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RELIGION AS A FACTOR FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS' PRACTICALITY

Bachelor's Thesis

Supervisor: Professor Peeter Müürsepp

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I declare that I have written the bachelor's thesis independently.

All works and major viewpoints of the other authors, data from other sources of literature and elsewhere used for writing this paper have been referenced.

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ABSTRACT

Religion is a phenomenon of the highest complexity, which includes cultural traits, philosophical ideas about being, irrational beliefs in revelations, and fierce debates about purpose of life. In addition, in ancient societies, it represented the first laws and a source of wisdom and education. There are many definitions of religion, and each person, depending on his/her background, age, position in the society, level of education and other circumstances, gives it a different meaning. There have been and still are many types of religions and various religious communities. Some of them are fading away, while the other ones are appearing or re-appearing anew. Nevertheless, throughout the long history, as results of secularization and objective science have an every-day-life, people are not giving up on irrational subjectivity of faith and religion by replacing it with rational objective scientific explanations of the unknown. In a number of cases and within many societies, religion still seems to dominate in addressing the most questionable parts of a human's mysterious nature, forcing them to get linked with religiously-'flavoured' morality. The latter factor makes it academically justifiable to look at religion from new perspectives and see how this may help in improving our understanding of International Relations' practicality. This paper claims that the academic discipline of International Relations could have substantially more to offer for its students and practitioners, should it allow for a more rigorously treated factor of religion – not as a mere topic for a discussion, but rather as a strong unifying force in the process of achieving a set of desirable goals. It could be suggested that this research work is a modest attempt to contribute to a centuries-long debate in the field of Liberal theory, while seeking for an eclectic way to approach a complicated matter.

Keywords: Religion, Philosophy, International Relations, Liberalism, Peacebuilding.

INTRODUCTION

Religion has a long history of existence, and it would not be a great exaggeration to say that it has been making company to humanity ever since first people were born up until modern times. Through all the years of its existence, religion has been playing different important roles. The roles have included an offering to explain the unexplainable for the primitive of society, the emerging of philosophy and science, and addressing ontological and epistemological questions; it was also the source of education in the middle ages because the Bible was the first printed book in Europe; therefore, the art of reading was at the hands of the church; spanning many centuries, it was an important topic for many artists that resulted in humanity having amazing pieces of art that people still admire today. Religion also gave people an idea of how to behave in the society and treat others, thus playing a role in drafting the first laws. Some the functions of religion have been replaced by science and some have preserved till modern times.

When speaking about International Relations, it is important to understand that one of the main concerns of it lies in the national interests of the states as well as regulation and balance of power between the Great Powers (Tsygankov 2008, 22). Liberal International Relations theory goes beyond this because it not only stresses out the importance of economic relations and work of the non-governmental organizations, but also of on an individual, to a certain extent, accepting the idea that international and state levels are strongly influenced by national and personal levels. This means that each person makes a difference. The theory accepts the necessity of self-development, including education and spiritual growth; therefore, it makes it easier to introduce religion as an agent of liberal theory, giving it a more important role. By discovering humanity within one's self by the means of religion, people become more friendly, open-minded and tolerant towards others. It has become clear that fights over military capacity, as well as economic deals, do not seem to get closer to solving international conflicts. Therefore, this paper suggests that other means of perusing peace should be found, and that these lie within the scope

of religion-originated paradigms. One of the tasks of religion deals with – spiritual education and self-development of people – is quite often neglected by the discipline of International Relations; thus, from the discipline's practicality point of view, it is suggested that it may help in peace building and peace maintaining process.

This paper will not focus on definition of religion as a collection of rituals and dogmas that one has to follow and it will not describe religion form the perspective of different traditions. Rather, it focuses on one of the core ideas of all religions- questions of ethics, morality and law. Religion does not prescribe any moral or ethical rules but it enforces people to act morally. According to Haught (1990, 246), morality flourishes only whenever people have a firm conviction that it is worth living, religion does not strive to make us moral, but it provides the reassurance that one's life is worth living at all; by pointing to a higher power as an ultimate reason why reality is trustworthy, religion makes a central contribution to morality. This paper specifies that religion, unlike objective science, may give people certain security while confronting their most sacred fears, vulnerabilities, desires and uncertainties concerning the future. It also stresses that these do not differ from one religious culture to another, and the only difference between each culture or society is how these entities call upon their religions.

The purpose of this thesis is not to describe well-known definitions of International Relations theories and methods that this discipline uses, but give an overview of the topic that International Relations has been ignoring. This paper desires to prove that even though the role of religion in the modern society has changed, it still exerts influence of people's moral behaviour; thus, having an impact on the individual, societal, state, interstate and global levels, as individuals form society. Another task of the paper is to see how the impact of religion on people may be used to improve society and International Relations, suggesting that this cause may help advance Liberal International Relations theory and practice along with peacekeeping and peacebuilding programs of the United Nations (UN). Taking into consideration the fact, that International Relations specialist in their vast majority tend to ignore religious factor, in some cases being sarcastic about it, this paper sets more focus on explanation of why it is important to count religion in to the studies of International Relations; giving this paper slightly philosophical view. In frames of this work, it makes more sense to talk a bit more about religion, because it is a field which normally gets little or no attention of International Relations scholars. Concluding all of

the mentioned above, it is essential to emphasize the two important questions that this research paper will be addressing. First: is there a way for modern society to start seeing religion as a force that unites people by helping develop more humane feelings and attitudes? To answer this inquiry, this research paper uses an example of Christianity by showing that it teaches people how to behave, control one's emotions, treat others and in the end have harmony in society. The second question as if religion, with its ability to appeal to moral behaviour and self-development, can start playing more significant role in International Relations theory and practice, as well as maintenance and peacebuilding programs? To achieve these objectives, the paper is divided into five parts. The first chapter describes theory, gives an overview of the literature used for the current research, defines boundaries of the topic and introduces the subject. The second part brings out the method used to achieve the goals set. The third part shows an example of Christianity and how this religion introduces some lines of behaviour and how it affects morality and ethics of people on the most basic level, thereby, operating as the simplest lawgiving institution that positively affects a human's psychology. The fourth chapter observes some of the roles that religion plays for a modern person and the impact it has on society and politics as a while. The final chapter brings together religion and International Relations, suggesting that psychological influence of religion may be positively used to not only improve Liberal International Relations theory, but also to help maintain peace and reduce conflicts. It may work well as a tool for the UN's international peace and security programs. The conclusion will demonstrate the results of the research, revealing whether the goals that have been set out at the beginning are achievable, and make applicable suggestions.

1. THEORY

To avoid misunderstandings and wrong interpretations of the topic, it is important to give narrower definitions to these subjects that this research paper explores. One must also define the scope of the research. This setting of the scene will also include a literature review that demonstrates the actual procedure of how the materials were collected and analysed.

It has been mentioned above that religion is a very broad phenomenon, due to its historical development and changes in perception of religion by modern society. In modern societies, one may find some groups of people who build their law systems on religion, others that only respect religious traditions as part of culture, and some who regularly go to church and follow all the rituals. This paper will stick to the definition of religion as "a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic" (Geertz 1993, 90). This essentially means that religion is providing people with the answers that even modern science cannot give; thus, granting them hope for the future. Faith systems also try to explain life and mysteries by being a part of world cultures. The extent of impact religion has, varies from one nation to another and one religious group to another, but religion always gives modern people an opportunity to show honour to their ancestors.

