

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

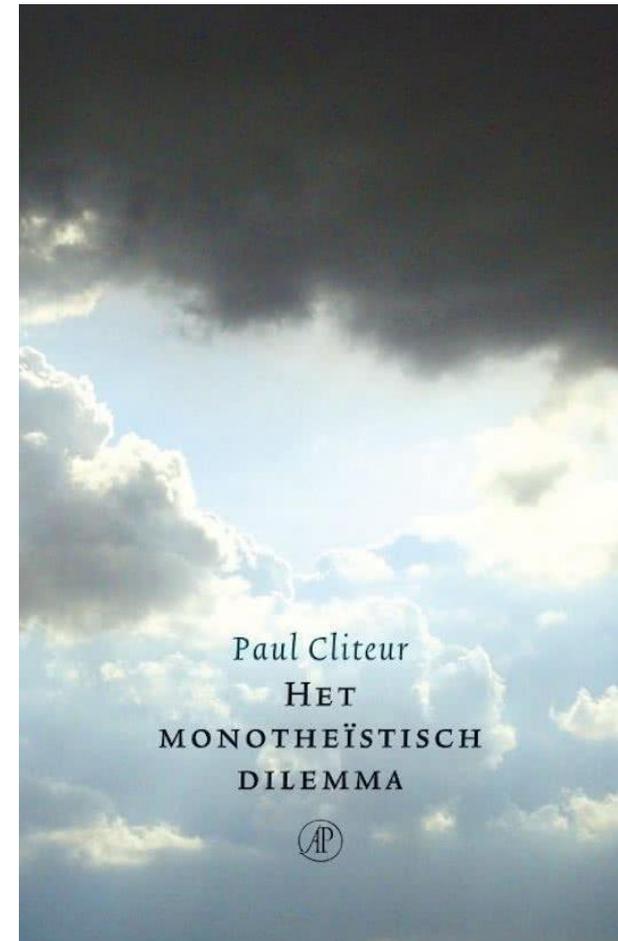
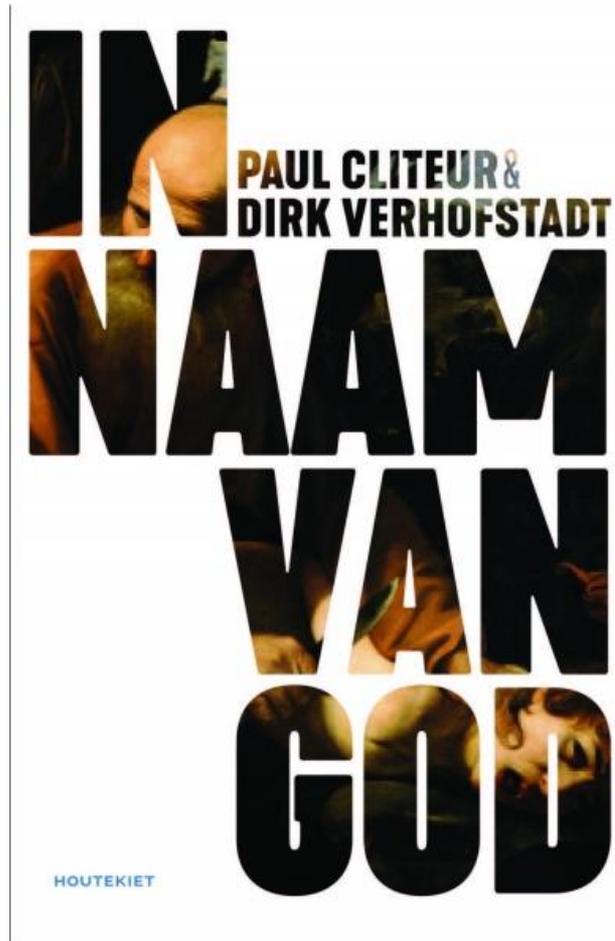
Ludwig von Mises Institute

