

УДК: 322+316.74:2
Примљено: 29. августа 2009.
Прихваћено: 09. септембра 2009.
Оригинални научни рад

Српска политичка мисао
број 3/2009.
год. 16. vol. 25.
стр. 53-62.

Мирољуб Јевтић

Факултет политичких наука, Београд

ТЕОКРАТИЈА У МОДЕРНОМ СВЕТУ

Резиме

У модерном свету се као доминантан однос религије и политике пропагира секуларизам. То значи поделу између државе и цркве. Али чак и у најмодернијим и либералнијим западним државама секуларизам није комплетно прихваћен. Чак и површно испитивање политичких система западних земаља ће показати да је религија присутна у политичкој организацији многих од њих. Најкарактеристичнији је пример Велике Британије. У енглеској је краљ и поглавар државне цркве. У Данској је лутеранска црква такође државна. Ако анализирамо и друге цивилизације осим хришћанских видећемо сличне примере. Исламски, хинду и будистички свет дају сличне примере. Имајући у виду све те чињенице можемо да закључимо да теократија није прошлост већ супротно веома присутан модел политичке организације у савременом свету.

Кључне речи: теократија, савремени свет, секуларизам, религија, политологија религије

THEOCRACY IN THE MODERN WORLD*

Theocracy is “a form of civil government in which God himself is recognized as the head. The laws of the commonwealth are the commandments of God, and they are promulgated and expounded by the accredited representatives of the invisible Deity, real or supposed—generally a priesthood. Thus in a theocracy civic duties and functions form a part of religion, implying the absorption of the State by the Church or at least the supremacy of the latter over the State¹⁾”. That

1) This paper is in framework of Project 149006 D of Ministry of Science of Republic of Serbia <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14568a.htm>(Accessed 23. of January 2009)

was normal form of government in entire world till American Revolution. American Revolution began 1775 It ended eight and a half years later September 3, 1783 with the Treaty of Paris 1783. After revolution Americans adopted Constitution in which for first time in entire world was written that religion and state should be separated. Amendment 1 - Freedom of Religion of the Constitution say "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof;²⁾". It was first time in entire world that secular order was established. It is the oldest written Constitution in the world that is in force. It was written in 1787 in Philadelphia by the Continental Congress of the new American republic and was officially adopted in 1789³⁾. It was one exception in political and legal practice in the history of humankind⁴⁾.

After this French revolution did even worst divorce from theocracy. This process is followed by communist revolutions as Russian 1917 which banned religion. Inspired by Americans, French and communist lot of Christian countries adopted some secular legal provisions in their constitution. And having economic, military and cultural domination in the modern world made secular discourse very powerful. That created impression that secularism is winner and that the theocracy is the past. Special contribution to this atmosphere gave the victory of Kemal Ataturk in Turkey.

That's why lot of people thinks that theocracy is destiny of Muslims words because of Iranian revolution who proudly emphasize its theocratic character.⁵⁾ But it is not the case. Theocratic elements are very presents into political systems of lot of European and Christian countries. And the same is the case of other big religions. The most important is the case of England. This country is taken as cradle of modern secular political organization. But it has lot of theocratic elements in its political system. For example. England has established church which is the most important feature of theocracy. This church is Anglican Church. Sovereign of England the King or now the Queen is in the same time the chief of established church of England. Westerns

2) <http://www.usconstitution.net/const.html#Am1> (Accessed 26.1.09)

3) <http://www.usconstitution.com/>

4) John Rex, Secular Substitutes for Religion in the Modern World, *Politics and Religion* journal, Vol.I, no.1/2007. Belgrade. Accessed also at <http://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/no1/no1.htm> (21.1.09)

5) See Iranian Constitution:" I General Principles Article 1 [Form of Government] The form of government of Iran is that of an Islamic Republic, endorsed by the people of Iran on the basis of their longstanding belief in the sovereignty of truth and Koranic justice, in the referendum of 29 and 30 March 1979, through the affirmative vote of a majority of 98.2% of eligible voters, held after the victorious Islamic Revolution led by Imam Khomeini "http://servat.unibe.ch/icl/ir00000_.html (Accessed 26.1.09)

analysts try to reduce theocratic elements of England's political system in this way:" England has a minor theocratic aspect because the monarch is Supreme Governor of the Church of England and 'defender of the faith', and is prohibited from being a Catholic. This has been the case since the Protestant Reformation in England (1533-1540), under Henry VIII. Henry VIII created the Church of England in part because the Papacy would not annul his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, but also due to the large amount of political power that the Vatican wielded within England. He wanted to annul the marriage because he could not produce a male heir that wasn't illegitimate. The monarch has virtually no real power, and his/her positions as head of state and church are purely ceremonial. Hence, the ruling government is not subject to any religious interference, and England is a multi-faith society. However, the Bishops and archbishops of the Church of England sit in the House of Lords as Spiritual Peers, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and York. This does not apply to Scotland, whose Church of Scotland does not have the same relation to the Country, nor to Wales and Northern Ireland, which have no established church. Queen Elizabeth II, however, is a member of the Church of Scotland and appoints a representative to the General Assembly of the church if she cannot attend personally."⁶⁾ But it is obvious that even "purely ceremonial" the head of state is also the head of established church