One of the tasks of this paper is to prove that religion's role in society as law giving and morality appealing institution is still valid, demonstrating and proving it on the example of Christianity and focusing on the idea that this function is universal to all religions. Secondly, it is important to find out the role of religion in the modern society, more importantly in politics and International Relations. And finally, combine the two parts together and see how that is useful to International Relations Liberal theory and peace programs, more precisely An Agenda for Peace

of the UN. It is important to understand that the field of International Relations deals with the relationships among the world's governments; however, these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as international organizations, multinational corporations, and individuals); with other structures (including economies, culture, and domestic politics); and with geographical and historical influences (Goldstein 2009, 1). Religion acts not only as a strong psychological manipulator, but forms a significant part of culture and institution, and it is extremely important to see how that impacts International Relations. One must figure out whether it is possible to use those roles and characteristics of religion as an advantage for the improvement of Liberal International Relations theory and practice along with peacekeeping programs.

Many philosophers have been discussing the topic of religion and its role in the society, and the starting point for this research paper is the moral argument of Immanuel Kant, who neither directly tried to prove the existence of God by that theory, nor said religion, had ever been prescribing moral behaviour. He said moral behaviour and justice made sense only if God existed and religion appealed to the moral behaviour of people. Many contemporary International Relations' specialists have been promoting the necessity of including religion back to the International Relations theory. These individuals include Fox, Sandler and Thomas. All of them think religion is a strong institution that in many countries, mostly Islamic ones, plays a great role in politics. Some attribute religion as the cause of 9/11 events as one of the examples of disasters that may occur due to stubborn desire of some political scientists to continue secularization and keep on ignoring religious factor. Fox and Sandler argue that religion influences not only legitimacy but also political and people's behaviour, therefore they suggest that understanding of International Relations is incomplete without inclusion of religion into the discipline (2004, 2). Thomas not only states that religion with its traditions and rituals is to certain extent acting as soft power, but also brings up conflicts in Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Israel, pointing out at religious involvement into those conflicts. He also claims that religion might be a factor that could be filling out black holes, which International Relations fail to explain when analysing similar conflicts around the world. Fox, Sandler, Thomas and Wilson don not aim at changing International Relations as a discipline, but suggest expanding its boundaries, allowing religious factor to be considered equally to economic and political ones. Bradley focuses on anthropology

and religion; he insists that religion takes part in formations of humans' emotions and identity, which should be seen as formation of micro level. International Relations, on the contrary, deals mostly with the macro level and therefore lacks understanding of why certain events take place. Polinder analyses the book of former Dutch diplomat Edy Korthals Altes, who explains it is important to adhere to moral principles of religion; military is not sufficient in conflict resolution, whereas religion and church could promote reconciliation and harmony (2010, 95).

This research paper concentrates more on the psychological part of the question and rather individual level and only then explores how that influences the global one. To narrow down the topic to the aspects that are needed to be addressed, it was necessary to find the right definition of both religion and International Relations. Liberal International Relations theorists mostly agree on the works of Puchala and Richmond. As to the definition of religion, the famous sayings of Voltaire, Freud and Shaw were included, as well as some works of other authors who spoke of religion and International Relations like Nosovitch, Gascoigne and Haught. Even though the paper uses Christianity as an example, it still underlines the idea of that all religions in the world have same basis and differ only in their exterior; therefore, this paper also uses some famous sayings of Buddhists like Osho and the Dalai Lama XIV, who not only is seen a spiritual leader but also a political one. Both of them promote the idea of spirituality of the modern society and the impact of religion on politics and mundane life in general. This may be helpful to create a better society as well as reduce conflicts and create more peace. The literature analysed essentially points out at the necessity of including religion as a factor that affects International Relations; nevertheless, the issue addressed in this research paper has never been directly mentioned in any of the works because this paper aims at psychological impact of religion on an individual and the society as a whole. Bradley with his analysis of anthropology and religion could be seen as the closest one to the argument of this paper. The resulting topic is very theoretical and hypothetical, and it may never find enough proof until practiced. This was one of the biggest complications for this investigation; however, the mere exploration of the idea may prove invaluable.

2. METHODOLOGY

To find out whether it is possible to see religion as one unifying force and not a topic for a discussion and also to use it as a tool that would help International Relations Liberal theory to solve conflicts and in the UN's programs of preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peacekeeping and peacebuilding, a creative approach had to be found. For that purpose, interdisciplinary type of research was selected, because it allows combining and finding solutions for the topics that at first glance seem completely opposite: religion and International Relations.

Both objects: International Relations and religion are very broad in their definitions as both touch several different aspects of life. In general terms, International Relations is an interdisciplinary subject itself, which includes behavioural aspect, economic, cultural and political. Religion is partly cultural, psychological, traditional and a law giving phenomenon. Interdisciplinary type of research helps to find a more creative way on how to combine both objects. On the report on both topics there is more of a focus made on individual, his/her behaviour and psychology. All of this is influenced by religion, be it a tradition, or psychological manipulator, and how that all affects social and global levels in International Relations. Furthermore, a resolution of conflicts and peacekeeping programs are important. Thus this paper suggests that some modifications in International Relations Liberal theory should be made, paying even more attention on an individual. These changes would help maintain peace in the world because recent events show that crises and wars do take place even in the modern world; therefore, new contemporary ways of reaching peace should be found.

For setting a background for the topic, some secondary research that includes qualitative data on the topic has been made. First of all, it is important to find appropriate definitions and secondly to consider previous researches made on the similar topic; in the end, it was decided to pick Christianity as an example to prove that religion both was and is still a morality appealing institution and also is an important unit of modern life, which occasionally affects society and

sometimes politics. The authors that speak in favour of including religion as of the of the factors into international relations theory mostly base their argument on the 9/11 terrorist attack, and claim that religion, especially Islam, which of course does not always mean terrorism, has a strong influence on their politics and foreign affairs. This research paper goes deeper than that as it aims to conclude that religions are all about one and the same thing and that it has a strong influence on the psychological formation of a person and only then society.

This research paper also used the method of Rousseau the negation of negation. Rousseau was using this method to explain how people should develop while living in the society and finally gain freedom: "Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains" (1968, 49). The idea was that people give up their freedom to live in the society for the sake of learning and developing themselves, through gathering all sorts of experiences, to then finally get freedom that will never be taken away from them. In a word, one is negating freedom at first, gets chained by the society, where one learns to appreciate freedom, to desire it, develops oneself and finally starts negating this imprisonment to be granted liberty and independence. The same method can be used in any field of life, as such in this paper for the concept of religion. Religion was born almost the same time as the human's race, and it has been changing ever since, playing different roles in different times in history. When speaking of Europe and Christianity, with rise of science and capitalism, there was secularization where many desired of religion to be negated and taken away from the society. This paper suggests that secularization is not the right path for society, and society must bring religion back in the new form, where it does not try to play the role of political organization, nor has law giving functions as such, but rather helps people in self-development process. This process includes becoming more friendly, tolerant and spiritual and all of these characteristics will serve well in International Relations. Thereafter, the people may help maintain peace, resolve existing problems while helping people understand no matter what country one comes from, no matter how different the cultures are; people are all the same, have the same fears, weaknesses and desire to be happy. Generally speaking, this paper seeks to reinforce Liberal International Relations theory and insists on the peaceful resolution of conflicts and their prevention.

3. FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION THAT AFFECT IR

Religion plays a significant role in historical and modern societies. There must be a reason why religion is so important to people. Even after recent scientific booms, when biologists, physicists and chemists introduced their ideas and explanations of man's existence on Earth, of how the first humans appeared, religion as an institution did not collapse. This created an enormous change in human's understanding of life, removing the divine explanations of everything happening around the world. Secularization formed an essential part in establishment of modern society and boosted emergence of new disciplines and science, among them International Relations. Yet, even more curious is it to understand why in modern quickly developing world, where technology seems to have an answer to everything, religion has not faded away, in many places still playing its original role. People appear to need religion for some reason and they do not seem to be willing to give it up. To further this chase, religious needs and desires seem prevalent for all cultures, which proves again the idea that "religious traditions and customs is what makes religions different in essence they are the same" (Gasecoigne 2003, 7). All the religions in the world tend to be addressing the same sacred part of people's life and that should be seen as a proof that in their nature people from all over the world have same fears, problems and desires. This is an important knowledge for the International Relations' specialists as this very point may be observed as the one that would reduce conflicts in the world and help in peace maintaining programs. It is crucial to understand people's behaviour and consider as many factors that participate in formation on person's psychology as possible, religion being only one of those. The world consists of individuals, and a single person's decision may have an impact on: an individual level (e.g. convictions and beliefs of teaching staff of university may not coincide with those of a student, therefore they may fail him/her); society and state levels (e.g. people vote for those politicians who they think will better represent their ideas, at the same politicians being influenced by their system of beliefs make decisions and affect the whole state

and lives of those who voted for them), finally global and interstate levels (decisions made on that level may sometimes lead to conflicts and wars). This chapter demonstrates how religion influences some people's minds, bringing up Christianity as an example.

3.1.   Impacts of religion on human's psychology

Religion and faith have always been an important topic of the philosophers of all times, not only because religion basically gave birth to philosophy, but also because they seem to be addressing same issues and tend to find a way of creating harmonious society. Osho says religion is so unique in its essence, and it does not have to do anything with institutions; it basically does not matter which religious group one is born to: Islam, Hinduism or Christianity; religion has to be chosen consciously, and it is only then that it starts to make sense (2010, 502). This is an argument for the idea that it does not actually matter which religious group one belongs to, because they first of all are the same in their core idea. They focus on teaching morality, ethics and behaviour in society. This can be seen in Christian Bible, beatitudes, description of life of Saints; Islamic Quran, Fiqh and Sunnas; Buddhist Eightfold Path, The Four Noble Truths, the Middle Way and Judaist Tanakh and teachings of Moses. Secondly it matters more to take a decision of living according to religious teachings, being more virtuous and thus more useful to the society, rather than blindly and without clear understanding repeat religious rituals. What makes religions of the world different from one another is the interpretation of the core tenants in addition to some external factors like geography, cultural heritage and climate. All of these are external aspects, which in reality should not matter as much anymore because they prevent people from understanding their own religious truths. Religion and faith in general, with their supernatural explanation of the unexplainable, seem to be more welcome by the society than science with its rational and realistic approach. Voltaire explains it in a pretty simple way: "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him" (1768). This means that God does not have to exist, and even if there was a proof that he did not exist, people would invent something else or would try to deny this proof. People need religion because they simply want to believe in something. People need to justify everything what is happing around then, and they wish to give

purpose to their lives and hope for a better afterlife. This is one of the oldest reasons why religion survives.

Religion can be viewed as the purpose of life, and to a certain extent plays a role in modern law, as people were told what was wrong and right and through this ensured people would coexist more peacefully in the society. Religion also gives people a sense of being loved and needed. Freud sees God as a "Father who only loves- and is only loved in return. […] The God whom people call upon in prayer is not a being who belongs to reality; he is an image, an illusion projected outward from the self and onto the external world out of the deep need to overcome our guilt or allay our fears" (Pals 1996, 73). This means that people feel the necessity of an ideal creature, be it God for instance, who would accept them as they are, with their weaknesses, sins, fears and problems and will at least in their imagination give them a hand when needed. In everyday life people face a lot of rejections as they get judged by their appearance, knowledge, social status, gender, nationality and skin colour. Rejection is one of the most difficult psychological pressures to overcome; therefore, there appears a need of a Father or Mother figure, or someone who would love unconditionally. Apart from this fact, the modern world is quick to judge others and that can make people feel more alienated. Social interaction is a must for healthy growth and development. The act of being taken care of, being loved still remains and even grows when God and faith come to place. A spiritual need for the Father or God comes from the essentiality of reliving the feeling of being a child again, knowing there is no need of doing anything to gain the love of parents. This seems to be the case in modern society, as older people tend to follow religion more often than the young. Even something unfamiliar to Western society like Buddhism gains popularity alongside with practices of yoga or spreading of God's messages through modern documentaries like *The Secret*. This documentary was one of the first ones to address the faiths of God and interpret God's law by calling it Universe or energy. This further promotes the idea of self-development and underscores that a person is never alone; there is always someone who loves him/her and will always help. Religion is therefore a deeply psychological connection, which has been working for centuries and still works, which makes everybody feel loved regardless culture, religion, skin colour, gender or age. Faith is something that makes people alike and also in that way unites them, reducing possibilities of war and conflicts, which is one of the main tasks of International Relations.

Nevertheless, faith and beliefs are mostly neglected by modern governments who tend to be promoting secularization, trying to replace God's law with European laws, common laws and others. These laws in essence may work well because governments protect people; punish them when they disobey or break the law; however, government and law, being so protective with their citizens, do not give the unconditional love people crave. One of the reasons for this is of course that this unconditional love is a concept more common in religious ideology that comes from their imagination, but it is crucial and should be considered as a key to law and International Relations.

Other than the necessity of loving and being loved in return, more importantly to be loved unconditionally and with no demands, people armed with the explanations of modern science still feel uncertainty with the future as well as life after death. Many people seem to be willing to either believe in reincarnation or life after death in paradise, as the scientific idea of not-being is frightening, no one wants to think that after death person's life is over, body is converted into ashes and one moves to not-being (Bulgakov 2011, 282). It is far more pleasurable to hope that one gets to keep on living and enjoying the miracle of life forever. Science explains very well how the Earth was created, how the Universe is functioning and even predicts when it is going to be over. Science removes the purpose life and treats in as mundane and thus actually puts societal order under threat. According to Kant, it does not make any sense to behave morally, not to commit crimes, treat others well if God does not exist and in an afterlife no one gets neither punished nor rewarded. It might be one of the reasons why in the modern society religion is not denied and in many cases still plays a role in politics.

Furthermore, our faith and religion are among the things that make us feel safe and secure. From a healthy spiritual perspective, faith and religion lead people to place their trust in God, showing how to let God take care of people's fears (Graham 2002, 181). On everyday bases, religion and God help people cope with their problems and fears because it is easier to think there is someone else helping. One is not alone struggling to overcome the difficulties as the divine support gives a person a feeling that whatever he/she does, it will be a success. It also helps to see the light in the end of the tunnel. When everything is going wrong, one always gets to hope that soon it will get better and that God never gives human duties he/she may not carry. Generally speaking, one may agree with the famous saying of Karl Marx that religion is opium

for people because religion gives faith and illusion of happiness- people simply need it; therefore, it becomes clear that politics, law, science or technology, with all the benefits that they give to people, cannot replace religion because religion appeals to a more sacred parts of human's psychology. At the same, this is a factor that should be considered because individual behaviour affects societal and global levels and is therefore important to International Relations. As it was suggested by Thomas (2005, 27), "[r]eligion has always been a part of politics and society in developing countries because the concerns of religion are an inevitable part of what it means to be human". For the purpose of reintroducing religion to the discourse, Liberal International Relations theories could work well, as these theories bring more focus on an individual to accept his/her spiritual needs and necessity of self-development; furthermore, it would be in society's best interest to make religion a strong actor in international arena. Analysing individual's psychological behaviour, could help International Relations specialists get better understanding of the reasons of conflicts as well as give a clue on how to solve them; what works on micro-level, should work on the macro level as well, which is the law of physics, that is how the Universe is working.

