



CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY: ON FAITH AND GEOPOLITICAL IMAGINATION

By Nick Megoran

I am a political geographer. Although I have studied themes as diverse as the identity of the Danish minority in Germany and the Church of England's response to 9/11, my major research has been on the building of nation-states and the imposition of border regimes in the republics of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Since childhood, I have been fascinated by the way that we divide the world up into the familiar map of nation-states, what that political geographic imagination reveals, and what it conceals. In short, I study nationalism and the obstacles that nationalism presents humanity in seeking a peaceful and just existence.

It is not out of mere intellectual curiosity that I study these phenomena. As a Christian, my faith informs the questions that I ask, the way I ask them, the conclusions that I reach and the uses to which I put them. This article explores the dilemmas and opportunities of attempting to take both Christianity and political geography seriously.

At the outset, it is important to acknowledge that Christianity does not—thankfully—offer a single blueprint or constitution about how we translate its imperatives in the myriad political contexts in which we might find ourselves. Different Christians

interpret and apply the Bible to concrete issues in different ways, and questions of politics and war are certainly no exception.¹ From the context of my particular understanding of both Christianity and political geography, this article outlines how I attempt to negotiate the relationship between the two.

Following a discussion of the difficulties that political geography presents Christians, I will sketch my understanding of Christianity in so far as it relates to the themes of political geography. I will then go on to examine first how my study of geography informs my faith, and secondly how my understanding of faith informs my study of geography. I will argue that political geography is a useful tool for the church in highlighting how it has failed to genuinely be the church, and also that at the heart of Christian faith is a geopolitical imagination that can inform the project of scholarly political geography.

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Christianity and Political Geography: Contradictory Projects?

Geography is characterised by the unusual division between its *physical* and *human* sub-disciplines. Physical geography is rooted in the scientific tradition, which grew out of a medieval Christian worldview that saw the physical world as a reality outside our existence and open to our scrutiny, created by God to be intelligible to humans. Therefore, people could worship God by studying his creation.² For example, the Old Cavendish Laboratories on Free School Lane, Cambridge, an important institution in the history of the development of science, have inscribed above the entrance a verse from the Psalms, “Great are the works of the Lord: they are pondered by all who delight in them.”³ Such considerations are important to many physical geographers.

However, the study of nationalism and war is a different matter, not least because Christians have been responsible for so much of it. The founder of Christianity taught, “blessed are the peacemakers” but, as one historian has wryly observed, one would never have suspected as much from the conduct of many of his followers.⁴ The history of Christian Europe can be read as a long and melancholy list of wars, pogroms, and persecutions of national enemies and those seen as the enemies within, whether Jews, Muslims, witches, or other Christians.

Nor is this merely some failing in the distant past. In the great clash of empires that was the first and second world wars, Christians actively provided justification for leaders of all sides. In a sermon preached at Westminster Abbey in 1915 Bishop Wimmington-Ingram of London called for the nation’s manhood to “band in a great Crusade... to kill Germans. To kill them, not for the sake of killing, but to save the world; to kill the good as well as the bad; to kill the young men as well as the old... and to kill them lest the civilisation of the world should itself be killed.” The Bishop of Cremona, endorsing Mussolini’s invasion of the ancient Christian kingdom of Abyssinia and consecrating regimental flags, declared, “The blessing of God be upon these soldiers who, on African soil, will conquer new and fertile lands for Italian genius,

thereby bringing them to Roman and Christian culture.”⁵ Devout Protestants were amongst the most solid base of support for the Nazis:⁶ in 1939 Bishop Marahrens said, “The German Evangelical Church has always stood in true fellowship with the fate of the German people. She has provided in addition to the weapons of steel, insuperable forces of the Word of God.”⁷

The Second World War finally came to an end in 1945 with the atomic bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. A plane, piloted by Catholics and blessed by a Catholic chaplain, dropped a bomb on Nagasaki, and the epicentre of the explosion was the Catholic cathedral, annihilating Japan’s main community of Catholics. Not only have Christian churches tended to take the side of the wars waged by the countries in which they find themselves, they have exhorted their members to kill fellow Christians elsewhere.

