

Religieus geweld en theoterrorisme

STUDIEVERENIGING TILIA, UTRECHT

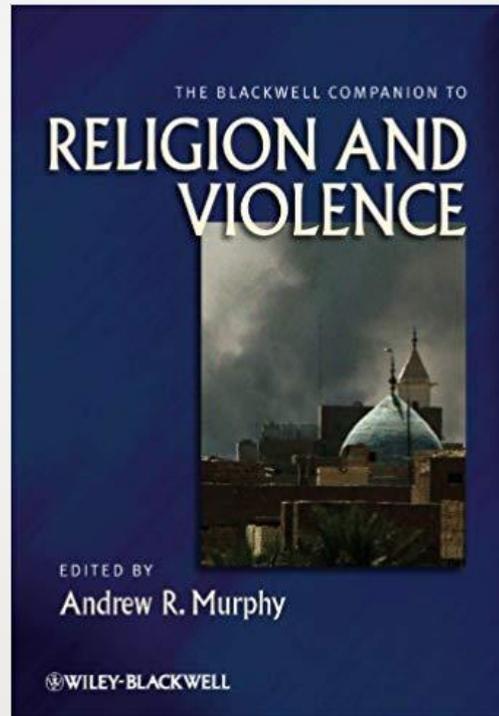
3 NOVEMBER 2021

PAUL CLITEUR

WWW.PAULCLITEUR.NL

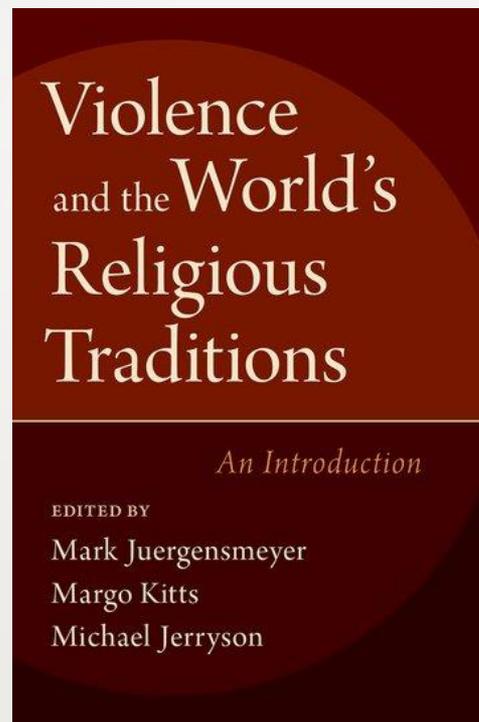
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Waar gaat dit boek over? Gaat het over iets? Of is het een misverstand?



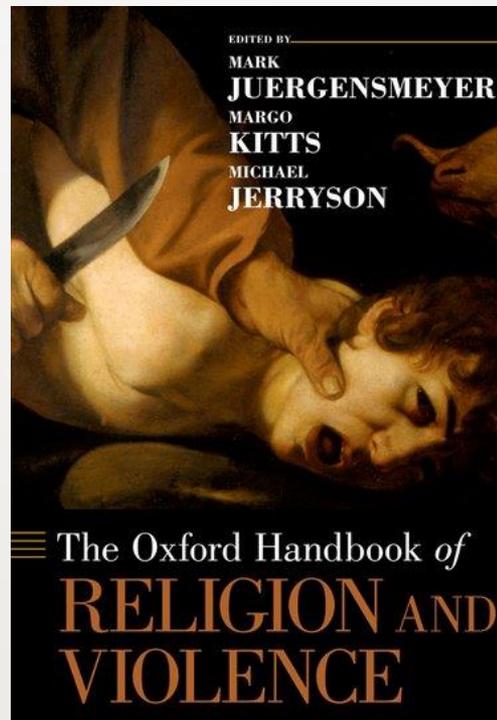
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Bestaat wel religieus geweld? Of is dat geweld dat ten onrechte met religie in verband wordt gebracht?



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Wordt niet ten onrechte Abraham hier aangeklaagd vanwege “religieus geweld”?



Is de uitspraak dat geweld religieus kan zijn niet beledigend voor gelovigen?

Wat hebben de filmster Brigitte Bardot, de journaliste Oriana Fallaci, de schrijver Michel Houellebecq en de politicus Geert Wilders gemeen? Dat is dat zij alle vier geconfronteerd zijn met juridische processen waarin zij werden aangeklaagd vanwege vreemdelingenhaat, belediging van moslims en islamkritiek.

De rechtsgeleerde en filosoof Paul Cliteur, hoogleraar encyclopedie van de rechtswetenschap aan een universiteit van Leiden, gaat in dit boek in op deze processen.

