

# Religion, War, and International Relations

## A Literature Review

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# Preface

Religiosity is one of the cultural practices that distinguish humans from animals. Religiosity has played a central role in human interaction for as long as human beings have existed. The fact that an undoubtable process of secularization has been observed for some time, particularly in parts of the West, should not obscure the fact that religion remains an important factor in explaining and analyzing international relations, and that its significance has recently even increased in many parts of the world. Many of our current global political trouble spots are rooted in religion. The conflict in the Middle East is the most prominent example of this, but by no means the only one. AIA Associate Fellow Katharina McLarren starts from the point of view that research on international relations could benefit greatly from incorporating sociological studies of religion and the politics of religion to a greater extent than has been the case to date. She structures the literature review presented in this paper according to the traditional classical "Just War" theories that have existed since at least the Middle Ages, i.e. "ius ad bellum", "ius in bello" and "ius post bellum". In this paper, she summarizes the current state of research on religion, war and international relations from an English School perspective. The strength of this literature lies in providing starting points for the operationalization of research concepts for the integrated consideration of religion, war and international relations. In this respect, it is essentially about providing orientation knowledge and stimulating further research in this field.

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**Abstract:** *The combination of terms of religion, war, and international relations might at first conjure associations with past historic events such as the Thirty Years' War. But they could also trigger associations with recent examples, such as the Russian Orthodox Church addressing the United Nations Security Council during the ongoing Ukraine War or hundreds of Jewish scholars and religious representatives appealing to Pope Francis in an open letter during the ongoing Gaza War. How does the field of study of International Relations (IR) engage with questions of religion and war? This paper addresses the long neglect the field experienced in terms of including religion in its research agenda and presents the increase of interest and approaches which has emerged in the last two decades. By including work from closely related disciplines, such as history and religious studies, it addresses the potential of interdisciplinary work and identifies points of departure for future IR research. The literature is classified into four categories: "Religion, War, and History"; "Religion, War, and Political Science"; "Religion, War, and Theology"; "Religion and Peace". The contributions of each of these categories are loosely structured according to the Just War criteria of jus ad bellum, jus in bello, and jus post bellum. Overall, the state of the art indicates that the juxtaposition of religion, war, and IR lends itself extremely well to interdisciplinary research and can contribute valuable insight into changes in international society.*

# 1. Introduction

In 1966, Hedley Bull, one of the leading International Relations (IR) scholars of the time, identified the following as one of the central questions IR theories face: “What is the place of war in international society?” (Bull 1966: 367). Nearly fifty years later, Sandal and Fox observed that “There is a growing realization among scholars of international relations that religion is an important factor in global politics” (2013: 1). As a cursory search of key words in titles published by leading IR journals in the past 20 years indicates, war has and continues to occupy IR research. Moreover, religion has become an established factor studied by IR scholars, as the state of the art below equally confirms. What is striking, however, is that these two strands of research are rarely connected with each other. Titles such as “Religion and the 1994 Genocide Against the Tutsi in Rwanda” (Mutanguha/Rukeshu 2022) or “The Role of Religion in Contemporary Russia and for the War in Ukraine” (Elsner/Köllner 2022) tackle topics of great significance to IR, yet they are written from descriptive historical, sociological, and religious studies angles. There are numerous empirical studies on religion and war, but they are not embedded in IR analytical frameworks or theoretical paradigms. Taking both Bull’s and Sandal and Fox’s observations together, IR would greatly benefit from integrating studies on religion and wars more systematically, particularly, as IR acknowledges the value of drawing from approaches and research from other disciplines.