May 16, 2018

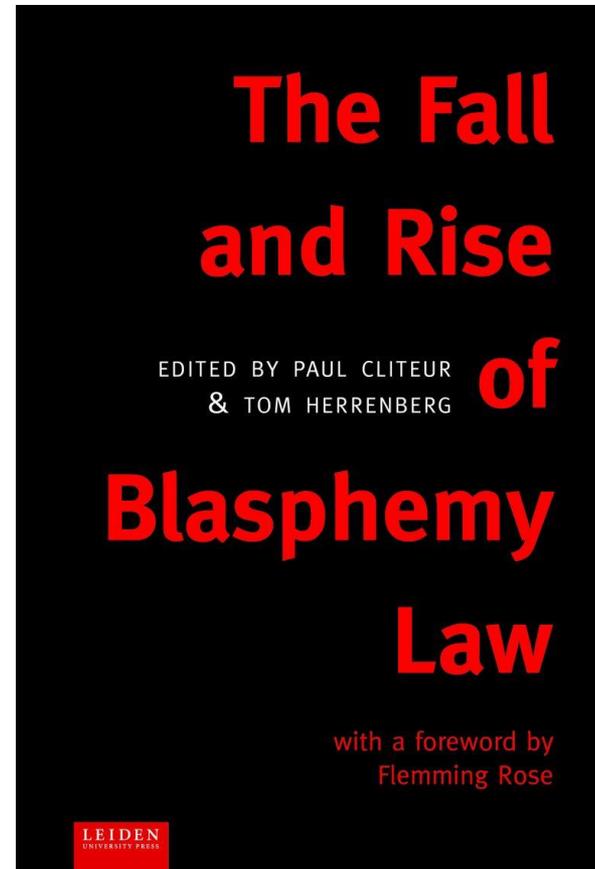
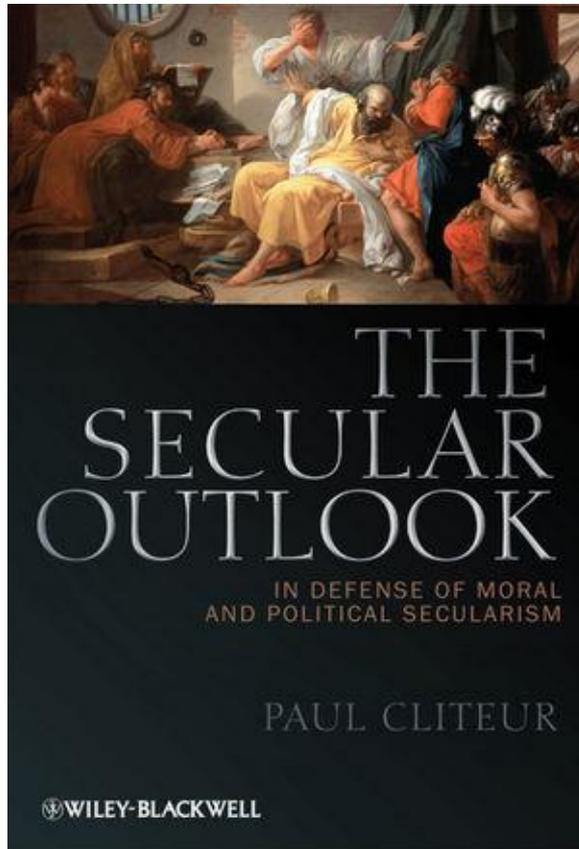
Paul Cliteur

www.paulcliteur.nl

Literature



Rise and Fall of Blasphemy Law



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: Mohammed 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".