Het boek laat zien dat diegenen die betrokken zijn in de strijd tegen de radicale islam paradoxaal genoeg ook te maken krijgen met overheden die de critici confronteren met strafrechtelijke vervolging. Volgens Cliteur is dat verkeerd. Laat iedereen zijn eigen opvattingen hebben en uitdragen over een wereldgodsdienst en verdoel vooral geen politici voor de standpunten die zij innemen in het publieke debat. Dat is de kern van een vrije en democratische samenleving.

Paul Cliteur is rechtsgeleerde en filosoof aan de Universiteit van Leiden. Hij was van 1993 tot 2002 als bijzonder hoogleraar filosofie aan de Universiteit van Delft werkzaam en in het jaar 2013-2014 was hij gast-hoogleraar wijsgerige antropologie aan de Universiteit van Gent. Hij staat vooral bekend als iemand die de verlichtingswaarden bepleit, onder meer ten aanzien van de rechtstaat en democratie.



Over het werk van Paul Cliteur:

"Cliteur responds lucidly to the West's many failures of political nerve (...). He advances a powerful case for the values of freedom and reason".

—RUSSELL BLACKFORD
over *The Secular Outlook*.

"Wat een voorrecht voor studenten om dit schitterende boek te mogen bestuderen! Een uitmuntend overzicht van de Grote Vragen die horen bij de zoektocht naar het goede leven en de goede samenleving".

—THIERRY BAUDET
over *Legaliteit en legitimiteit: de grondslagen van het recht*.

"Cliteur brengt met zijn opinies meer penen in beweging dan een buitenlandse denker als Michael Ignatieff of de econoom Milton Friedman".

— DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER

ISBN 978-94-92161-25-3



BARDOT



FALLACI



HOUELLEBECQ



WILDERS

PAUL
CLITEUR

UITGEVERIJ
DE BLAUWE
TIGER



BARDOT FALLACI HOUELLEBECQ WILDERS

GERECHTELIJKE VERVOLGING VAN
RELIGIEKRITIEK EN VREEMDELINGENVREES

PAUL CLITEUR

UITGEVERIJ DE BLAUWE TIGER

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Herbert Spencer

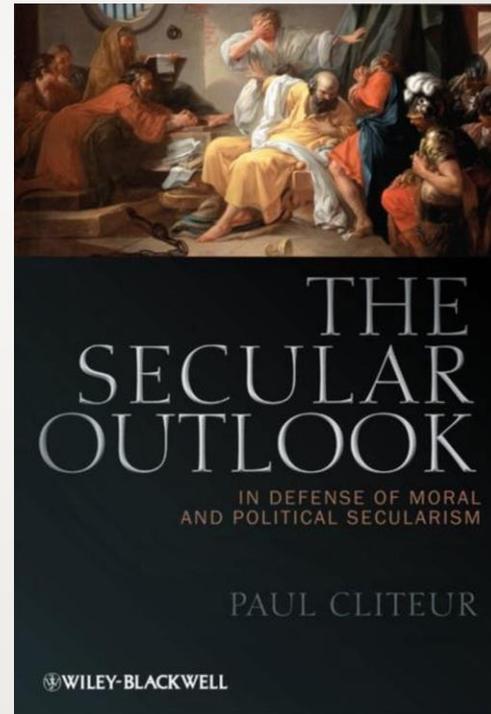
2 Freethought I: Criticism of Religion 83

The truly religious element of Religion has always been good; that which has proved untenable in doctrine and vicious in practice, has been its irreligious element; and from this it has been undergoing purification.⁶⁶

This is a revealing sentence. Religion is good, according to Spencer. What seems bad in religion is simply “irreligious.”

What distinguishes a freethinker from the true believer – and also from the agnostic of the Spencerian⁶⁷ kind – is that he is not automatically prepared to do what Spencer proposes. Freethinkers take a different stance. They say: “What socially manifests itself as religion is part of that religion.” In other words: if people who profess to subscribe to a religion commit violence and refer to their religion in legitimating that violence, we should at least make a serious effort to analyze whether there is a relationship between that violence and that religion.