In this paper I therefore provide an overview of types of literature which exist as a point of departure for future projects interested in tackling questions such as religion’s role in preventing, legitimizing, or shaping war, be it at the state level in terms of foreign policy making or at the international level in terms of shaping international society. The literature presented here is sourced from different fields of study including religious studies and theology, sociology, political science, and history. Arguably, Michael Walzer’s 1977 work on the “Just War Theory” is the central contribution to be considered either as a point of departure or as a text which unites various disciplines. I loosely employ the criteria of “jus ad bellum”, “jus in bello”, and “jus post bellum” to structure the literature review. I classify the literature into four categories: “Religion, War, and History”; “Religion, War, and Political Science”; “Religion, War, and Theology”; “Religion and Peace”. Within these categories, I identify which criteria of the Just War Theory they examine or contribute to. Rather than providing a complete list of literature, the aim is to present what types of research exist beyond IR and could be drawn upon to strengthen the IR research agenda when it comes to the study of war, the study of religion, and possible changes in international society. While the terms used here have a clear English School or International Society ring to them, the overall argument should be understood as being applicable to the field of IR as a whole. In a first step, I very briefly revisit the state of the art of religion in IR, before then presenting the four categories of literature that constitute the corpus of research relevant for studying religion and war in IR.

## 2. State of the Art of Religion and International Relations

Religion went through a “long Westphalian exile” (Petito/Hatzopoulos 2003: 2) and authors discussed how to “bring it back” into International Relations (Fox/Sandler 2004). The proliferation of research on religion and IR in the early 2000s even led scholars in the field to discuss a possible “religious turn” in IR (Kratochvíl 2009; Kubálková 2009; 2013). IR scholars identified several reasons as to why religion was neglected in IR research for so long (Fox 2001; Petito/Hatzopoulos 2003; Snyder 2011). During the twentieth century, political science, and in particular IR, were dominated by the belief that modernization would inevitably lead to a wide-spread secularization of society. This was closely linked with a state-centrist understanding of the international system which had emerged from the Peace of Westphalia, moving away from religion as the main source of legitimacy (McLarren 2023). Yet, IR as a discipline is highly adaptive as the characteristic, so-called great debates demonstrate. What has been termed the fourth debate signified an opening up in terms of epistemological approaches in the late 1990s and in the early 2000s. This coincided with the events of 9/11. Taken together, one might argue that this paved the way for religion to become more prominent both in terms of empirical and analytical/theoretical interest within the field.

Thus, in the past 25 years, IR research which tackles religion has greatly increased to the extent that annotated bibliographies and literature reviews focusing only on this literature have been devised. Early overviews were provided by Kratochvíl (2009) who identified six different types of how religion was included in IR literature or Sandal and Fox (2013) who similarly identified four ways in which religion is considered. Such categories include, for example, literature on how IR theories might integrate religions (Snyder 2011; Dosdad 2012; Sandal/Fox 2013; Troy 2013; Sheikh/Yusofi 2019; Haynes 2021). More recently, Bettiza (2021), Chadha (2022), McLaren (2022), and Kratochvíl (2023) each compiled overviews with slightly different approaches. Bettiza devised the “Religion and International Relations” overview for the steadily growing Oxford Bibliographies, which is a regularly updated commented list of current and high quality research on the topic. McLaren (2022) expands upon the previously established categories developed by Kratochvíl and Sandal and Fox, while Chadha focuses on the state of the art of religion and IR theory. In the most recent state of the art contribution “Religion and (Global) Politics: The State of the Art and Beyond”, Kratochvíl (2023) examines 165 articles from three groups of journals dedicated to IR, religion, and religion and IR, to establish how they are studied and what this reveals about a pluralization in the past years. He confirms his initial observation of a “moderate diversification of the research” (Kratochvíl 2023: 1). He argues that “the overall approach continues to be still largely based on the distinction between ‘our’ secular politics and ‘their’ religion” (ibid.:24). Perhaps most pertinent to this paper, Kratochvíl also observes that “religion is still primarily linked to conflict” (ibid.: 25) in what he identifies as mainstream IR journals. And he observes the opposite to be true for journals which focus on religion rather than on IR (ibid.).

In the following, I present literature from the four categories identified in the introduction. This is by no means an exhaustive collection, but rather it aims to pique further

interest in the subject and to encourage more interaction between the different fields of study.