My current research is on geopolitics. Geopolitics was once considered the science of uncovering the spatial laws that underlaid the power relations of competing states.⁸ However, during the course of the 1990s its meaning underwent a transformation, largely through the sub-discipline of “critical geopolitics.”⁹ This conceives of geopolitics as a discourse that sets up places and regions in an imaginative mental geography, designating them as entities and imbuing them with qualities that provide a common-sense way of understanding the world. Ultimately, it is within this discursive framework that warmaking and peacemaking occur.¹⁰ The task of the political geographer is thus to unpack or “de-naturalise” these common-sense understandings and reveal the assumptions behind them, explaining the way that they are used by practitioners and theoreticians of statecraft, and how they are reproduced in the popular sphere.¹¹ Whereas Marxist political geography cast religion as an ideological veneer used to justify imperial wars, this new understanding of geopolitics demonstrates that religious discourses have been important in constituting the “geopolitical imaginations” (mindsets) that make wars possible and peace less likely.¹²

This reading of history implicates Christianity deeply in the horrors of nationalism and the violence of the state. It is this issue that I have personally wrestled with in my own life and faith. Responsibility cannot be shirked by denying the theological orthodoxy of perpetrators of Christian violence. Whilst it is true that religion has often cynically been used to mask baser motives, crusaders past and present have often been truly passionate believers, yet so influenced by the geopolitical imaginations of their day that what appear to be basic biblical precepts are relegated or jettisoned altogether. For this reason, many political geographers prefer to expose or “deconstruct” Christianity rather than respect it. Stated thus, one can either take Christianity seriously, or political geography seriously, but not both.

What is Christianity?

Whilst I do not in any way seek to understate the dismal record of Christians in the sphere of political violence, I do not see any essential contradiction between being a Christian and taking critical political geography seriously. On the contrary, I see my work and my faith as informing and complementing each other. Before discussing that, however, I should make my understanding of Christianity clear.

The Bible teaches us that we were made by a God who is *good*—that is, who is upright and loving and just and merciful and righteous—and the reason we were made was to know him and live like him. But as individuals and a race we have failed to do this, or “sinned” as the Bible calls it: we fail to live at peace with God and with each other. God’s plan through history was to restore those relationships. He sent prophets and teachers, but the climax was sending his son, Jesus Christ, whom, the Bible teaches, lived a human life, died on the cross, and rose again. He did this to reconcile the world to himself: to take the consequences of sin, and forgive us, re-opening the way to God.

The language that the Bible uses so often to describe this is “peace.” As the Apostle Paul, one of the most important writers of the New Testament and founders of the early church, put it, Jesus is “our peace,”¹³ who made peace by the

cross and who “preached peace to those who were far and peace to those who were near.”¹⁴ Paul exhorts the believers to live at peace with everyone, to “keep the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace,”¹⁵ and calls his message “the Gospel of peace.”¹⁶ Why? The foundation of the peace Paul describes is personal peace with God—knowing our Maker and being restored to that relationship for which we were created. However, biblical peace is more than just a matter of inner, subjective feeling: it is also social and political. The Bible explains that the Church, the body of all believers, is God’s visible demonstration of what he has done and is doing. What amazes the Apostle Paul in his letters is that the church has broken down social divisions between people. Men and women, rich and poor, national enemies (in Paul’s case, “Jew and gentile”)—all are one in Christ Jesus and part of a new entity, the church.¹⁷

The political geographic significance of this is often overlooked. In scripture, many of the features of national identity and belonging are re-interpreted and applied to the church. The New Testament calls the church a holy “nation” (the word it uses is *ethnos*, or ethnic group).¹⁸ Also, Jesus is called “Lord.” Living under Roman rule, this was a seditious political statement: Caesar alone was to be worshipped as Lord.