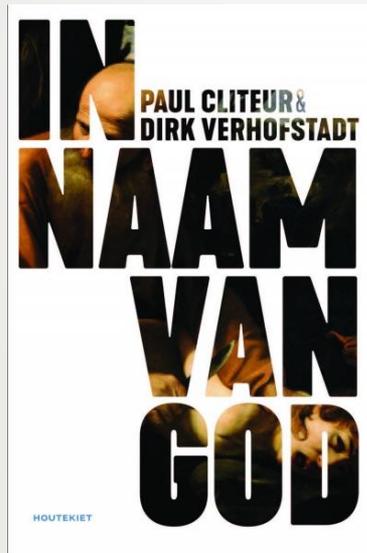
Of course, numbers count. You cannot say a religion is violent because only a few believers make a totally unwarranted connection between their criminal behavior and their religion. But if, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, witches, heretics, and infidels were burnt at the stake and



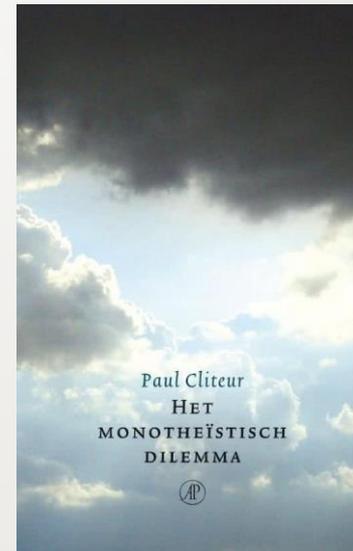
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Literature

2018



2010

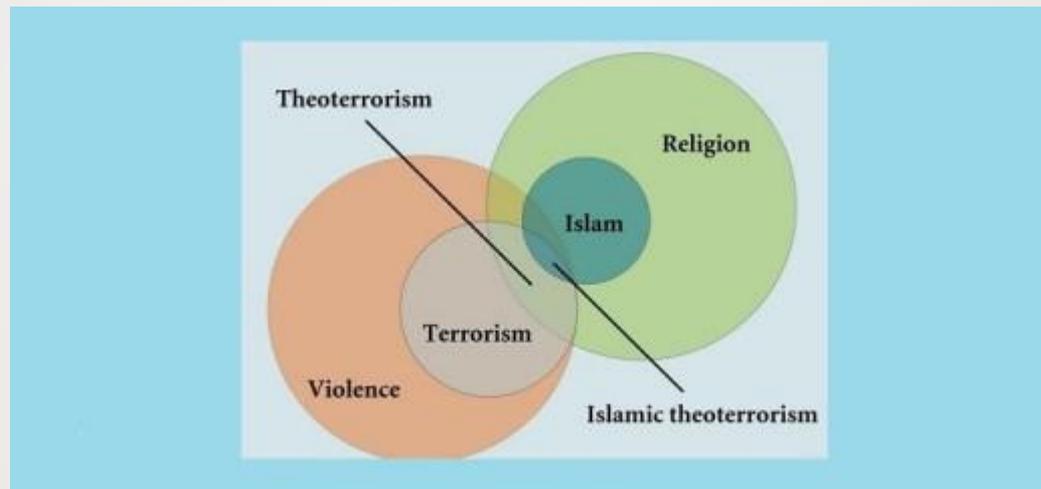


Hoe religieus geweld tot ons komt. Via terrorisme. Art. 83a WvS: terrorisme

- *Onder terroristisch oogmerk wordt verstaan het oogmerk om de bevolking of een deel der bevolking van een land ernstige vrees aan te jagen, dan wel een overheid of internationale organisatie wederrechtelijk te dwingen iets te doen, niet te doen of te dulden, dan wel de fundamentele politieke, constitutionele of sociale structuren van een land of een internationale organisatie ernstig te ontwrichten of te vernietigen.*

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Religie, geweld, terrorisme



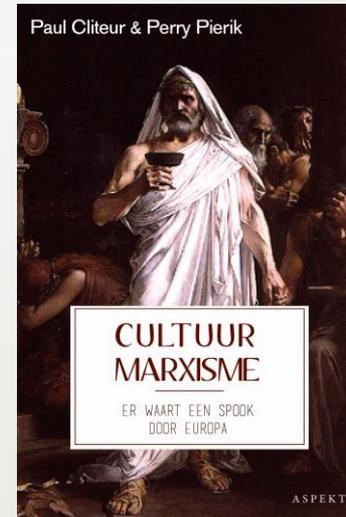
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Waartegen richt zich islamistische theoterrorisme? The Enlightenment under pressure