Similar situations exist in other democratic western countries. For example Norway. In this country the Head of State the King is also, as in England the leader of the state church. Article 2 of the Constitution of Norway defines: "All inhabitants of the Realm shall have the right to free exercise of their religion. The Evangelical-Lutheran religion shall remain the official religion of the State. The Inhabitants professing it are bound to bring up their children in the same"⁷⁾. One of human rights defined by Universal Declarations of Human Rights of OUN is right to choose religion freely ⁸⁾ but the Constitution of Norway in article 4 defines "The King shall at all times profess the Evangelical-Lutheran

6) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theocracy> (Accessed 30.1.09)

7) <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/europe/NO/Norway%20Constitution%202006.pdf> (Accessed 25.1.09)

8) Article 18. "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance" <http://www.un.org/Overview/rights.html> (Accessed 23.1.09); See also Miroљub Jevtic, Religion and relations between genders, *Politics and religion journal*, Vol.II, no 1/2008, Belgrade Accessed also at <http://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/no1/no1.htm> (21.1.09)

religion, and uphold and protect the same”⁹⁾. Constitution also defines:” The King himself chooses a Council from among Norwegian citizens who are entitled to vote. This Council shall consist of a Prime Minister and at least seven other Members. More than half the number of the Members of the Council of State shall profess the official religion of the State” The King himself chooses a Council from among Norwegian citizens who are entitled to vote. This Council shall consist of a Prime Minister and at least seven other Members. More than half the number of the Members of the Council of State shall profess the official religion of the State”¹⁰⁾.

One more democratic country taken as secular, Denmark has same theocratic elements in its Constitution and in its political system. Section 4 of the Constitution defines” The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and, as such, it shall be supported by the State”¹¹⁾. Sections 6 say:” The King shall be a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church”¹²⁾. Norway and Denmark are belonging to Lutheran form of protestant Christianity. One more other Lutheran country Iceland has also proclaimed that Lutheran church is a state religion. Article 62 of the Constitution says “The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the State Church in Iceland and, as such, it shall be supported and protected by the State”¹³⁾. All those countries are protestant and member of EU. Which is symbol of democracy as western analysts say? Orthodox countries member of UE Greece is defined by its Constitution as orthodox countries. Article 3 of the Constitution of Greece say:”

1. The prevailing religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ. The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging our Lord Jesus Christ as its head, is inseparably united in doctrine with the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople and with every other Church of Christ of the same doctrine, observing unwaveringly, as they do, the holy apostolic and synodal canons and sacred traditions. It is autocephalous and is administered by the Holy Synod of serving Bishops and the Permanent Holy Synod originating thereof and assembled as specified by the Statutory Charter of the Church in compliance with

9) <http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/europe/NO/Norway%20Constitution%202006.pdf> (Accessed 25.1.09)

10) *ibidem*

11) http://www.servat.unibe.ch/law/icl/da00000_.html (Accessed 23.1.09)

12) *ibidem*

13) <http://www.government.is/constitution/> (Accessed 30.1.2009)

the provisions of the Patriarchal Tome of June 29, 1850 and the Synodal Act of September 4, 1928.

2. The ecclesiastical regime existing in certain districts of the State shall not be deemed contrary to the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

3. The text of the Holy Scripture shall be maintained unaltered. Official translation of the text into any other form of language, without prior sanction by the Autocephalous Church of Greece and the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople, is prohibited¹⁴⁾.

As a conclusion we can say that theocratic elements are very present in EU today. And this very important question for the future of EU. It was seen very explicitly during the debate about EU Constitution. When Christians democrats tried to put into draft of Constitution definition about Judeo-Christian origin of Europe. And when Social democrats were strongly against.