“Homeland” is another concept important to nationalists: they want to die or kill for it, or at least stop asylum seekers getting into it. But the New Testament describes Christians as people travelling towards a heavenly homeland, and calls them *paroikos*, something like the migrant category of “resident aliens” who belong elsewhere but temporarily sojourn.¹⁹ Citizenship, or formally belonging to certain states, is also a key element of political geographical analysis: but Paul declares that, “our citizenship is in heaven.”²⁰

The New Testament stresses repeatedly that this ethnic group supersedes other allegiances and unites people of diverse backgrounds. In recounting events on the day of Pentecost, when God sent the Holy Spirit following the ascension of Jesus, the author of the Acts of the Apostles is at pains to list all the different

nationalities that heard and responded to the message. The last book of the Bible, Revelation, which prefigures a renewed earth and humanity upon the return of Christ, describes the presence of an innumerable throng of people of every tribe, tongue, and nation worshipping God. For me, this is an immensely attractive picture. And the ethics of relating to those outside the “tribe” are unlike any other form of nationalism. Whereas secular nationalism depends upon processes of exclusion and separation, this new “holy nation” is open to everyone to join. Even those who become its “enemies,” who persecute or oppose it, are not to be hated and fought but loved and blessed.

These were not just empty words: the early church was Jewish and grew out of a situation of oppressive and degrading colonial occupation, where people were waiting for a military Messiah to overthrow Roman rule, as the Jewish nation headed inexorably for armed revolt. Yet the first personally-identified non-Jewish convert was a Roman officer! The church was to be a body of peacemakers, concerned with justice and righteousness, with an internationalist ethic that reflected the unity of humanity as envisaged by its creator: the church is meant to show a glimpse of what renewed humanity will look like. For the New Testament writers, the reality of the church, a humanity restored by God in Christ, is exciting and thrilling, and Paul often breaks out into praise as he writes about it. Likewise, the New Testament conception of church appears to me to be the articulation of an extremely exciting, and hopeful, alternative political geographic imagination.

Geography Informing Faith

My study of the political geography of nationalism has helped me reach, I believe, a richer understanding of scripture and the Christian faith. John Agnew has aptly defined the contemporary study of geopolitics as an “examination of the geographical assumptions,

designations, and understandings that enter into the making of world politics.”²¹ Such a discipline of study helps illuminate the way in which churches take on board the geopolitical imaginations of the milieu in which they are located, and how they too often map these imaginations onto their understanding of scripture rather

than encode the world through biblical visions.

The study of critical geopolitics demonstrates how our best hopes and intentions can unwittingly become implicated in structures of violence and oppression. Yet the logical conclusion of this observation is not neces-

sarily that our geopolitical imaginations should be discarded—indeed, we all operate with some geographical worldview. Rather, it could be concluded that we should continually re-apply prayerful thought and searching criticism to them: or, as Luther put it in more traditional theological language, “The Christian is called to a life of continual repentance.” Political geography can reveal how and why the church has strayed at certain times, opening a space to begin the process of correction (repentance).

For example, the early Christian church kept the non-violent teaching of the New Testament for some centuries, maintaining their vision of being a unique and internationalist nation of peacemakers. It was not until the fourth century, when it became institutionalised in the Roman Empire, that it compromised the apostolic testimony, allowing its members to kill and retreating from the imperative of peacemaking that the early church had held.²² It forgot the geopolitical imagination of its founders, mistaking temporal geopolitical entities for the kingdom of God and losing sight of its primary identity and sense of citizenship.

Like all public intellectuals, human geographers commonly seek to expound and develop their academic interests within the communities to which they belong: perhaps a political party, a women’s movement, an ethnic group, a state. I am a member of the Church of England and,

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in Cambridge, the congregation of St. Barnabas. I see the task of building the church, this new *ethnos*, as one for all Christians, something I participate in through activities such as sharing in corporate worship on Sundays, involvement with Bible study groups in the week, and supporting the congregation's work with the poor and needy of the parish. Through discussion, prayer, preaching, and the distribution of literature, I also understand my role as raising awareness of the church's tendency towards nationalism and away from peacemaking.

More directly on the question of nationalism and violence, I have been active, in a small way, in Christian circles in this respect—preaching, writing articles, debating, taking part in Christian peace vigils, encouraging Christians to take part in the wider peace and anti-war movements. I have naturally continued these activities into the formal political and public spheres in which I operate as a citizen of a democratic country.

My scholarly work is both informed by and informs these activities. I am currently conducting research into the Church of England's response to the attacks on the United States in September 2001, looking at how commemoration services foster certain political identities. This is informed by work in geography and history on the politics of place and commemoration, and also by critical study of the way in which geopolitical discourse operates. The goal is not only to make a contribution to the scholarly literature but also to provoke debate amongst Christians and, hopefully, promote change in the church.