## 3. Literature on Religion and War

### **3.1 Religion, war, and history**

The great bulk of literature in this category is dedicated to individual wars and how religion features in them respectively. Examples here are World War I and how it “became a religious crusade” (Jenkins 2014); World War II and how the Nazi regime sought to join forces with representatives of Islam (Motadel 2017); or domestic religious views in the US on the Vietnam War (Settje 2011). These three works are historical, in-depth studies and stand in contrast to the more common format of short case studies presented in journal articles or chapters in edited volumes which examine the role of religion in wars. Examples of the latter are a chapter by Palmer (2000) who wrote about the Christian Churches in the Yugoslav War and how national identity and religious affiliation are closely intertwined. The contribution is part of an edited volume on “Religion and International Relations” (Dark 2000), although it is the only one which specifically addresses religion and war. Smylie (1969) and McAllister (2008) are two articles which illustrate the contribution of this type of literature. They each focus on one war – in this case the Vietnam War – and then consider one specific aspect pertaining to religion. The former studies religious affiliation and levels of support or opposition to the war within US society, while the latter sheds light on the role of one particular religious (in this case Buddhist) figure. Historical accounts are often also written by church historians or scholars from religious studies, as the contributions by Elsner and Köllner (2022), who write about religion in Russia and what implications this has for the Ukraine War, show.

More recently, extensive collections in the shape of handbooks and encyclopedias have been published, which encompass several volumes and offer concise overviews. This means the individual contributions are brief, yet helpful in providing initial descriptive insight and recommendations for further reading. Two prominent and relevant examples in this context are Omer et al.’s “Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion” (2020) which includes an enlightening introductory chapter by Klocek and Hassner on “War and Religion” (2020) and “The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Mass Atrocity, and Genocide” (Brown/Smith 2022). The latter also features the chapter by Mutanguha and Rukeshu mentioned above on the role of religion in the Rwanda genocide.

Two rather unusual studies shall also be mentioned here, as they do not clearly fit into just one category. In his 2016 volume on “Religion on the Battlefield” Hassner not only descriptively recounts episodes of WWII, the Vietnam War or the Iraq War, but adds the angle of religious practice, or what he terms, “the sacred” to better understand how decisions were made at different stages of war. Another volume which looks at a larger context, yet also works historically, is Adamsky’s 2019 monograph on “Russian Nuclear Orthodoxy” which offers insight into how religion plays into the foreign and security policy of Russia and, thus, also into when and how it conducts wars.

To sum up, historical accounts or approaches to religion and war mostly focus on single cases of war and consider jus ad bellum and jus in bello aspects, although the latter

feature more prominently. This corpus of literature is helpful due to the great extent of empirical data it provides, often adding actors, documents, meetings, or events neglected by war historians.

### ***3.2 Religion, war, and political science***

The demarcation between the first two categories is porous, though the corpus of literature on religion and war in political science clearly employs different lenses as compared to that of the historian. A common political science approach to studying religion and war was a rather positivist one which tries to establish how religion causes war, however, the work has become more diversified as the bibliography on “Religiously Motivated Violence” indicates (Gregg 2019).

While Martin Wight, who can be considered to be one of the first IR scholars, wrote on Christian Pacifism as early as 1936 and Herbert Butterfield published a short monograph on “Christianity, Diplomacy and War” in 1953, literature on similar issues ceased in the ensuing decades. As mentioned above, within political science, religion as a subject of study was dismissed until late into the twentieth century. There are two central works that either contributed in terms of laying the groundwork for further interdisciplinary theoretical and empirical research or triggered debate within and beyond academia. The former is Michael Walzer’s “Just and Unjust Wars: A Moral Argument with Historical Illustrations” published in 1977 which brought together historical, theological, and political science ideas. As a point of reference for IR, this is one of the most significant contributions in terms of triggering and influencing ensuing research. The latter is Samuel Huntington’s “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order” published as a book in 1996 which was based upon earlier lectures and articles. While the validity of the arguments made by Huntington as such remain debatable, the impact it had in terms of placing the topic of war and religion on the research agenda remains.