3.2.   Christianity as a morality appealing tool

Apart of the psychological influence, religions all over the world tend to play a role of morality appealing mechanism. In some cases like Islam, Judaism and Hinduism, it plays the role of state law. Christianity is not an exception as it does not directly oblige people to act according to natural or state law. Rather, it encourages people to be moral and through Bible, Ten Commandments, Beatitudes and parables teach one how to treat others, grow positive attitudes and be more humane. Despite of the fact that Christianity has many divisions, each of these have a slightly different interpretation of rituals. In its core principles they are basically the same. By declaring ideas of equality of all the people on Earth no matter their ethnicity, gender or social status, Christianity has thus become a major world religion (Nosovitch 1996, 91).

This chapter brings up an example of Christianity, to demonstrate that religious education of people not only affects their behaviour in the society, but also may help analyse and control it.

Bradley suggests International Relations' scholars should look into anthropology of religion, which essentially would help in macro analysis as well as understand why replacement of religion has not by secularism has been unsuccessful (2009, 267). International Relations is typically Western discipline, with majority of the countries having Christianity as state religion, therefore it makes sense to analyse the Ten Commandments and the Sermon of the Mount as an example of religious teachings that affect people's moral education. Historically these Christian teachings were guiding people on how to behave in the society, fulfilling lawgiving function. In the Sermon of the Mount, Jesus radicalizes the Law by, for instance, making anger murderous and lust adulterous and calling for his disciples to be perfect (Christianity: History…2012, 65, 66). Beatitudes, unlike the Ten Commandments, which are more of preventive function, are teachings of self-development, which call upon more humane attitudes, virtuous behaviour and love. Beatitudes have the function of showing people which emotions and types of behaviour are virtuous; these are helpful to maintain society in peace and harmony. Ten Commandments is the collection of the most basic norms of behaviour, natural law or code of conduct. The ideas within the commandments are common not only to Christian but also in other religions of the world. It is not as important to argue over how these basic codes of behaviour appeared. Whether they were given to people by God or was it a human's invention, it is more important that those rules give people an idea of ethical behaviour and how to maintain societal order.

When observing Christianity even deeper after setting aside the rituals, one may trace that in Bible, in the description of lives of Saints and Jesus, there are many valuable lessons for International Relations. In parables it all points at morality and demonstration of humane feeling. These do not necessarily insist people should act one way and not the other, but rather give an exemplary perfect way of living. In a Christian cultural environment, for example, faith dominates over reason, feelings over logics (Nosovitch 1996, 91). In many developing countries, like Latin American, religious traditions and Christian law are still strongly used. Due to the lack of literacy and knowledge of the state law, religion helps hold society in place, controlling people's behaviour through Christian rules, which are more likely to be taught in the families. The number of developing countries, that are not yet ready to give up on religion, is high; therefore it makes it impossible to ignore religion on international level. Lines of behaviour of many diplomats and politicians have their roots in religious morality, even though they might not

demonstrate that. Consequently, Religious background may affect the decisions made on state and interstate levels and, as such must be considered by International Relations. Summing up, religious moral teachings are still valid for society and if one observes them more deeply and understands them as a way of developing the spirit, one may save the world from conflicts. At least one can reduce their number of global issues. It is important to understand that Christianity, or any other religion, should not be seen as spreading the message of God in the sense trying to convert everybody to one religion; it is about becoming humane and spreading the message of peace and friendship of all the nations. This is a valuable lesson for those looking to make an impact via International Relations. Many social sciences, including International Relations have their origins in rejection of religion as an explanation of the world. It is noted that "Westphalian system recognized the state as the dominant actor, replacing the transnational authority of the Catholic Church" (Thomas 2005, 33). However, religion remains the basis of modern law systems and therefore it is impossible to negate its influence on individual, state and global levels.

The Dalai Lama XIV explains very simply how general people may be more virtuous and moral in everyday life. He says it would be enough to live in harmony with religious practices fulfilling mundane tasks such as going to work, helping others, making charity, trying to make others happy, and simply being a good citizen and a good person (2009, 39). Religion just gives a clue of how to behave, how do develop more positive attitudes in oneself. Rather than obliging it suggests, and that suggestion is reinforced by religious leaders like the Dalai Lama.

4. RELIGION IN THE MODERN SOCIETY

Religion at one time invaded people's existence with its influence, basically in every sphere of life. It even used to be an important political actor and also a cause of wars, the cruellest of them being the Crusades. These wars are contradictory to the very core principles of peace and unconditional love that religion supposedly was proclaiming. With the development of the society and literacy, the importance of religion started diminishing. This secularization process, which continues today, has made religion to many a kind of a hobby, a non-governmental institution or a family tradition. Fox and Sandler (2004, 11) underlined that "[s]ocial norms that were once defined by religious precept are now defined by technical, rational, and empirical criteria". Modern society, however, lives in the times of the renaissance of religion; this not only means a more religiously centred private life, but also in politics. This does not necessarily mean that religion is gaining back its political force and starts sharing power with the government; rather, religion deals with values, ethics, morality and thus it should play an educational function, helping to form a better society. Religion is one of the non-governmental organizations, alongside with family, schools, universities and other educational institutions that takes part in the process of the formation of human's personality. It is important to stop seeing people only as entities of a certain political system. Rawls point out that citizens usually have both political and non-political aims and commitments, they affirm the values of political justice and want to see them embodied in political institutions and social policies, they also work for the other values in non-public life and for the ends of the associations to which they belong (2005, 30). This chapter sets a focus on demonstrating how religion affects individual and state levels in modern society, bringing some examples which prove that religious factor should not be ignored by International Relations.

4.1. Religion on an individual level

It is important to analyse modern people's behaviour, to get better understanding and explanation to what is happening on the macro level. Wilson claims that seeing connection between religion and politics may help shift thinking form pervasive frameworks with secularism being a dominant ideology, which limits understanding of the spiritual, metaphysical and transcendent dimensions of human existence, which in the end impacts politics across the globe (2014, 348). Process of formation of people's psychology cannot be ignored, because not only common people with certain belief systems affect politics by simple voting, but also politicians with their beliefs may make difference in their own countries or even on the global arena.

4.1.1 Spiritual growth and self-development

Uncertainties in mundane life and in the future have always been accompanying humans throughout their whole life, and this made it possible for religion to occupy a secure place in an individual's conscience and society as a whole (Nosovitch 1996, 36). Modern people started dividing the notion of being religious and spiritual, one does not necessarily have to go to church or belong to any religious group at all to have the right of believing in God, Universal Law or Energies and thus be spiritual and ready for self-development. Yoga, Buddhism and other Eastern practices are becoming more popular in the Western society, which proves that people, despite having new technologies and secularization dominate society for quite a long time, the need for something more than materialistic benefits is strong and materialism does not seem to satisfy spiritual necessities. In the times of rapid changes and hectic lifestyle, many do not cope with that speed and tend to fall under depression; Religious practices come into place and allow people find time for themselves, to relax and forget daily difficulties at least for some time. Bernard Shaw, as cited in Gaither (2012, 1888), said: "Religion is always right. Religion solves every problem and thereby abolishes problems from the Universe. Religion gives us certainty, stability, peace and the absolute. It protects us against progress which we all dread". It is hard to disagree

with that because modern people face many uncertainties and it is hard to cope with it all. If there was no belief and then less people would help.