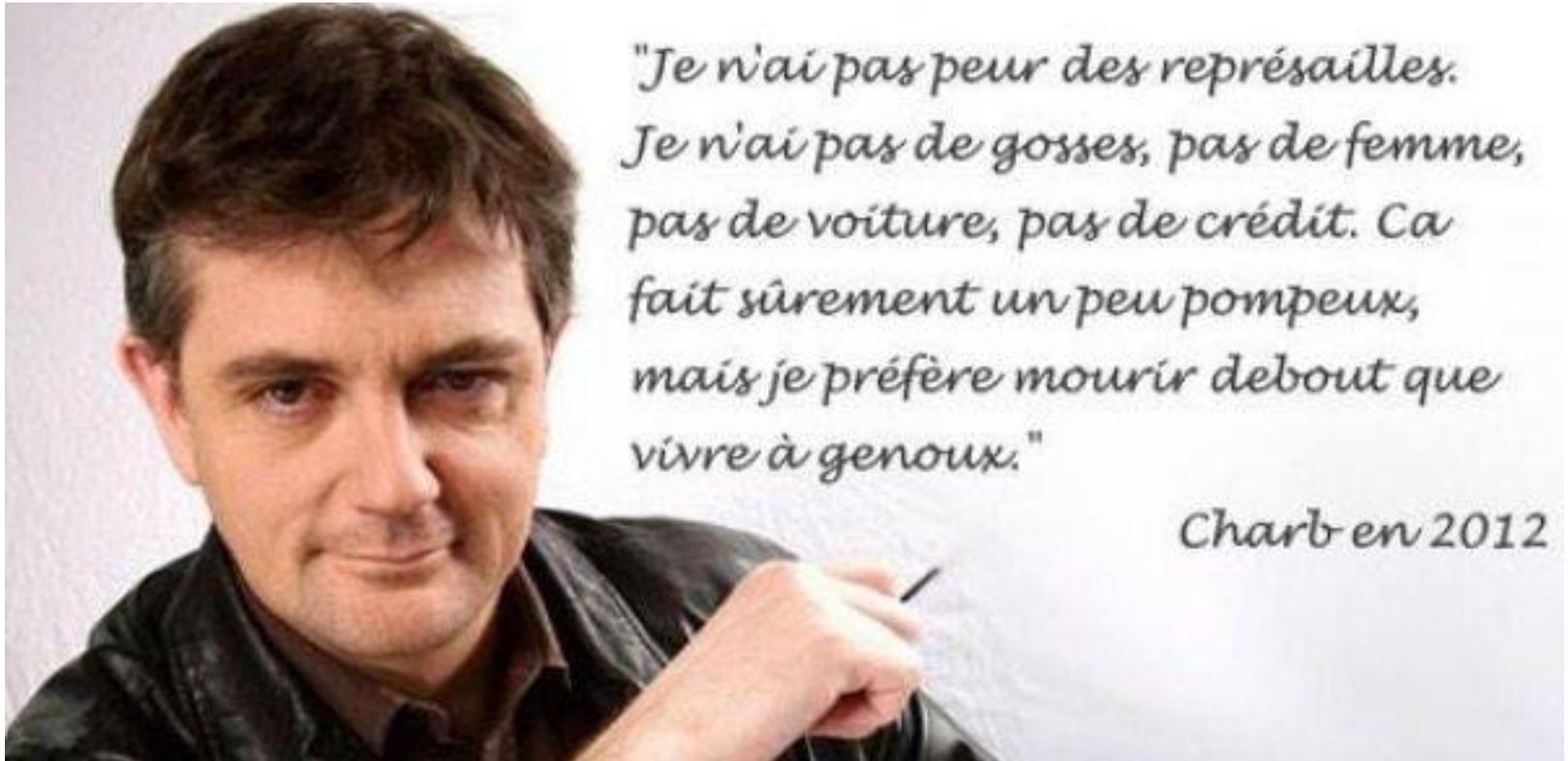
[Go ghost](#)



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. Ça
fait sûrement un peu pompeux,
mais je préfère mourir debout que
vivre à genoux."*

Charb en 2012

The history of this conflict

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

Article 18

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.

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)

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.

(Provisional) Conclusion

- 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?