Apart from these two prominent works, individual scholars sought to add religious perspectives on the ethics of war and peace to the IR research agenda, among them Nardin (1996). Fox (2001; 2002; 2004; 2020) was one of the most prominent voices to call to integrate religion in IR and political science research. He continuously expanded upon the work on different types of conflict as well as complex approaches to understanding the role of religion in them. Thomas (2000; 2005; 2016) is one of the ‘first wave’ of IR scholars who sought ways to include religion in IR and one of the first to write more generally on “Religion and International Conflict” (2000). Similar to the overall literature on religion and IR, this more clearly delineated (and still nascent) field of religion and war (or conflict) equally includes literature which generally argues in favor of including religion, whether as actor, structure, materialist or non-materialist element (see Mani 2012; Barrow 2021).

Several examples of IR articles shall serve to illustrate the state of research on religion and war in the field. These articles qualify for this section due to their clearly stated link to analytical concepts or theoretical frameworks located within IR. In his essay on “Religion, Ethnicity and Civil War in Africa – The Cases of Uganda and Sudan” Haynes (2011) addresses the epistemological challenge of analyzing causes of civil war and how to consider religion within such a framework. He concludes that in the cases analyzed, religion does play a role in terms of unfair representation. However, he also cautions future



researchers against generalizing too readily in terms of religion as a factor in civil war contexts, as is often the case. The works by Zellman and Fox (2020) and by Brown (2020) both employ a research design which includes both quantitative and qualitative methods. The former offers research findings from a study on better understanding the role of religion on foreign policy, particularly when it comes to “militarize(d) interstate territorial disputes” (Zellman/Fox 2020: 465). They compare the decision to pursue such disputes between what they term “religiously exclusive states” and secular states. In other words, they demonstrate how to conduct research which helps better understand the impact of religion at the domestic level on dynamics at the international level. Lakitsch (2018) and McLarren (2024) both consider religion in specific cases of war and embed their case studies in IR frameworks. Lakitsch seeks to better grasp religion in conflicts and for example studies Islam and how it plays into the Syrian War, exploring aspects beyond viewing religion as identity but also analyzing religion in discourse. McLarren studies the narratives of religious actors in two wars (Syria and Ukraine) to discern how they position themselves vis-à-vis international law and the international society. Bringing together the studies listed in the previous category and approaches to political science and specifically IR, Bolton (2024) is interested in re-interpreting the significance of the so-called “wars of religion” and what this meant for the evolution of the international society. In other words, he applies the paradigms of IR theory to a historical context.

In a positive reading, the work presented here is diverse in its cases, methods, and theoretical approaches. The less benevolent reader would speak of idiosyncratic. Either reading reveals that within political science in general and IR in particular, the research area of religion and war is still neglected in that there are few systematic studies. While the literature in this field of study on jus ad bellum is extensive (a journal dedicated solely to the study of the responsibility to protect is a case in point here), the inclusion of religion is still pending. Political science literature on religion and war thus mainly contributes to considerations of jus in bello and jus post bellum (as the final category will show).

### ***3.3 Religion, war, and theology***

The literature in this section can be located in the work which deals with the jus ad bellum aspects of war and religion. The research is interested in the origins of how war (and violence) was and continues to be legitimized in the scriptures of various religions; how religions respond to war; or how other actors utilize religious arguments to justify wars or violence. There is also a significant corpus of literature which engages specifically with the Just War Theory (see below).