Estonia is a good example of how one of the least religious countries in the world may still be spiritual. According to the census of 2000, only 29% of Estonian population admitted belonging to some religion, around 14% of them were Lutherans and about 13% Orthodox Christians. In 2005, Eurobarometer poll found out that only 16% of Estonians believed in God, 54%, however, believed in spirits, some kind of life force or energies (Ringvee 2011). Some of believers without belonging to any Church or religious groups call themselves pagans; they try to live according to the laws of nature, they also have some rituals of receiving and giving love while hugging the trees, where as other Estonian atheists develop their spirituality and body by taking yoga classes. The interest of the Estonian population for the Eastern philosophical thought is also proven by the fact that the Dalai Lama XIV has visited Estonia three times: in 1991, 2001, 2011. Despite of fear for the consequences on the political relationships with China, plenty of people went to listen to his speech. Thus, Estonians prove that even though they officially do not consider religion to be an important factor of their lives, religious and spiritual practices are still essential. There is a need of spiritual growth and inner peace, as well as a sort of a hope that there is something or someone one may rely on to avoid feeling of loneliness. They also prove the fact that religion is becoming global, as it does not seem to matter as much which religious group one is born to, but rather to make a choice of believing in something and while doing so giving more emotion to life. Level of spiritual development influences the way of thinking of citizens, having an impact on their political views, which might shift the outcomes of elections and, consequently, predetermines country's foreign policy.

4.1.2 Culture and tradition

Though religion primarily supports a person in the hardest times as a spiritual teacher, it also forms a significant part of culture and traditions. A person is born in the family that belongs to a certain religious group, following religious traditions of the family may be thought of as a demonstration of honour to the ancestors. One does not always understand the importance of some religious rituals or celebrations, but is used to follow them because it is what many

generations before have been doing and it seemed right; therefore, out of superstitious reasons, one decides not to stop that tradition. Some of the religious traditions like Christmas and Easter Celebrations are called upon gathering as many family members as possible. It is a good chance to meet those who one has not seen for the long time, also forgive errors and forget offences. These celebrations have gained even more popularity through commercials and Hollywood movies, and these days bring out the best in society. In the end, all cultures and traditions are typically made for a good purpose- people try to be more humane, more positive and helpful. As all of these family traditions are forming part of culture, they also affect government and politics. In many Christian societies, some of the religious celebrations are considered official days of holidays, and some of the politicians and presidents go to Churches themselves and then get transmitted on the television; thus, starting up as a family or small group tradition, religion in the end creates an image of the whole country, representing some part of its culture.

It is very common for the developing countries to be more religious than the developed countries. For the reasons that have been described above, in developed countries some of the people's necessities that religion has been fulfilling for years are now done by technology. Technological progress in the developing countries is spreading quickly; nevertheless, in many spheres they have still a long way to go to reach the first world countries. Therefore, it is not so surprising to see that old religious traditions are commonly celebrated in Latin American countries. The poorer the country is the closer are its people to God. In Cuba, for instance, alongside with the official religion – Catholic Christianity, there is a great number of people who either belong to Afro-Cuban religious group *Santería* or being Catholic follow some of the rituals of Santería. Both of these religions form part of Cuban culture, even though they contradict each other. They still live side by side forming Cuban identity. Following both Christian and Afro-Cuban tradition is part of what it means to be Cuban as these religious traditions bring people together and give them sense of unity not only with the people around them, but also with the ancestors. In the hard times of political instability, religion acts as a shelter and consolation for the Cuban society.

Interestingly enough, one may see a strong influence of religion on culture even in present day European countries. A good example of that is Austria. According to the latest statistics, published in December 2015, there are around 5, 21 million people belonging to Catholic Church,

which is about 1,02% less than in 2014 (Katholische Kirche Österreich 2015). Every year the number people officially belonging to Catholic Church in Austria is dropping due to the church tax; nevertheless, Austria seems to be a very religious country that tries following those traditions also in the modern times. In the church festival calendar of 2016 there are twelve days which are officially free, with banks and shops closed, and over twenty days that in some parts of Austria may be made a holiday, whereas in others not (Feiertagskalender 2016). What is more, these Church celebrations are not only for resting, Austrians respect traditions of their ancestors as they literally celebrate those days: people dress up in traditional Austrian clothes, they cook food according to occasion, and early in the morning they go to liturgy. After that, in some cases, there are parades, fairs or traditional games, as these days are also meant to be time for visiting family members. Generally speaking, while honouring the traditions and culture of their ancestors, by celebrating church festivals, Austrians feel united; in a word, religion helps keeping family and nation together. Culture is one of the most significant factors of International Relations; for this reason, religion being part of this concept should not be ignored by International Relations' specialists.

4.2. Religious impact on state level

Taking into consideration the fact of long history of co-existence of humans and religion, it would make sense to assume that religion was taking part in formation of person's identity. Even modern people experience that. Browne (2008, 10) noted that "[t]he concept of identity is an important one, as it is only through establishing our own identities and learning about the identities of other individuals and groups that we come to know what makes us similar to some people and different to others". Religion helps one in seeing positive forms of behaviour and morality, thereby helping form a person's identity. This identity impacts and improves society, politics, and eventually the world; furthermore, especially in the developing countries, people tend to trust religious leaders more than politicians, due to several different reasons like the idea of corrupted politicians. Many people are not ready to forgive the countless errors of the

politicians. Pastors, bishops and other church leaders have an image of being someone who cares about people, and thus they gain the trust of others.

4.2.1 Religion affects identity and politics

Browne says identity is something that is socially constructed, that is something created by the socialization process, and the individual and social interpretations and actions of people, it is not something that is given by biology or nature (2008, 18). On everyday bases, people tend to identify themselves first as a person, surrounded by friends, family members. This is more common than identifying one's self as citizen of a certain country, and at the same time with politics and state. Religion is only one of the factors that effects identity, among others that include culture, gender, skin colour, age and the degree of the development of the country and society, education, mass media; therefore, even Christian countries all over the world may be affected by religious influence to different degrees.

One of the best examples of that are abortion laws, majority of European countries, Canada and many regions within the USA have no restrictions, and abortions are legal, regardless reasons. As a contrast to that are African, Latin American, Asia Pacific countries and Ireland. These countries allow abortions only in case of a great necessity of preservation of woman's life. Most of religions in the world do not approve abortion; not all of them, however, categorize this act as murder. The Roman Catholic Church says abortion is never acceptable, even to save the life of a woman, because fertilized egg is a sacred life, with as many rights as a baby, child, or adult; a Catholic who had an abortion could, in theory, be excommunicated from the church (Abortion & Religion 2011). In the situations of emergency, like it has been a recent case in Latin America, mostly affecting Brazil and Colombia, with quickly spreading virus Zika, which causes mutations in embryo's brain, government suggested women should avoid getting pregnant till at least July 2016, but did not allow abortion. They know that in these countries there is a great number of unwanted pregnancies. This is a good example of how strong religious education exerts influence on people's life, identity and worldview in general. Faith and fear in that case dominate over reason, religion over government. Curiously, abortion is allowed in Spain, where religious traditions are almost as strong as in Latin American countries. This proves that

religion's influence is more visible in less developed countries, as poor and uneducated people tend to rely more on God.