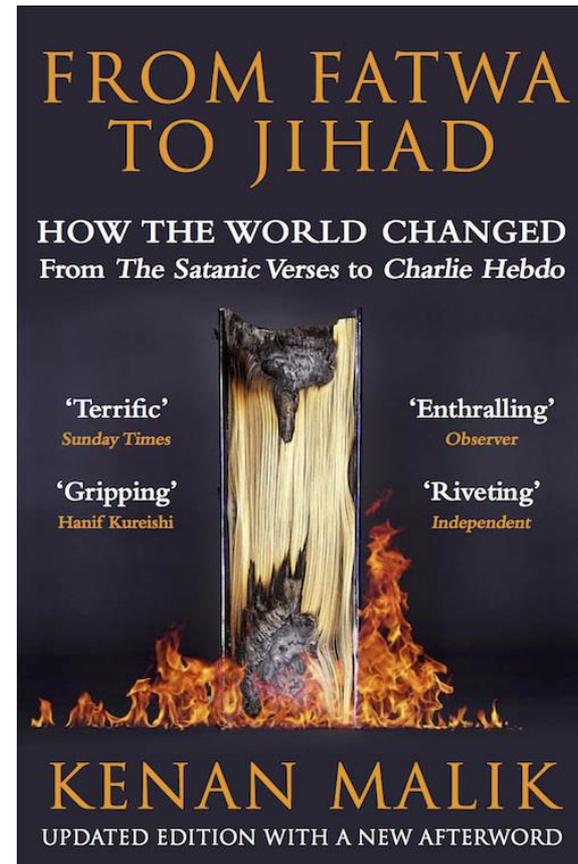
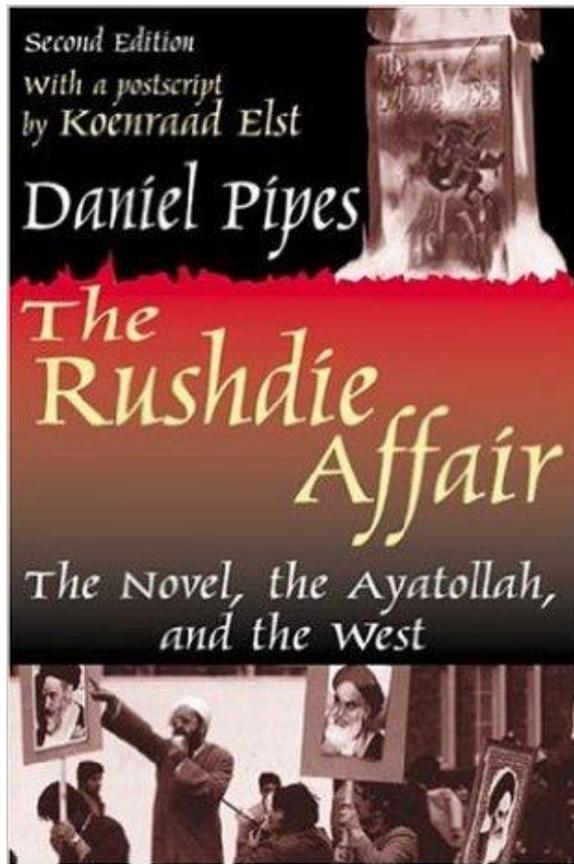
Khomeini's judgment (fatwa)

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.

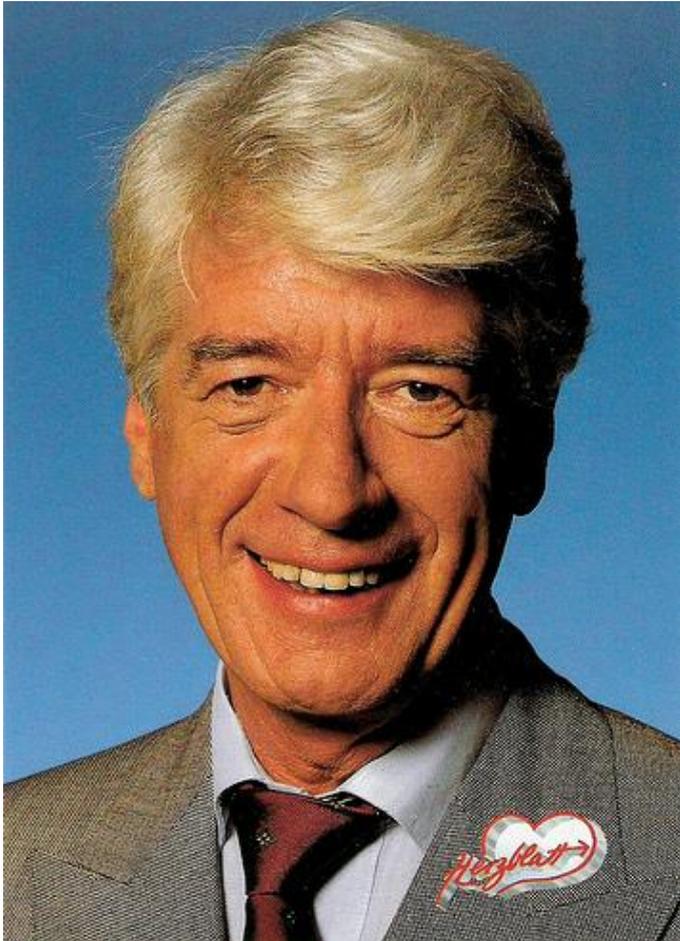
I call on all zealous Muslims to execute them quickly, wherever they may be found, so that no one else will dare to insult the Muslim sanctities. God willing, whoever is killed on this path is a martyr.