2018

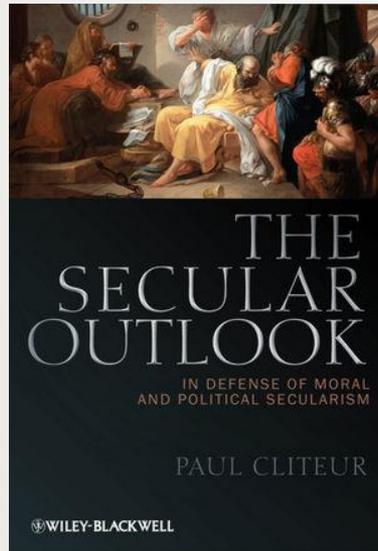


2018

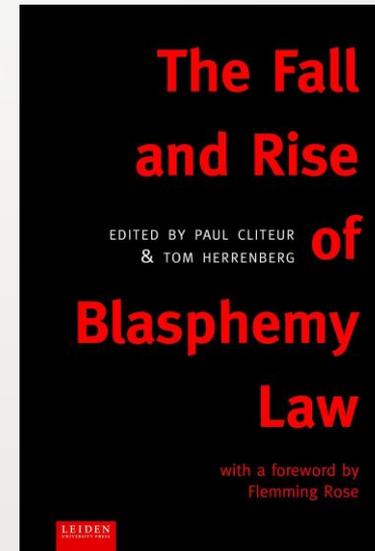


Rise and Fall of Blasphemy Law

2010



2016



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Three parts

Part I The problem stated: theoterrorism and freedom of speech

Part II The history of this conflict

Part III Possible solutions for this conflict

Part I The problem stated: freedom of speech and terrorism

- Do they have anything to do with each other?
- And, if so, what?

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: Mohmmmed 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)

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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](#)

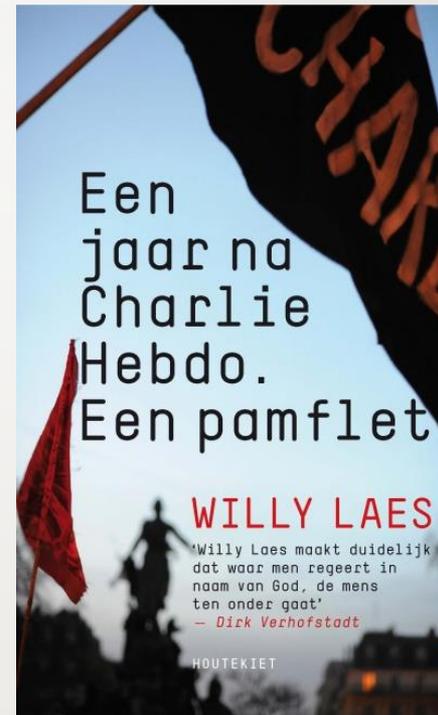


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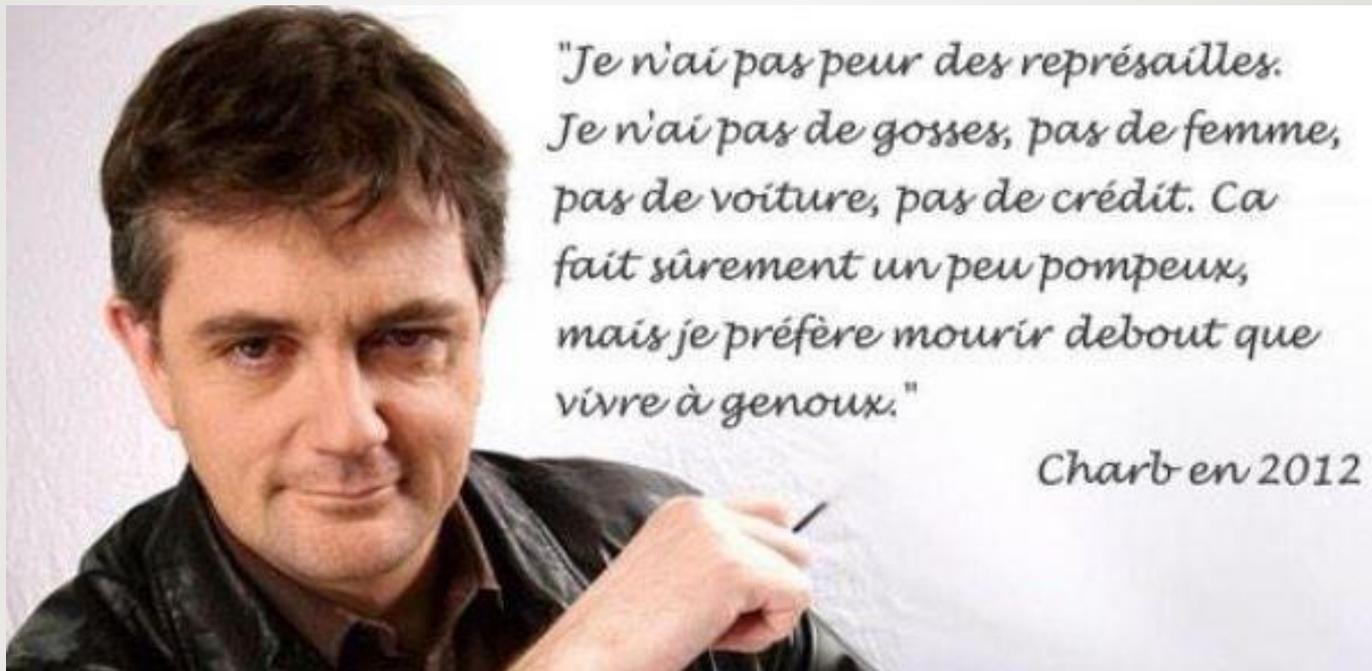
The effectiveness of theoterrorism

NOS 7 januari 2018

Now, three years later,
the magazine is almost
broke. Security costs.
Nobody is Charlie
anymore.