The value of such work was demonstrated to me most vividly during a research interview in 2003 with Mano Rumalshah, former bishop of Peshawar in Pakistan. After 9/11 he gave interviews talking about his fears for Christians in Pakistan if the U.S. attacked Afghanistan, warning, "We will suffer the day the first stone is thrown."²³ Sure enough, after Friday prayers on the first week of the bombing in October 2001, thousands of people ringed the Christian compound in Peshawar chanting anti-Christian and anti-American slogans. In the first month, half a dozen of his parishioners were murdered,

and there were unprecedented murderous attacks on Christians around the country.

Bishop Mano contrasted this reaction of Pakistani Muslims to their reaction to the U.S. attack on Iraq in March 2003. Although angry, this time they did not vent their outrage on Christians. Bishop Mano explained that this was because the condemnations by the Pope and the new Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams, were widely reported, as was church support for anti-war demonstrations across seven continents on February 15th 2003, in which more than one million people in London alone took part. This coverage gave the impression that Christians and Muslims in the West were united in opposing the war, and thus indigenous Christians were not seen as proxy targets.

When the church loses its sense of being the international body of Christ, its witness suffers; political geography has enabled me to understand how that happens, and how many within the church work, inadvertently, with non-biblical common-sense geopolitical imaginations into which they have been socialised by their location within particular nation-states. Conversely, when it remembers that it is *church*, it is able to truly act as a peacemaking body and bear testimony to the gospel of peace. The opening of the archives of Eastern-bloc countries has shown that the work of international peace organisations, in which Christians played an important role, was vital in internal policy debates that persuaded the Soviet Union to take some initiative in ending the Cold War.²⁴ Christian groups and churches have played pivotal roles in averting or ending countless armed conflicts, for example between Chile and Argentina in 1978, in Mali 1995-1996, and in Guatemala 1988-1996. They have contributed to the exposing and ending of state terror in Brazil (1979-1985), and the de-escalation of conflict in 1980s Nicaragua. They have worked in inter-ethnic reconciliation in numerous post-conflict situations, such as Northern Ireland, South Africa, Germany/Poland, and the former Yugoslavia. In so doing, Christians have interpreted their call to be peacemakers in ways that have made a real difference.²⁵

Informed by my work as a political geographer, I seek to promote and support this type of activity within the church, which is the church recovering its authentic geopolitical calling.

Faith Informing Geography

Not only has my study of political geography enabled me to better understand the church's calling and why it fails to achieve it, but being a Christian has helped me better understand political geography. As a Christian, I do not recognise the inherent durability of any political or social system apart from the church. I find this frees me to be able to look critically at the structures around me. Whilst fond of it, my first allegiance is not to Britain, but the nation created by God. Here, I am much inspired by Old Testament prophets such as Jeremiah, who, long before Marx and Foucault, were able to highlight and denounce the injustice and militarism of their own society. The prophets exposed corrupt leaders and their ideological discourses, discourses that demonised opponents and acted as cloaks for oppression and violence. It is not a matter of indifference to the creator and judge of the world that the powerful inflict injustice on the poor, and nor should it be a matter of indifference to us.

These commitments shape my research agenda. For instance, in my work on Central Asia, I have focussed on understanding and exposing how violence against the poor and vulnerable is legitimised in the cults of nationalism. Furthermore, my faith informs what I do *with* my research—that is, my action in the political and policy arena is deeply informed by the integration I strive to achieve between my work and my faith. To be sure, some of the political causes I support are “successful,” and some of them aren't, but in all of it I work hard to resist any simplistic dualism between faith and action.

Over thirty years ago, Thomas Freeman observed that geopoliticians are apt to be “impatient” with religion in spite of its importance in contemporary conflicts.²⁶ The same statement could equally well be made today. With the collapse of the general secularization thesis

of the 1960s,²⁷ scholars of history,²⁸ Cold War studies,²⁹ international relations,³⁰ and conflict/religion,³¹ have increasingly recognised the importance of religion in international politics today. However, political geographers still lag behind in this respect.³² Although one certainly does not need to be personally religious in order to be able to study the geopolitics of religion, it may be an advantage in some circumstances. For example, in their studies that touch on the use of religious geopolitical rhetoric in recent U.S. presidential speeches, a number of writers have drawn attention to the subtle appropriation of Christian discourse that could easily be missed by people unfamiliar with scripture and the lyrics of hymns.³³ In addition, on a purely practical level being an “insider” makes study and access to certain individuals easier.