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 1



- 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'il who had been publicly executed for adultery.

Dutch post-history: Murder of Theo van Gogh (2004)

- Murdered in 2004



Danish Cartoon Affair (2005)

- Kurt Westergaard
- Danish cartoon experiment
- Jyllands Posten invited 41 cartoonists to make cartoon



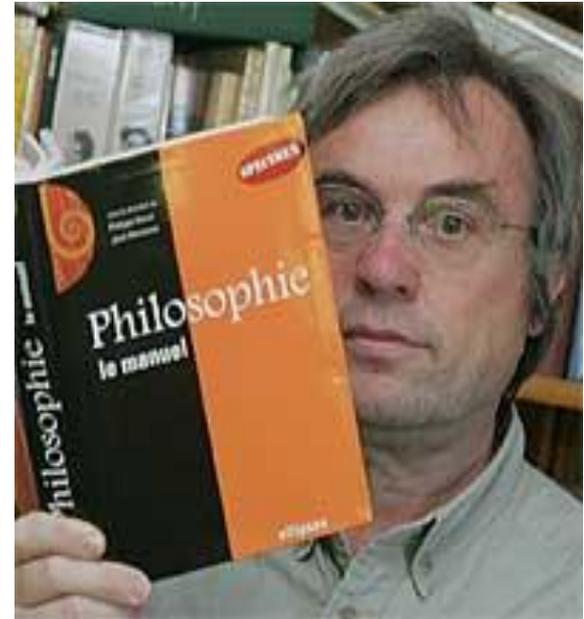
Pope Benedict XVI in Regensburg (2006)

- 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



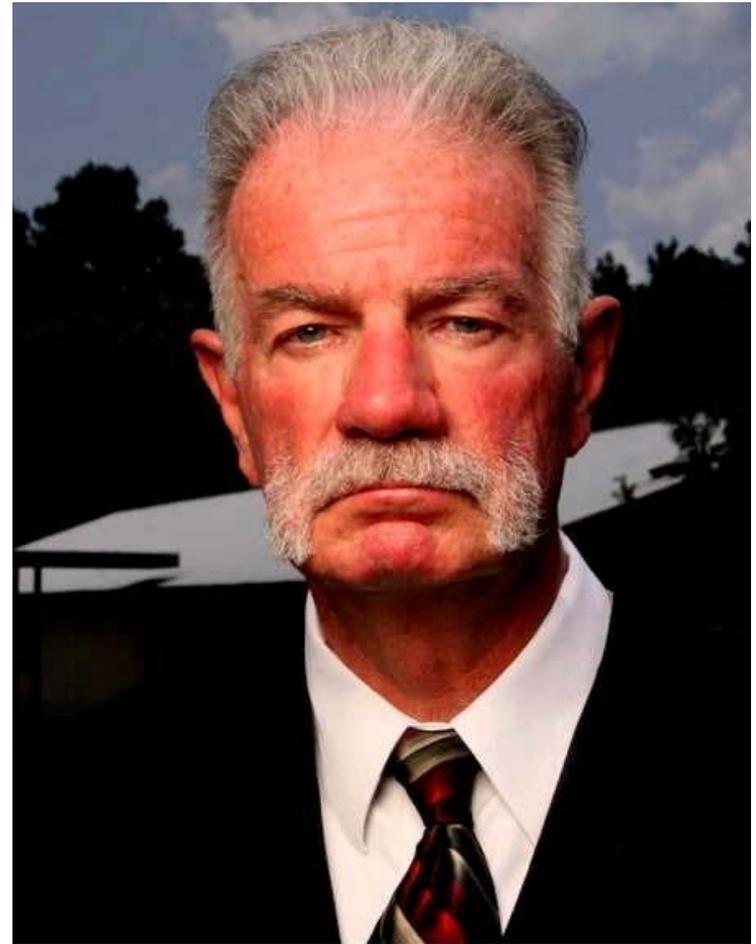
French philosopher Robert Redeker (2006)

- Wrote an [article in *Le Figaro* in 2006](#)
- Protesting against situation around Regenbug 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* —

AZ QUOTES

Macron

A photograph of Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, standing in front of a military aircraft. The image is overlaid with a blue tint. The text is written in white on the right side of the image.