The death of Charb: in vain?



Do we win or lose the battle for free speech?



Part II 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)

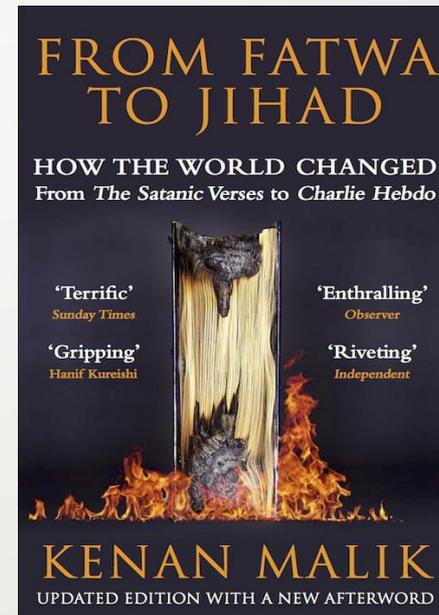
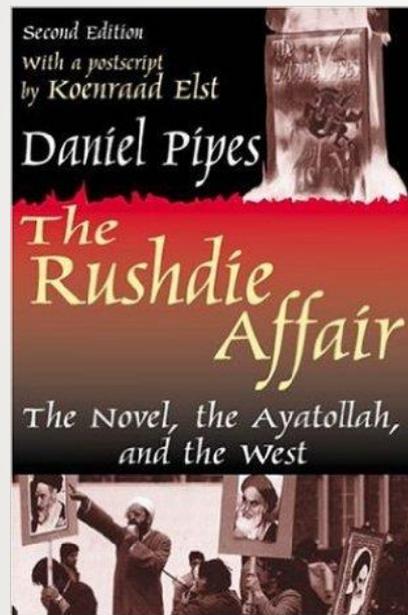
In the name of Him, the Highest. There is only one God, to whom we shall return. I inform all zealous Muslims of the world that the author of the book entitled The Satanic Verses – which has been compiled, printed, and published in opposition to Islam, the Prophet, and the Qur'an – and all those involved in its publication who were aware of its content, are sentenced to death.

29 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.

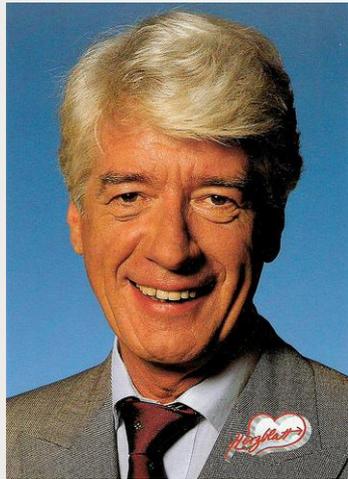
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Fatwa discussed in books on Rushdie



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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



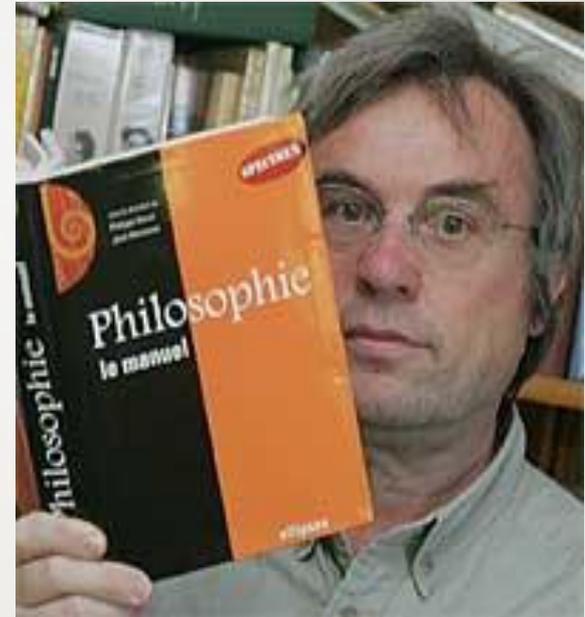
Pope Benedict XVI in Regensburg (2006)

- 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 Regenburg address of Pope
- Under police protection



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)?