Regarding the first aspect of how war and violence are justified within religions or by religious leaders based on their respective scriptures, teaching, etc., this literature is usually composed of individual studies, i.e., short case studies which look at one religion, mostly as parts of edited volumes. The edited volume on “Buddhism and Violence” by Zimmermann (2006) represents an exception in this field, as the entire volume is dedicated to just one religion. Ferguson (1977) wrote a concise overview in which he examines religious approaches to both war and peace, ranging from Zoroastrianism to Judaism to Sikhism. Nardin (1996), mentioned above, also included some chapters on individual religions, with an emphasis on the Abrahamic religions. These chapters later featured again in edited

volumes on Islamic thought, such as the chapter by Tibi (1996; 2002) on “War and Peace in Islam” or on Judaism and war, such as that by Ravitsky (1996; 2006) on “Prohibited Wars in the Jewish Tradition”. Such compilations are unusual projects in that they often bring together authors from different disciplines, especially the ones presented here. Interestingly, such studies are sometimes commissioned by non-academic institutions, as the work by Dorn and Cation (2009) which was prepared for the Canadian Defence Ministry illustrates. Similarly, the edited volume by Popovski, Reichberg, and Turner (2009) brings together experts from different fields of study to examine the “World Religions and Norms of War” and was published by the United Nations University Press. A very recent example of such a compilation is “The Cambridge Companion to Religion and War” (Kitts 2023), which provides “Classical Foundations” on all world religions and their approaches to war; a section on how religions engage with “Just War”; case studies on “Religious Nationalism”; and a section on “Featured Conflicts” which examines past and present cases of religion and war.

When it comes to engaging with the Just War tradition, such volumes are usually prepared by scholars from religious studies, such as the one by Johnson (1981) on “Just war tradition and the restraint of war: a moral and historical inquiry” or Kelsay (2007) on “Arguing the Just War in Islam” show. “In Defence of War” by Biggar (2013) revisits the principles of the Just War Theory and seeks to apply them to past wars. Juergensmeyer (2020) takes a more sociological angle and offers “A Meditation on Religion and Warfare”.

The final section in this category presents another type of literature in religious studies, or specifically theology, namely literature that examines intra-religious debates on war and violence, particularly within scholarship on Catholicism. On the one hand, there is a vast amount of literature on how Catholicism engages with the Just War tradition (e.g. Chu 2012) or more generally with war (e.g. Clough/Stiltner 2007; Braun 2020). And then there are specific studies on Catholic Popes and their roles during or approaches to wars, such as the work by Blet (1999) on Pope Pius XII and WWII or Heft (2010) on Pope John Paul II and his understanding of Just War.

Like the preceding sections, Religion, War, and Theology merely offers a glimpse of the literature available. The focus is clearly on the *jus ad bellum* aspect of war and can prove especially helpful for IR scholars in contextualizing political discourse on war, or discerning the legitimization of war at the foreign policy level or at the international institutional level. More insight into the literature can also help better grasp approaches to international law by both state and non-state actors.

### **3.4 Religion and peace**

If war in IR is composed of the three elements of reasons to go to war, the conduct of war, and the aftermath of war, this category is included to cover the last aspect, to which previous literature makes only a minor contribution. Since Peace and Conflict studies can be deemed an interdisciplinary field of research and contributes substantially to the *jus post bellum* aspect of war, this section is not labeled according to one specific discipline. As the state-of-the-art articles listed above indicate, religion is still frequently regarded as either the source of a conflict or the key to building peace. Though the latter continues to dominate, especially in political science and historical studies literature, as Kratochvíl observes,

“religion is often connected to negative phenomena as it is most frequently discussed in connection with violence and conflict” (2023: 19). The literature in this section, however, takes a slightly different approach. It sees a clear link between religion’s significance in conflict and also its potential for peacebuilding. The bulk of the work is therefore dedicated to both aspects. Cox et al. (1994) are among the first to address this potential in their chapter on “World Religions and Conflict Resolution”. Hasenclever and Rittberger (2000) posed the question “Does Religion Make a Difference?” when it comes to political conflict. In their article, which could also be listed in the category on Religion, War, and Political Science, they identify patterns as to “when religious faith has an escalating and a de-escalating effect” (ibid.: 674). The authors also provide a typology as to how religion is studied. They differentiate between work which views the differences between religions as “one of the most important independent variables to explain violent interactions in and between nations” (ibid.: 641), work which considers religion to be instrumentalized, i.e., to obscure or to provoke, and those authors who understand religion as an “intervening variable” (ibid.: 649).

