citizen.

But what happens with democracy when we really stop “smoking cigarettes”?

Is this not ... submission?
Third example: Geert Mak

Mak, Geert, *Gedoemd tot kwetsbaarheid*, Uitgeverij Atlas, Amsterdam 2005 (“destined to be vulnerable”).

- “traders in fear”
- *Ewige* Jude-vergelijking
Defend your territory

We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.

— Winston Churchill —
Constitutional principles as state territory

Thomas Couture: Les Romains dans la decadence
Our empire beyond the seas ...

We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God’s good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

(Winston Churchill)
Chahdortt Djavann

Comment lutter efficacement contre l’idéologie islamique

Grasset
Mina Ahadi

- Mina Ahadi (Persian: مینا احدي) (born 1956) is an Iranian-Austrian political activist.
- opposed to faith-based laws and promotes citizenship rights and one secular law for all.
- founder of the German Central Council of Ex-Muslims.
Waleed al-Husseini is a Palestinian, essayist, writer and blogger. In October 2010, the Palestinian Authority arrested him for allegedly blaspheming against Islam on Facebook. His arrest garnered international attention.
Jeanette Bougrab

Jeanette Bougrab is a French lawyer and politician. She served as the junior minister for Youth and Community Life from 14 November 2010 to 10 May 2012 and is a member of the UMP party.
Cultural disease

Occidentofobie
Cultuurrelativisme
Loss of faith
Preoccupation with the dark pages
European history
Racificatie
Nazificatie