Part III Solutions to this conflict

1. Present a realistic analysis of the nature of the conflict
2. Defend free speech by using it

Ad 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

Murder of Lee Rigby 22 mei 2013

The only reason we have killed this man today is because Muslims are dying daily by British soldiers. And this British soldier is one.... By Allah, we swear by the almighty Allah we will never stop fighting you until you leave us alone. So what if we want to live by the Sharia in Muslim lands? Why does that mean you must follow us and chase us and call us extremists and kill us? Adebolajo — Excerpted from a Daily Telegraph transcript

Adebolajo (vervolg)

... Through many passages in the Koran we must fight them as they fight us...I apologise that women had to witness this today but in our lands women have to see the same. You people will never be safe. Remove your governments, they don't care about you.

Adebolajo (vervolg)

... You think David Cameron is gonna get caught in the street when we start busting our guns? Do you think politicians are going to die? No, it's going to be the average guy, like you and your children. So get rid of them. Tell them to bring our troops back...leave our lands and you will live in peace.

Woolwich (Zuid-Oost Londen)



- Extremist Michael Adebolajo, 31, has been branded “violent, unpredictable and a major danger to other prisoners.” (*The Sun*, 2017)
- Moord op Lee Rigby

Elements of theoterrorism

- Religion all-important
- Divine will commands execution of blasphemers
- Individual zealot has to act according to this
- Fear of death should not distract true believer (martyrdom)
- Religious legitimacy more important than secular legitimacy (theocracy vs democracy)

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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

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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.”

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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



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Prize Prins Bernard Cultuurfonds 2017



The alternative



The influence on social policy

*Actieplan polarisatie en
radicalisering 2007-2011,*

Ministerie van Binnenlandse
Zaken en Koninkrijksrelaties,
Augustus 2007.

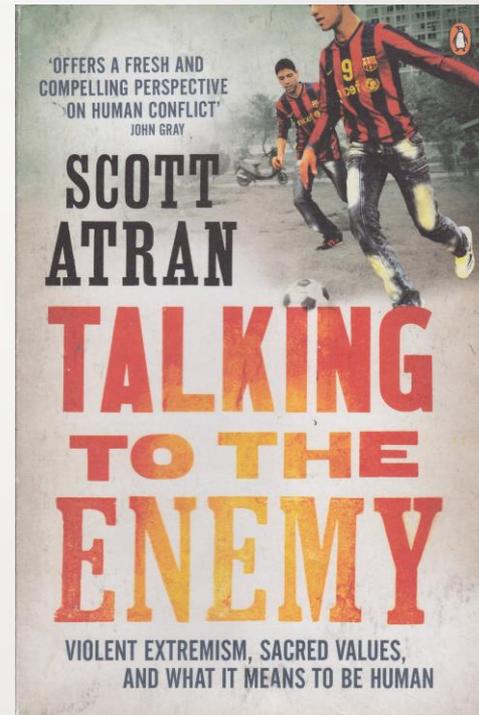
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Conclusion of posing the right diagnosis

Posing the right diagnosis of the causes of terrorism is an essential precondition for having success in combating it;

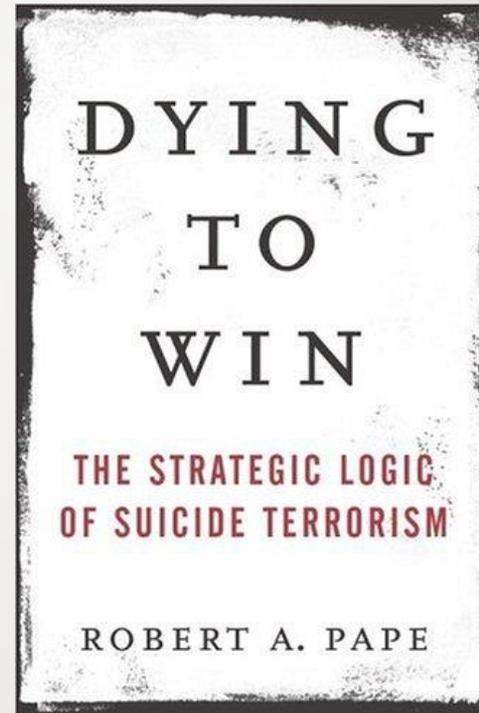
Denial of religious dimension 1

- “Violent extremism”
- Terrorists are spurred not by their own humiliation, but by watching the humiliation of people they associate with



Denial of religious dimension 2

- 315 suicide terrorism attacks around the world from 1980 through 2003
- The U.S.-led war on terrorism is based on a faulty premise, i.e. that suicide terrorism is mainly a product of Islamic fundamentalism