The work on religion, conflict, and peacebuilding can take on theoretical guises, such as the one just mentioned, but it can also provide case studies, examining individual religions and their potential or experience in peacebuilding (Coward/Smit 2004). In “The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peacebuilding”, Silvestri and Mayall (2015) argue that by moving away from a binary understanding of religion as either source or solution to violent conflicts, and instead “observing how religion operates and interacts with other aspects of human experience at the global, institutional, group and individual levels, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of its role (or potential role) in both conflict and peacebuilding” (ibid.). In the same year “The Oxford Handbook of Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding” (Omer/Appleby/Little 2015) was published, which addresses different factors and experiences of religion in peacebuilding. In a similar vein, the edited volume by Sandal and Trauschweizer (2022) presents a number of case studies which explore religion and its role in attaining peace in situations of political tension or conflict. In this context, it is also worth mentioning that not only academics have dedicated research to the role of religion in peacebuilding, but so have the United Nations and religious leaders. The so-called “Fez Process” which took place between 2015 and 2016 was initiated by the United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Responsibility to Protect in cooperation with religious leaders and resulted in a document titled “Plan of action for religious leaders and actors to prevent incitement to violence that could lead to atrocity crimes” issued in 2017.

More specifically, there is literature that looks at the nature of the contributions and the means available to religions to achieve and maintain peace, and what lessons can be learned from religious actors. Regarding means of achieving and maintaining peace and lessons to be learned, the literature on peace activism (Vüllers 2019), religious peace work (Weingardt 2014), and interreligious dialogue (Banchoff 2012; Lehmann/McLarren 2023) is instructive. Banchoff, for example, states that the significance of interreligious dialogue lies in the fact that its “primary aims are not to prevail over the other but to reduce conflict and promote understanding and cooperation across issues of common concern” (Banchoff 2012:205).

The final corpus of literature presented here is dedicated solely to religion and peace, in terms of what concepts of peace they offer. Allan and Keller edited a volume on “What is a Just Peace” (2006) which includes a chapter dedicated to “Peace, Justice, and Religion” (Little 2006). “The Palgrave International Handbook of Peace Studies – A Cultural Perspective” (Dietrich et al. 2011) presents a wide range of concepts of peace which are very instructive. It includes chapters on Vajrayana Buddhist, Shinto, and Sufi concepts of peace, among other religions.

## 4. Conclusion

The overall aim of this literature review is to trigger more interest in topics surrounding religion, war, and International Relations and to indicate numerous points of departure and possibilities of collaboration. Several of the works presented here already prove that such an interdisciplinary cooperation exists and can be fruitful. A research project which is jointly conducted by historians and religious studies scholars is currently studying the role of the Christian churches during the Cold War. IR would surely greatly benefit from revisiting the work produced by their colleagues from neighboring disciplines.

When considering which contributions the various fields of study offer, the following can be observed. Regarding reasons or justifications of going to war, theology and religious studies are, unsurprisingly, the most prominent in shedding light on what foundations religious scripture, teaching, and practice offers. This bulk of literature is sometimes referred to in political science approaches and addressed at a more meta-theoretical level, especially when it comes to integrating the principles of the Just War Theory and studying cases around the Responsibility to Protect. When it comes to jus in bello, all three disciplines examined here offer contributions, considering for example the religious actors involved. Finally, interdisciplinary work has much to offer concerning the role of religion in questions pertaining to jus post bellum, i.e., how can a just peace be achieved?

Overall, the state of the art indicates that the juxtaposition of religion, war, and IR lends itself extremely well to interdisciplinary research. One category which was not listed here is that of Religion, War, and International Law, which undoubtedly deserves more attention. To conclude, the large gap which emerges here is twofold. To date, there is no general IR research program which systematically studies religion and war embedded in established or newly emerging IR paradigms. Furthermore, even smaller case studies are still sparse so that researchers interested in the field will quickly realize that there is an abundance of research waiting to be conducted which will surely find interest beyond the confines of their own discipline.

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