There is another widely discussed topic, which also involves a religious interference - homosexual marriages. Religious beliefs of common people and Church seem to be the biggest obstacles on the way of legalizing gay marriages. There are some smaller religious groups that see no conflict with gay marriages but traditional and older religions with more conservative views disagree with that. The head of Catholic Church concluded homosexuals should not be discriminated against, but it was not reason for allowing them to marry (Williams 2015). Younger generation seems to be less hostile towards the concept regardless of religious conviction; frequently when those who are against homosexual relations speak of their attitude towards homosexual marriages, they mention religious factor and that in the Bible homosexuality is a sin. More developed countries, with smaller influence of the Church, like the USA that recently legalized gay marriages, tend to react more neutrally on that topic; however, those with stronger religious background like Orthodox Church, Christian Church in Europe and Islam would not be ready for such a drastic change. These two examples touch on topic of suppression of human rights, and therefore by definition gain global attention. This is another reason to include religious factor to International Relations' theory and practice.

4.2.2. Religion and conflict resolution

Liberalism suggests that not only military and economics may take part in conflict resolution, but also non-political actors, organizations and institutions. Taking that into consideration, one may say that religion also has a chance to participate actively in that process. In the past and occasionally today, religion brings war to the world rather than peace. An historical example includes Crusades and invasion of the New World, where tribal religions were commonly replaced by force with Christianity. In the modern world within extremist sects of Islam, people think of terrorist attacks. Nevertheless, those days seem have passed, at least when speaking about Christianity. This religion lost some of the functions that it had been possessing because it does not have as much political power any more. It still has some power and control over people's minds and it is still seen as a sort of authority. Nowadays, it tends to be viewed as a

more peaceful spiritual organization. In this way, religion is opposed to politics if there is a war; It is rare to see people blame Church leaders for war, even though religion might be a cause of a conflict in some cases, people would rather blame politician and especially country leaders for global issues. On the one hand, it is obvious that politicians have the decision making power, not the church; at the same time, in the hard times of wars and conflict, when people need some shelter and hope, they turn their feet to church and religion. In this sense, religion somehow wins back the title of a peaceful institution. The current state of most world religions may allow it to be used in practice as a tool for conflict resolution.

According to Thomas religious leaders and organizations are particularly well placed to act as mediators, and provide a 'neutral' space for negotiations, they bring people together in a neutral space from different religious communities for mediation and cross-community dialogue in ways that nurture reconciliation and peacebuilding (2005, 185). One of the best examples of how Religion and Church are still playing a significant role in people's life and also politics is the meeting of Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill that took place on February 12, 2016 in Havana. The main topics discussed on this meeting were unification of Christians of Eastern and Western Europe, calling upon preservation of soul and faith; they also were expressing deep sorrow because of the situation happening in Ukraine, inviting everybody to work towards peace in that region and stop confrontations; they also insisted international community should pay more attention to Christian persecution in the East; among others promoting family values of Catholics and Orthodox. All of the topics were centralized on the idea of unification of Christians; underscoring that difference in the understanding of religious truths must not impede people of different faiths to live in peace and harmony (Joint Declaration… 2016). Church leaders started this cooperation to first of all protect Christian people all over the world and secondly to promote the idea of peace; thus, they gain the trust of people, giving them hope and security that there is someone who cares and will protect them; this might sound trivial, but for religious people and also those who are less religious moral support is important. It is likely that the global issues currently taking place in Europe, with refugees and terrorist attacks, are one of the main reasons that the meeting was called because Europeans are frustrated by the growing number of refugees who could possibly cause terror. Some of the refugees are causing distractions and fear; politicians do not seem to be able to find a proper solution to that problem; therefore, Church

leaders took the stands to at least convince Europeans they are not alone and will be protected. Apart from that, the fact that the meeting took place in Cuba is also significant; Pope Francis suggested Cuba might become the capital of unity and peace. That might not seem to have any strong political influence, but at the same time after being away from the global attention, Cuba is recovering its positions and gaining international and political interest. This meeting might have bolstered the USA's willingness to talk to Cuba when speaking about USA-Cuba relationship. By giving Cuba international attention and by providing Church leaders this place as the place of their meeting Cuba, which has been isolated from many parts of the whole world for over 50 years gains some advantages. It is a sort of commercial as most probably Cuba was chosen for political reasons and not randomly. All in all, the meeting of the Church leaders definitely did not have any direct political meaning or influence on politics and decision-making process, but it might be seen rather as a symbolic event. At the same time, it gained attention from the mass media. In current political situation, the world needs to talk about peace, hearing peace speeches from politicians who the next day might decide due to political reasons get involved into war. This would sound contradictory and not as convincing to common people; therefore, it becomes a duty of Church leaders to calm down people and prevent unnecessary agitation in the society at least for some time. This gives politicians a chance to react and scholars to account for a religious paradigm in their research. Pope Francis and Patriarch Kirill could be seriously treated by some as mediators of peace, whereas peacebuilding and conflict resolution is one of the most important global political duties; therefore, one may say Church and religion in that case take part in political process of peacebuilding.

5. BRINGING RELIGION BACK TO SOCIETY AND IR

Polinder (2010, 94) underscored that "[s]ecurity in the 21st century should not focus on military means but should put more emphasis on creating conditions for peace". Peace maintaining is one of the most important tasks and most discussed topics in the modern world. Every mean of reducing conflicts and confrontations should be welcome; therefore, religion should not be an exception. In some countries, religion preserved its positions in state ruling process, forming part of the state law and influencing politics; these are for instance Hinduism, Judaism and Islam. When exploring about the Western world, observing both developed and developing countries where Christianity is dominating, it is important to understand that religion is unlikely occupy the same place as it used to. It is improbable, that religion will ever become a strong political actor with decision-making power or will ever directly influence lawgiving process; nevertheless, it has the right to be considered an important institution that to a certain extent even today deals with moral education of people, promoting equality, tolerance and love. It may also be helpful in peacekeeping, peacebuilding and peace-making programmes. In addition, "[t]here are several elements within the Judeo-Christian tradition that can be used to support nonviolence and reconciliation, these include empathy, pacifism, the sanctity of life, focusing inward on improving oneself rather than outward on potential enemies, and the idea of a perfect and just society" (Fox, Sandler 2004, 39). Christianity in this case being only one of the examples, when talking about the positive influence of religion on people and society, with its educational function, positive attitudes and self-development. All religions in the world aim at the same main idea and may therefore be included as a factor of International Relations Liberal Theory; furthermore, religion may also serve well when talking about the completion of the UN General Assembly's Agenda for Peace, that includes Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making, Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding.

5.1. Religion as a factor of liberal IR theory

Unlike some other International Relations theories, Liberalism does not consider military capacity of countries to be the only factor that provides peace and security; it rather suggests more diplomatic and less violent conflict resolutions. Richmond (2008, 23) stated that "[t]he core liberal assumptions are of universal rationality, individual liberty, connected with the idealist possibility-if not probability-of harmony and cooperation in domestic and international relations, and of the need of enlightened rational, legitimate domestic governmental and international governance". Thus, Liberal International Relations theory covers more areas on individual, state, governmental and international levels. This gives more options for conflict resolution as well as maintenance of good interstate relations. Unlike Realism with its conservative views, Liberalism is more open to practically any new means when it comes to peacekeeping; therefore, it might agree more easily with the idea of introducing religion as one of the factors of peace creation. Liberalism also underlines the importance of non-governmental institutions working alongside with politicians that contribute to the improvement of relations between countries, and religion is also a non-governmental institution. These factors speak in favour of including it to International Relations liberal theory.