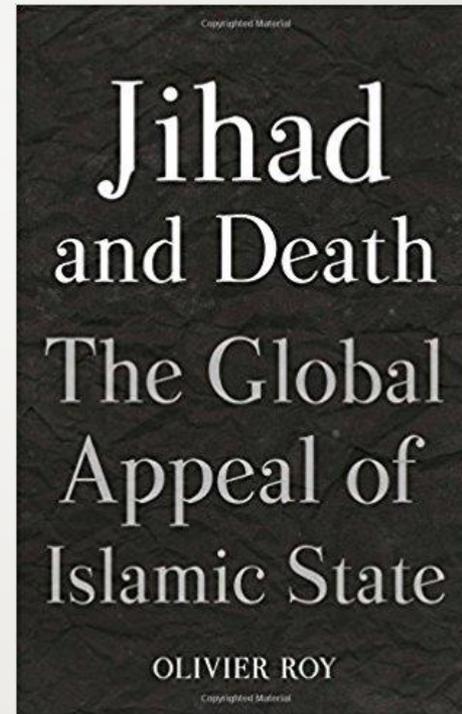


Denial of religious dimension 3

“Il ne s’agit pas de la radicalization de l’islam, mais de l’islamisation de a radicalité.”

(Olivier Roy)

“Ils n’ont presque jamais un passé de piété et de pratique religieuse, au contraire.”



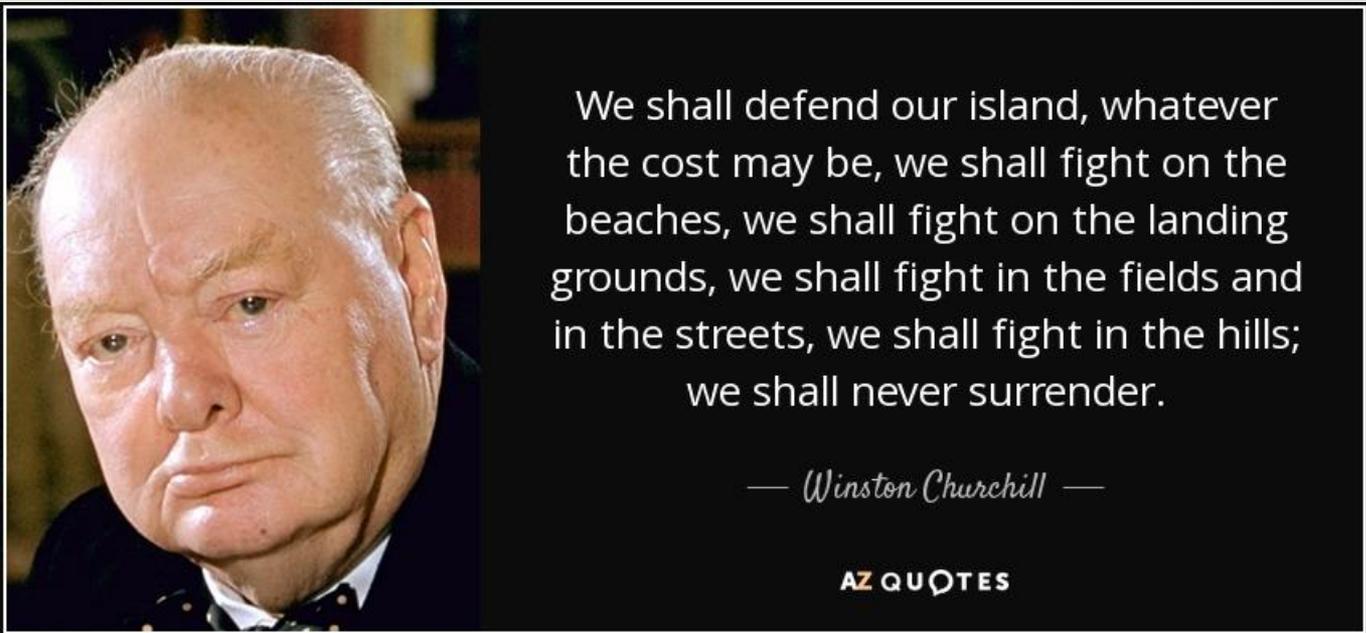
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Ad 2 Defend free speech by using it