Finally, political geography, critical geopolitics in particular, has been criticised for failing to articulate its own alternatives to the geopolitical imaginations that it debunks. As I have argued in this article, the New Testament vision of a nation of peacemakers offers an alternative that is both viable and attractive today. Because the world is made and loved by a God who cares about its future and everyone in it, life matters and what we do with our lives matters. Because Jesus really did die and rise again to save the world, and because he really will return to finally establish justice and peace on the earth, we can live in hope that another world is not only possible, but certain: a sure hope that the universe is on the side of justice; that oppression and violence are not inescapable conditions of human existence; that the dreary cycle of violence and retaliation and fear and deceit will finally be broken; that the borders and boundaries that we erect between ourselves will be breached; and that people can live at peace with themselves, their Maker, and each other. In the meantime, we can live and work in the light of that vision, trying, in our different ways, to work it out in the messiness of the many contexts in which we find ourselves. It is these considerations that provoke and inspire me as a geographer. ❖

1. For a classic statement of this, see W. Grigor McClelland, *The Prophet and the Reconciler* (London: Friend's Peace Committee, 1960). Furthermore, considering the nation-state in some other light, for example as a vehicle for social justice and the protection of the poor, would pose another set of questions.
2. For an extensive and recent restatement of this, see Denis Alexander, *Rebuilding the Matrix: Science and Faith in the 21st Century* (Oxford: Lion, 2001).
3. Psalm 111:2.
4. A.J. Hoover, *God, Germany, and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (London: Praeger, 1989), p. 120.
5. Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-2000*. 4th ed. London: SCM, 2001), p. 314.
6. Richard Steigmann-Gall, "Apostasy or Religiosity? The Cultural Meanings of the Protestant Vote for Hitler," *Social History*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2000): 267-284.
7. Andrew Chandler, "The Church of England and Nazi Germany, 1933-1945," Ph.D., Cambridge, 1990, p. 181.
8. See Halford Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History," *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1904): 421-444 for a classic statement.
9. Key statements of this include: Gearóid Ó Tuathail and John Agnew, "Geopolitics and Discourse: Practical Geopolitical Reasoning in American Foreign Policy," *Political Geography*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1992): 190-204; Gearóid Ó Tuathail, *Critical Geopolitics: The Politics of Writing Global Space* (London: Routledge, 1996); and Mark Polelle, *Raising Cartographic Consciousness: The Social and Foreign Policy Vision of Geopolitics in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Lexington, 1999). See also Klaus Dodds, "Political Geography III: Critical Geopolitics After Ten Years," *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (2001): 469-484 for a useful overview.
10. See Paul Reuber, "The Tale of the Just War - A Post-Structuralist Objection," *The Arab World Geographer*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2003): 44-46. Recent examples would be Samuel Huntington's "clash of civilisations," George W. Bush's "axis of evil" and "war on terrorism," and Osama Bin Laden's war of "true Muslims" versus "heathens."
11. In her studies of U.S. Cold War film and popular literature, Joanne Sharp shows how these political geographic imaginations are reproduced in the popular realm. See Joanne Sharp, "Reel Geographies of the New World Order: Patriotism, Masculinity, and Geopolitics in Post-Cold War American Movies," in *Rethinking Geopolitics*, eds. Gearóid Ó Tuathail and Simon Dalby (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 152-170, and Joanne Sharp, *Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American Identity* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).
12. For example, in an address supporting U.S. backing of the Nicaraguan *Contras*, U.S. President Ronald Reagan said that "the Almighty" had a reason for placing the U.S. where it is, to help bring freedom to the world, and by supporting the *Contras* to show that America is "still a beacon of hope, still a light unto the nations." See Tuathail and Agnew, "Geopolitics and Discourse." Similarly, Simon Dalby demonstrates that American Christians opposed to the end of the Cold War played important lobbying roles ratcheting up military confrontation in the 1970s and 1980s. See Simon Dalby, *Creating the Second Cold War: The Discourse of Politics* (London: Pinter, 1990).