Till now we spoke about presence of theocratic features in political organizations made among Lutherans and Anglicans. The next very interesting case is Romancatholicism. The center of Romancatholicism is Vatican. Vatican which is center of the Church is recognized as state too. This recognitions is based on international treaties:” The Lateran Treaty in 1929, which brought the city-state into existence, spoke of it as a new creation (Preamble and Article III), not as a vestige of the much larger Papal States (756-1870) that had previously encompassed central Italy. Most of this territory was absorbed into the Kingdom of Italy in 1860, and the final portion, namely the city of Rome with a small area close to it, ten years later, in 1870. Vatican City is a non-hereditary, elected monarchy that is ruled by the Bishop of Rome — the Pope. The highest state functionaries are all clergymen of the Catholic Church. It is the sovereign territory of the Holy See (*Sancta Sedes*) and the location of the Pope’s residence, referred to as the Apostolic Palace. ¹⁵⁾ Vatican and international community recognize Pope as chief of state:” The Pope is *ex officio* head of state and head of government of Vatican City, functions dependent on his primordial function as the bishop of the Archdiocese of Rome. The term Holy See refers not to the Vatican state but to the Pope’s spiritual and pastoral governance, largely exercised through the Roman Curia His official title with regard to Vatican City is Sovereign of the State of the Vatican City. The papacy is a non-hereditary, elective monarchy, chosen by the College of Cardinals. The Pope is also a monarch, meaning he has total legislative, executive

14) <http://www.hri.org/docs/syntagma/artcl25.html> (Accessed 30.1.09)

15) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vatican_City (Accessed 30.1.09)

and judicial power over Vatican City. The Pope is elected for a life term in conclave by cardinals under the age of 80. His principal subordinate government official for Vatican City is the President of the Pontifical Commission for Vatican City State, who since 1952 exercises the functions previously belonging to the Governor of Vatican City. Since 2001, the President of the Pontifical Commission for Vatican City State also has the title of President of the Governorate of the State of Vatican City¹⁶⁾.

Is it clear that Vatican is real theocracy? Having in mind theocratic features of Roman Catholicism we will show the presence of those features in existing states with Roman Catholic population. For example one among the biggest states of Latin America Argentina in its Constitutions sections 2 say: "Section 2.- The Federal Government supports the Roman Catholic Apostolic religion"¹⁷⁾. That's why former president of Argentina Carlos Menem changed religion. And from Muslim become Roman Catholic to be elected president.¹⁸⁾

Very interesting case of modern theocracy is Israel. Israel has no constitution due to conflict among secular and religious people during the formation time 1947-1948. Religious people wanted to introduce religious law halakha as main source of legislative power and that contrarily of them socialists wanted secular system. Because of equal force compromise was found. State has no Constitution. As result political system is copy of western democracies but personal relations are regulated by religious law halakha. That's why Israel is combination of modern democracy and religious state. "The religious status quo, agreed upon by David Ben-Gurion with the religious parties at the time of the declaration of independence in 1948 is an agreement on the religious Jewish role in government and the judicial system of Israel. Under this agreement, which is still mostly held today?"

1. The Chief Rabbinate has authority over Kashrut, Shabbat, Jewish burial and marital issues (especially divorce), and Jewish status of immigrants

2. Streets of Haredi neighborhoods are closed to traffic on the Sabbath

3. There is no public transport on that day, and most businesses are closed. However there is public transport in Haifa, since Haifa had a large Arab population at the time of the British Mandate.

16) Ibidem

17) http://www.argentina.gov.ar/argentina/portal/documentos/constitucion_ingles.pdf (Accessed 24.1.09)

18) <http://www.nndb.com/event/930/000084678/> (Accessed 1.2.09)

4. Restaurants who wish to advertise themselves as kosher must be certified by the Chief Rabbinate

5. Importation of non-kosher foods is prohibited. Despite prohibition, there are a few local pork farms in kibbutzim, catering for establishments selling “White Meat”, due to its relatively popular demand among specific population sectors, particularly the Russian immigrants of the 1990s. Despite the Status Quo, the Supreme Court ruled in 2004 that local governments are not allowed to ban the sale of pork, although this had previously been a common by-law¹⁹⁾. Having in mind that almost half of population is secular conflict among secularist and religious citizen is visible.” In recent years, perceived frustration among some members of the secular sector with the Status Quo has strengthened parties such as Shinui, which advocate separation of religion from the state, without much success so far.

Today the secular Israeli-Jews claim that they aren't religious and don't follow the Jewish rules and that Israel as a democratic modern country should not force the old outdated religious rules upon its citizens against their will. The religious Israeli-Jews claim that the separation between state and religion will contribute to the end of Israel's Jewish identity.

Signs of the first challenge to the status quo came in 1977, with the fall of the Labor government that had ruled Israel since independence and the formation of a rightwing coalition under Meacham Begin. Right-wing Revisionist Zionism had always been more acceptable to the religious parties, since it did not share the same history of antireligious rhetoric that marked socialist Zionism. Furthermore, Begin needed the Haredi members of the Knesset (Israel's unicameral parliament) to form his coalition and offered more power and benefits to their community than what they were accustomed to receiving, including a lifting of the numerical limit on military exemptions²⁰⁾. Future will show destiny of Israeli theocracy.