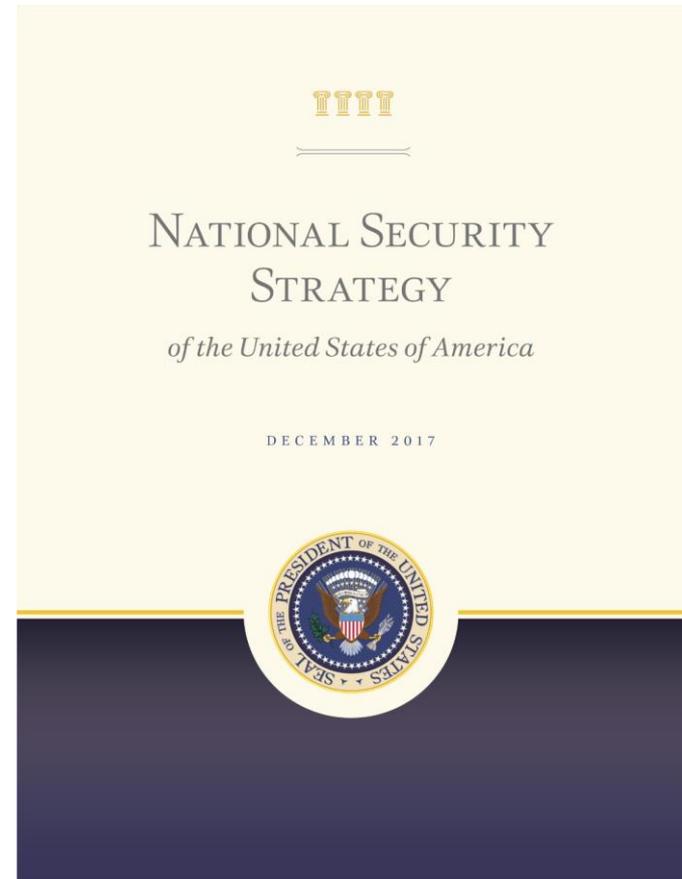
«Je veux répondre à la menace terroriste. Notre pays a été frappé dans sa chair ces dernières années. La bataille se fait à l'étranger. J'étais il y a quelques semaines aux côtés de nos soldats qui se battent pour nous défendre. Je veux que notre politique à l'étranger soit intraitable. Nous devons combattre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

– Emmanuel Macron,
samedi 18 février 2017

#MacronToulon

National Security Strategy USA 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
- Enlightenmentfundamentalism
- 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.”

Queen Beatrix in 2006

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

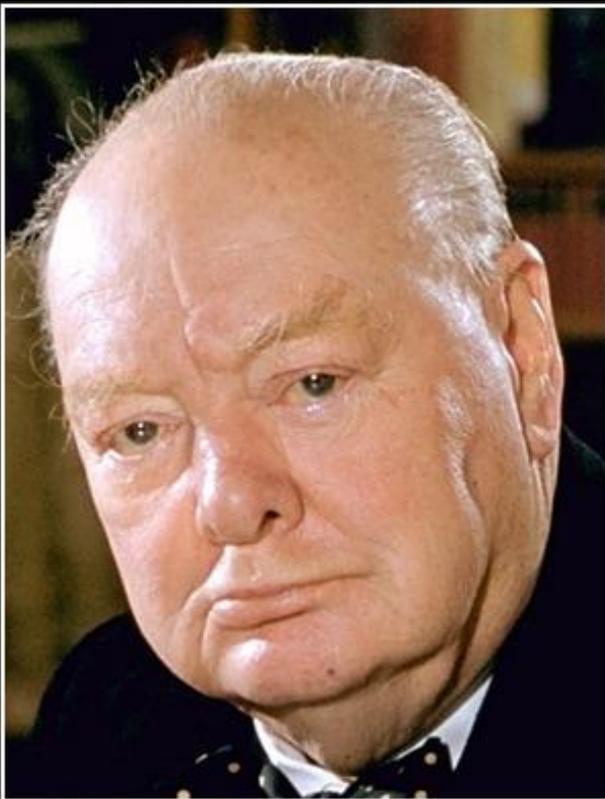
Geert Mak

Hoe kunnen we deze geschiedenis ooit aan onze kleinkinderen vertellen, het verhaal over die laatste maanden van 2004? Wat zullen we ons nog herinneren? Het doorstoken lichaam in de Linnæusstraat? De kelders die opengingen? De almaar bewegende lippen van politici en intellectuelen? De stilte in de stad? De toon, de nieuwe toon die opeens was gezet?