**The only thing
necessary for the
triumph of evil is for
good men to do
nothing.**

Edmund Burke

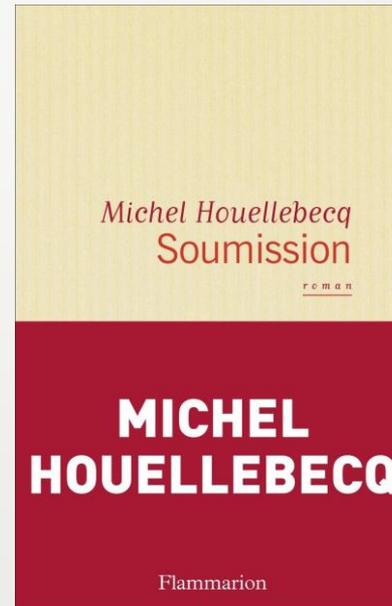
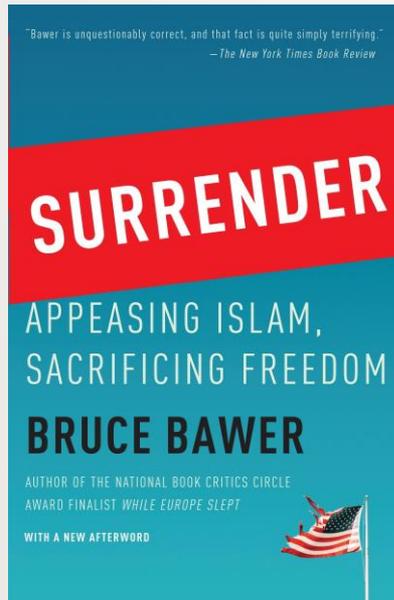
Defend your territory



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.

No surrender



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

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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



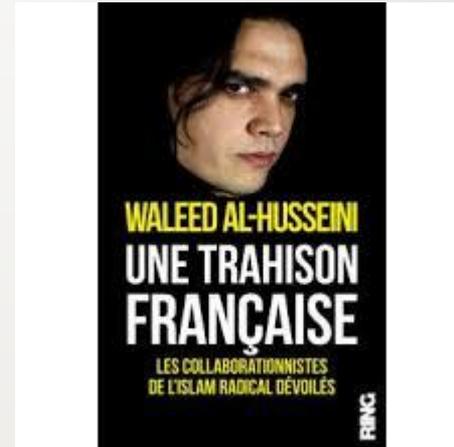
Mina Ahadi

- 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

Jeannette 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

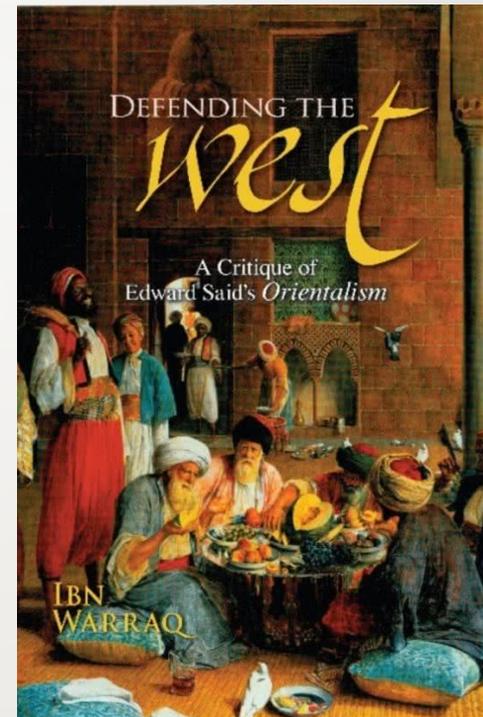
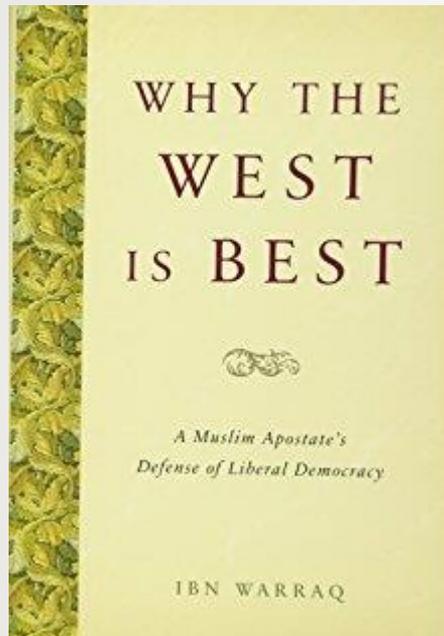
Loss of faith

Preoccupation with the dark pages European history

Racificatie

Nazificatie

Ibn Warraq



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Nimrod - Churchill



<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kx3W4F80L0>

4

So far the termites have come

- Is Jihad niet de *reactie* op onze koloniale onderdrukking?
- Hebben we dit niet over ons zelf afgeroepen?
- Europees imperialisme
- De munitiemagazijntheorie in internationaal verband



Christopher Hitchens

"How far the termites have spread, and how long and well they've dined."

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National Security Strategy USA 2017

- Defeat Jihadist Terrorists
- “Jihadist terrorist organizations present the most dangerous terrorist threat to the Nation.” (p. 10 Ibid.)