13. Ephesians 2:14.
14. Ephesians 2:17.
15. Ephesians 4:3.
16. Ephesians 6:15.
17. The conceptualisation of Christianity in this section owes much to Alan Kreider, *Journey Towards Holiness: A Way of Living for God's Holy Nation* (Waterloo, Ontario: Herald, 1987).
18. 2 Peter 2:9.
19. Hebrews 11:13-16
20. Philippians 3:20.
21. John Agnew, *Geopolitics: Re-Visioning World Politics* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 2.
22. See John Driver, *How Christians Made Peace with War: Early Christian Understandings of War*, Vol. 2 of *Peace and Justice Series* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1988).
23. "The Taliban Will Rather Die Than Give Away a Guest," *Church Times*, 28 September, 2001, p. 1. The seventh continent being Antarctica, where scientists staged a demonstration outside a U.S. research station.
24. This is still a story largely waiting to be written, but see Michael McGwire, *Perestroika and Soviet National Security* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1991); Matthew Evangelista, *Unarmed Forces: The Transnational Movement to End the Cold War* (London: Cornell University Press, 1999).
25. See for example Gregory Baum and Harold Wells, eds., *The Reconciliation of the Peoples: Challenge to the Churches* (New York: Orbis, 1997), and Dylan Matthews, *War Prevention Works: 50 Stories of People Resolving Conflicts* (Oxford: Oxford Research Group, 2001).
26. Tomas W. Freeman, *A Hundred Years of Geography, The 'Hundred Years' Series* (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1961), p. 206. He suggested that this was partly because political geographers generally lacked religious faith themselves.
27. See Don Baker, "Looking for God in the Streets of Seoul: The Resurgence of Religion in 20th-Century Korea," *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (2001): 34-39; Peter Berger, *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999); Grace Davie, "Europe: The Exceptional Case," *Parameters of Faith in the Modern World, Sarum Theological Lectures* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2002), pp. 2-3; and Gilles Kepel, *The Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity and Judaism in the Modern World* (Cambridge: Polity, 1994). For the classic statement of this thesis, see Peter Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969); for Berger's subsequent rejection of his own thesis, see his "The Desecularization of the World: A Global Overview," in *The Desecularization of the World*, ed. Berger, pp. 1-18.
28. Jim Obelkevich, Lyndal Roper, and Raphael Samuel, eds., *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy* (London: Routledge, 1987).
29. See Seth Jacobs, "'Our System Demands the Supreme Being': The U.S. Religious Revival and the 'Diem Experiment', 1954-55," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (2001): 589-624; Dianne Kirby, "The Archbishop of York and Anglo-American Relations During the Second World War and Early Cold War, 1942-1955," *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1999): 327-345; and Dianne Kirby, ed., *Religion and the Cold War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2003).
30. See David Martin, "The Evangelical Upsurge and Its Political Implications," in *The Desecularization of the World*, ed. Berger, pp. 37-49; Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos, Special Issue: Religion and International Relations, *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* Vol. 29, No. 3 (2000).
31. See Ananda Abeysekara, "The Saffron Army, Violence, Terror(ism): Buddhism, Identity, and Difference in Sri Lanka," *NUMEN: International Review for the History of Religions*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2001): 1-46; R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000); Lee Griffith, *The War on Terrorism and the Terror of God* (Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2002); Mark Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence* (London: University of California, 2001); and Oliver McTernan, *Violence in God's Name: Religion in an Age of Conflict* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 2003).
32. This is receiving increasing recognition. See Colin Flint, "Dying for a 'P'?" *Political Geography*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (2003): 619. For an exception, see Abeysekara, "The Saffron Army."
33. See B. Lincoln, *Holy Terrors: Thinking About Religion After September 11* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); C. Longley, *Chosen People: The Big Idea that Shapes England and America* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2002); and Jim Wallis, "Dangerous Religion: George W. Bush's Theology of Empire, *Sojourners*, September-October 2003, pp. 20-25.

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