Recently International Relations' scholars started paying more attention to religion. According to Haynes it is because more religious actors seem to be around than before, for example, the governments like Iran and Saudi Arabia, whose foreign policies are guided by Islamic precepts; transnational actors Islamists, Roman Catholic and Protestant evangelical groups, all of which bring a renewed religious dimension to the world politics (2005, 398). There are several reasons of why there is a need of bringing religion back to society, in a new form; there should be less focus on dogmas and church traditions, and one should see it as a global phenomenon. One should concentrate on core humane principles rather than differences in interpretations of the Truth; therefore, all religions in the world should stop fighting against each other trying to prove who is right, and each of them should working on improving the moral behaviour of an individual and education of society. The belief in the goodness of the human's race is one of the points that unites Liberalism and religion. They see humanity as prone to good characteristics and that people are good natured. This positive approach gives Liberalism and

religion a chance for cooperation in teaching morality and virtuous behaviour to humanity and this will prevent or at least diminish crime, wars and conflicts. As argued by Puchala (2003, 189), "Liberals believe the freer, more ordered, and less violent world is possible, as generally liberalism embodies individualism, freedom, unrestricted commerce, peace and other values, many of which come from the Judeo-Christian tradition". By examining of some of the Christian principles from above, the passage demonstrates that most Judeo-Christians concern mostly morality and behaviour of a person in a society as the utmost importance. They call upon creating more humane and tolerant people, and these are extremely important characteristics that finally promise more patience towards each other on the global level. Religion is a good proof that people are the same all around the world as they have similar fears and problems and they want to believe in supernatural powers that would support them in emergencies. In extreme cases, people tend to remember God as the last hope- all of that demonstrates that people from different countries and religious groups are not enemies, and that gives religion a unifying function as it enables people see that simple truth. Secularization made people alienated, selfish and greedy, as they start seeing everybody else as enemies and rivals; people tend to see more differences than similarities, just because they started looking at the exterior. That is another meeting point of religion and Liberal theory as they both promote equality; for many religious people everyone is equal before God. He does not care about any statuses or ethnical attributes. This is the same as Liberal theories that promote equality of people before law. A concept of equality is not only important in the frames of a single state as it must be seen as a universal concept.

It is important to understand that society consists of individuals and each of them has an impact, though it might be insignificant alone it is great together. Educating the society, setting a focus on self-development and moral behaviour will in the end change global situation. There will always be people with conservative, intolerant, nationalist and racist views, but the number of these people may diminish if more humane attitudes are propagandized. Progress for liberals is always progress for individuals. The core concern of liberalism is the happiness and contentment of individual human beings (Jackson, Sorensen 2016, 98). The same idea works for religion and that is to be found in the Bible in the Great Commandment, where it says one should love one's neighbour as much as one loves oneself (Matthew 22:37-40). That should be interpreted in a way, that to learn to love someone else, one has to learn to love oneself first. This should not be

misunderstood and interpreted in a way that liberalism and Christianity speak in favour of selfishness; on the contrary, they try to emphasize that every person's needs, desires, happiness and concerns are important, paying attention to each and every one in the country helps to empower the whole society. As long as people act without any intention of harming individuality and imposing certain type of behaviour our world can thrive: it is not about creating the same tastes or same patterns of behaviour. Life is about explaining what is wrong and right, and teaching people how to be tolerant and humane. Religion in that case is one of the best actors for that role, because everything that comes from God is more likely to be accepted, no one wants to argue with God, unlike with government and law. One may always become discontented with man-made institutions, and it has been the case that during the long history of human's existence in the society, people due to their nature of disagreeing with government or generally disliking it, may want to blame anyone but themselves for the bad things happening around them. All good things are normally accepted as granted. Educating people through core principles of religion will force people look inside of themselves and try seeing people not from perspective of their differences like gender, nationality or skin colour, but see others as people. People around the world are the same and exterior characteristics is what makes them different, and that is unimportant- that is something that may be learnt with the help of religion. It will thus be seen as a unifying factor, not a topic for a discussion

Culture has wide and complex definition, and religion being part of that concept is also hard to analyse properly. One can never be completely sure how it influences people and society as person's behaviour is determined by all sorts of factors and religion is only one of them. Religion is one of the hardest variables to measure, therefore it is very difficult to justify why it should be included into International Relations' theory, as well as the reason of why it has been ignored for a long time (Fox, Sandler 2004, 31). Religion basically has no quantitative characteristics, therefore its actual influence on people's psychology and behaviour may hardly be counted; however, more attention has been drawn to the subject after terrorist attacks of 9/11. Since then scholars are mostly focusing on terrorism as the most evident proof of influence of religion on social life, politics and International Relations. Even if this is obvious at first glance case, it is still hard to measure, how much influence religion had in that conflict as opposed to some other factors. This seems to be a weighty argument because in many nondemocratic

regimes the protected status of religious institutions makes them the only format in which people are allowed to organize; people who are active in religious organizations tend to develop organizational skills that are also useful for political activities (Fox, Sandler 2004, 13). It should not be seen as a calling for Western rulers to start using religion as a tool of manipulation, but at least accept the idea of that it not only works for Muslims, but may also happen to people of any religious group; therefore, religion has a strong potential energy of manipulating people and making them act inappropriately. It is better to have control over it and rather use its positive side.

Religion is one of those prohibited topics of discussions in the society. One of the reasons is because people do not want to quarrel as beliefs might differ even those of people from the same religious group; there might be a second reason why religion is such a private topic. Speaking about it would mean revealing the most sacred feelings and emotions and in a way showing weakness. Normally people, especially in the Western society, tend to hide their vulnerabilities. Most of the people from the East are openly talking about their religious beliefs and that is what makes their society united because showing one's real emotions is a sign of trust. In many Western societies it is not the case, people are always wearing masks and one could never be sure what another person is thinking about or how can one trust someone who is always hiding his/her real thoughts and emotions. In the end there is no trust, it is rather fear that is prevailing in those societies: fear of the unknown. The negativity of people always fearing to be betrayed by others around them and constant desire of hiding may be clearly seen in the example of the Soviet Union. The degree of mistrust was so high that many were constantly reporting about faults of their neighbours to authorities; had religion been not prohibited by the regime, people may have been more humane and less of them would have suffered from the denunciations. Bringing religion back to society and International Relations could reduce the level of alienation and unite people, not in the sense of forcing everybody to go to church, but seeing religion in a new way as a tool of spiritual development and morality. It would also animate people to speak more openly about religion, thus making them more trusting and society in general more homogenous.