Waar moet ik beginnen?

ATLAS

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* —

AZ QUOTES

Constitutional principles as state territory

Cliteur, Paul, “Constitutional Principles as State Territory”, in: Iain T. Benson and Barry Bussey, eds., *Religion, Liberty and the Jurisdictional Limits of the Law*, LexisNexis, Toronto 2017, pp. 65-89.

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)

izquotes.com

Our spiritual empire beyond the seas

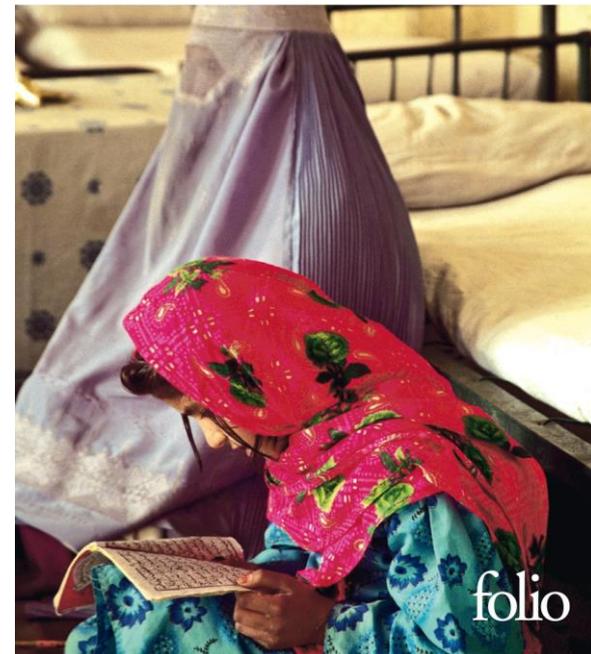
Chahdortt Djavann est née en 19671 en Iran et vit depuis 1993 à Paris où elle a étudié l'anthropologie². Elle est romancière et essayiste de langue française, et de nationalité française.



Chahdortt Djavann



Chahdortt Djavann
Bas les voiles!



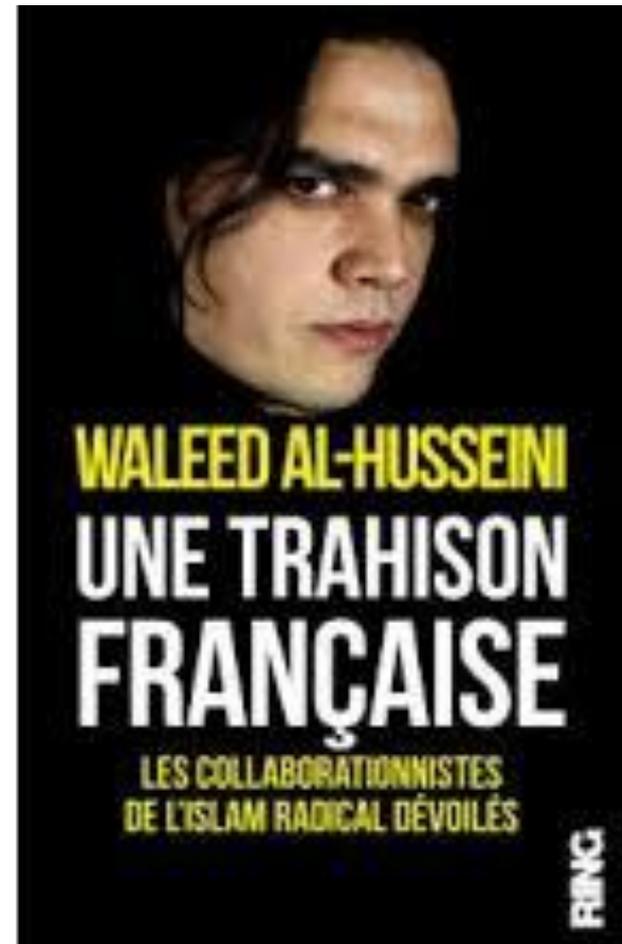
Mina Ahadi

- Mina Ahadi (Persian: *مینا احدی*) (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

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