In other parts of modern world, theocratic features are also visible. For example in Hindu religion. Till 2008 Nepal was Hindu kingdom. Abolition of theocracy provoked reaction of former ruling Indian Bharatiya Janata party.” The declaration of Nepal as a secular state is a ‘negative development’ but the end of monarchy in what was till recently the world's only Hindu kingdom is the result of the ‘wishes of the people’,”²¹⁾ said Bharatiya Janata party. This statement shows

19) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion_in_Israel (Accessed 1.2.09)

20) *ibidem*

21) <http://www.hindu.com/2008/06/03/stories/2008060356640100.htm> (Accessed 1. 2. 09)

very openly what is position of those party toward political system in India. They want to transform India in theocratic Hindu state.

Buddhist religion and peoples in modern times also employ some theocratic elements in political organizations of their societies. For example in Constitution of kingdom of Bhutan in Article 2, point 2 "The Institution of Monarchy" is written "The Chhoe-sid-nyi (Dual system of religion and politics temporal and secular.)of Bhutan shall be unified in the person of the Druk Gyalpo(The King of Bhutan) who, as a Buddhist, shall be the upholder of the Chhoe-sid"²²⁾ Very clearly Constitution defines that un Bhutan is theocracy. Thailand Constitution in chapter II section 9 says "The King is a Buddhist and Upholder of religions"²³⁾. Constitution of Sri Lanka in chapter 2 as follows defines role of Buddhism." The Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana, while assuring to all religions the rights granted by Articles 10 and 14(1)(e)."²⁴⁾

And for the end we have to emphasize than even Japan till end of the II world war was Shinto theocracy. And that this theocracy was abolished by ordering of occupying forces of USA, and not as wish of Japanese people. Lot of today researchers of Japan insist that New Komeito party which is in the government now²⁵⁾ want to transform Japan into Buddhist theocracy." The New Clean Government Party, *Kōmeitō*) or NKP, often translated as "New Komeito Party", is a political party in Japan affiliated with the religious movement Soka Gakkai. It considers itself Japan's answer to Germany's CDU (although unlike the NKP, the German CDU is not affiliated with any particular religious organization). The present New Clean Government Party was formed as a result of a merger between the Clean Government Party (Former) and the New Peace Party on November 7, 1998. The New Komeito is widely understood to be the political arm of Soka Gakkai to achieve the aim of making Soka Buddhism the state religion of Japan and, ultimately, the world. Daisaku Ikeda, head of Soka Gakkai, is considered the de facto head of New Komeito. Ikeda has said that the purpose of Soka's political involvement is to institute "Obutsu Myogo," or "Buddhist de-

22) [http://www.constitution.bt/TsaThrim%20Eng%20\(A5\).pdf](http://www.constitution.bt/TsaThrim%20Eng%20(A5).pdf) (Accessed 2.1.09); See Rana P.B. Singh, *Heritage Contestation and Contexts of Religion: Political Scenario of South East Asia, Politics and Religion*, journal Vol.II, no1/2008.; Accessed also at http://www.politicsandreligionjournal.com/PDF/broj%203/08_singh.pdf

23) <http://www.asianlii.org/th/legis/const/2007/1.html> (Accessed 1.2.09)

24) http://www.priu.gov.lk/Cons/1978Constitution/Chapter_02_Amd.html (Accessed 1.2.09)

25) http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cabinet_of_Japan (Accessed 1.2.09)

mocracy,” or theocratic state. The party is a right-wing, conservative party, yet is a Buddhist democratic party as well.”²⁶⁾

As conclusion we can say that theocracy isn't past but praxis. And future will show who will won secularism or theocracy.

REFERENCES

- Al Attas Sayed Muhammad Naquib, *Islam i sekularizam*, Bosancica print, Sarajevo, 2003.
- Brian Fay, *Social Theory and Political Practice*, London : George Allen & Unwin, 1977.
- Jean Bodin, *Šest knjiga o republici*, Politička kultura, Zagreb, 2002.
- Miroljub Jevtic, *Religija i politika - uvod u politikologiju religije*, FPN, Institut za politicke studije, Beograd, 2002
- Politikologija religije*, ISSN 1820-6581
- William Alton Kelso, *American democratic theory: pluralism and its critics*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978

Miroljub Jevtic

THEOCRACY IN THE MODERN WORLD

Summary

Modern Western world in political sense propagates secular principle of political organization. This means separation between the state and religion. But even in the most important Western states secularization has not been completely accepted. Even superficial examination of political system in the West shows that religion is present in their political organizations. The example of Great Britain is the most impressive one.

In England King is a chief of established church of England. In Denmark Lutheran church is established, too. If we analyze other civilizations than Christian, we will see similar situation. Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist worlds give similar examples. Having in mind all those facts we can easily conclude that theocracy is not past, bur very present model of political organization in contemporary world.

Key words: Theocracy, Modern world, Secularism, Religion, Politology of religion

26) <http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/New-Clean-Government-Party> (Accessed 1. 2. 09)