5.2. An Agenda for Peace and religion

An Agenda for Peace was Security Council Boutros Boutros-Ghali's report, which was analysing and giving recommendations on how to establish and maintain peace; at the beginning, the report included three main lines of activities: Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peace-keeping, in end the introducing another concept of Post-Conflict-Peacebuilding. Preventive Diplomacy seeks to prevent escalation of disputes between parties into bigger conflict and wars, tries to establish confidence; Peace-making is an action that appeals parties to an agreement by peaceful means; Peacekeeping is technique that expands the possibilities of both prevention of conflict and the making of peace as it focuses cease-fire, sometimes involving the UN's military, police and civilian personnel that work to deliver security; Post-Conflict-Peacebuilding are actions that first of all seek to establish lasting peace and secondly provides assistance to the parties to re-establish and restore civil life in case of distractions. It also works to help establish political order (Boutros-Ghali 1992, 45, 62). All of these programs work effectively, because they attempt to build peace on every stage and not only try to convince the parties to reconcile, but also take care of the civil society, their well-being, creating new environment, promoting human rights and enabling all sorts of security. Peace restoration and maintenance is also one of the duties of religion, when observing closer its core principles; therefore, it might be useful introduce some of these principles to peacebuilding programs. Both religion and Liberalism work to prevent wars and conflicts, same as Mother Teresa they are not fighting against wars but are standing for peace (Byrne 2006, 143).

The UN Agenda for Peace is a liberal tradition that unlike realists promotes the idea of making and maintaining peace not only by the means of military, rather emphasizing that: "international peace and security must be seen in an integrated manner and that the efforts of the Organization to build peace, justice, stability and security must encompass not only military matters, but also, through its various organs within their respective areas of competence, relevant political, economic, social, humanitarian, environmental and developmental aspects…" (United Nations 1992). Religion in that case may actually participate on all stages of the process of peace-making programs: all the religious communities in the world due to the very core ideas of peace that may be found in them, in the times of possible emergence of a conflict call upon sustaining

peace, reminding people they should act morally; as a tool of peace-making program, religion may use its manipulating and convincing skill, helping find non-military solutions; as a part of peace-keeping and peacebuilding processes, there are many religious organizations that either contribute money or deliver humanitarian assistance, as well as insist on reducing a conflict peacefully stressing out the necessity of protecting people. The example from above – meeting of the two Christian Church leaders demonstrated well that they did not contribute money to protect Christian population, but at least were acting as mediators of peace, creating awareness and trying to bring more attention to the public of the problems of the growing number of Muslim refugees in Europe as well as to the topic of persecution of the Christian population in the East. Furthermore, being part of the notion of culture, religion may also help rebuild cultural distractions that sometimes happen due to wars. It can be simple church holiday celebrations or church reconstruction or liturgies with parables. All means of which church leaders unite people and overcome troubles are important when bringing people together. Religion should be seen as a non-governmental organization that promotes traditional lines of behaviour, teaches self-development, spirituality, promotes the idea of peace, thus if it comes to form part of peace programs of the UN. It would mostly serve as moral support, which is extremely important for the common people. Thomas (2005, 184) argues that "[t]he motives for peace and reconciliation are rooted deep in the sense of religious identity and religious sensibility". Reminding those simple religious ideas to people may make a huge impact on people because in the topics of peace creation and sustention all strategies should be welcome.

An Agenda for Peace promotes the idea of that the modern way of solving conflicts is not by the means of war where common people pay for the errors of politicians with their lives; rather it is accomplished by the peaceful, diplomatic means. Osho says if politicians like to make war why do not they arrange a duel? Presidents, prime ministers and kings do not go to wars personally as they prefer sending common people instead and those who have no clear idea of why they should kill someone (2010, 112). When discussing war the inevitable takes place as many of the simple soldiers bring religious attributes to war as a sign of protection. Many become religious after coming back from war or after facing their death. Religion is a phenomenon that belongs to people and is part of their lives, and though it is hard to measure the direct influence of religion on people, society and International Relations, it makes sense considering this fact

anyway. Religion even today proves to be forming part of cultural, traditional and moral aspects of people's lives. "Political scientists and IR scholars interested in promoting tolerance, cooperation, understanding and participatory democratic politics could consider working with scholars and leaders from various faith and philosophical traditions and perspectives to understand these traditions in greater depth, their views on citizenship, belonging and public engagement and encourage dialogue and understanding" (Wilson 2014, 355). The world deserves to have religion as an ally towards peace.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the long history of the existence of humanity, religion seems to have been an essential part of people's lives. It is hard to figure out the exact date of emergence of the first religions, but it is obvious that religion is a very old phenomenon, which has been evolving alongside with people, their perception of life, mental development, emergence of science and secularization. The necessity of religion has not died out till modern times both in developing and developed worlds, and in some countries religion is still playing its original function: it teaches law, morality and governs over people's everyday lives; in other countries religion is forming part of culture and in some other cases state religion's popularity is diminishing but alternative religions occupy this spot replacing obedience to traditional rituals with spirituality. Generally, there are no nations where no one either goes to church, follows religious traditions, or at least has some individuals who believe in some kind of higher force, energy or Universal Law.

This paper had two main objectives to achieve: first of all, it was necessary to figure out whether it was possible to reintroduce religion to society in a completely new form, as a global unifying force. This argument is based on the fact that all religions in the world have same basic ideas and are meant to educate people, teaching them self-development and virtues. Secondly, it was important to see how the reintroduction of religion may be useful to Liberal International Relations theory and practice, as well as its possible contribution to An Agenda for Peace of the United Nations. To prove those two main hypotheses, this paper explores interdisciplinary types of research because religion and International Relations are two very distant topics. The main focus was set at Liberal International Relations theory, as this theory has more similarities with main religious principles like self-development, belief in virtuous human's nature as well as ideas of peace. Furthermore, the paper used secondary research investigating the works of authors that had been promoting similar ideas; as well as method of negation of negation, claiming that denial

of religion should be stopped and religion itself should be granted back to the society in a new way.

While investigating the topic, it turned out that religion is still present in the modern society, in some countries playing the original role like in Islamic, Hindu and Judaism countries. In others, it continues teaching people morality and virtuous lines of behaviour and in some cases it only forms part of culture. Even those countries that claim to be atheists, preserved spirituality and respect to religious beliefs and traditions. These completely different perceptions of religion by society may be due to the difference in general development of a certain country and its people. When it comes to joining of religion to Liberal International Relations theory, it is theoretically possible as the analysis of the main Christian ideas has shown that many religious principles where taken over by Liberalism; therefore, combining those two is a natural process; furthermore, knowing that An Agenda for Peace of the UN is of liberal origin, it is a good idea to introduce religion as one of the factors will have a positive outcome for peace maintenance. The research showed that it was important to consider religious factor in International Relations not only due to terrorism, but to understand better human's nature. One must also educate society, support spirituality and ensure more friendly and tolerant attitudes that results in a fewer number of conflicts and wars. That is something very important for the politicians to understand, as one cannot hope to find proper solutions to conflicts if one is only looking at the outer situation. The problem must be solved from inside out, and this means that people must consider individuals and promoting moral education in the society through religion.

There are some problems of introducing religion as a factor of International Relations theory and practice and seeing religious ideas as global and unifying. First of all, the difference in perception of religion by people from different cultural backgrounds and levels of development of the countries. Not everybody is ready to see the similarities of religions. This is especially true of those who have been fighting against each other for centuries; it might take a while before everybody becomes rather spiritual and not so much religious. Secondly, it is hard to measure religion and figure out how much influence it has in reality on people and as such on political decisions. Even though it is obvious that religion plays a significant role in the society and in some cases influences politics, it will take some time before it is officially considered a factor of International Relations; however, the leaders in International Relations can slowly start the

process and analyse the results as much as it seems possible. Understanding the emotional well-being of people is difficult, but this does not mean people should not try. Life is too short and people must deploy every tool they have for achieving world peace. It is important to understand that spirituality is present in people's everyday lives and that affects their behaviour and decision making process, which in the end affect societal and global levels. The International Relations community needs to tap into this spiritual energy and live in harmony with one another.

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