

RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY  
International scientific meeting almanac

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# RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

(Религия в современном обществе)

*International scientific meeting almanac*

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## DESECULARIZATION, NATIONAL STATE AND THE RISE OF RIGHT OF POLITICAL MOVEMENT

**Abstract:** Desecularization is the multilayered and the multifaceted concept. Around his determination created substantial differences exist, both among researchers and religion among people who are religious or atheists. In the most general sense, it means a return to religion (and religion) and its increasing importance to the individual, social collectivities, institutions and the state. One of the more general attitudes is that desecularization not uniform, unambiguous and reversible process. It is influenced by numerous political, historical, cultural and other factors. The paper analyzes the relationship between secularization, the nation and the nation-state in Europe today. In this way, explains the essence of the social, political, cultural and religious climate in which they arise, and strengthen right political movements. The conditions for their operation are different in some religious communities, and they themselves often use religious issues such values for that fight (or they oppose). The author, in a nutshell, is the essence of the ideology of the social movements, their relationship to the nation-state and European integration. The emphasis is on the political right compared to the dominant religions and confessions, as well as new forms of expression of religious fundamentalism and political intolerance. The conclusion is that religious exclusivity encourages the rise of the right, and it was further strengthened.

**Key words:** desecularization, Europe, the nation-state, the political right, conflicts.

### Introduction

At the center of sociological analysis is the social, cultural and historical climate in which the processes of return to religion and religion, the decline of the national state (state-nation) and the rise and strengthening of the right political movements in today's Europe are taking place. These processes are interconnected, and here, in brief, they describe and explain their most important dimensions. Processes of return to religion and religion are important for understanding the diversity of forms of religious practice of citizens, which under current conditions are exposed to many global and local influences. Among them, the globalization of economics, cultures and societies in general is of particular importance, with all the

consequences for the life of the individual and social groups. One of the most important trends is the conflict of globalization and regionalization with national and local, which results in changes in the functions of the national state and religion in general.

The relationship between them is very complex, so it is necessary to take into account all the specificities of the environment in which processes of desecularization, globalization and weakening national state. The paper makes an effort to point out the basic social, historical and cultural causes that have contributed, among other things, to the strengthening of the right political movements and parties. In everyday life, this is reflected in all the existing xenophobia, intolerance, Islamophobia, racism and violence among members of different religions, confessions and religious communities (and atheists). The current global economic crisis and the migrant crisis all complicated it further and gave their seal. The author starts from the view that it is necessary to have a better knowledge of different religions and cultures in order to understand and tolerate the attitudes and behavior of Christians, Muslims, members of other religions and citizens who do not have them differently. On the case of Europe, the most important problems that they encounter can be noticed.

### **1. Desecularization in Europe**

There are many definitions of the term desecularization. Researchers of religion, but also ordinary citizens, under this term, mean different contents. They are often contradictory, and sometimes under the same term, the same content is implied. Of course, there is also diversity in terms that denote the essence of desecularization. Let's just mention the return of religion (and religion), the revival of religion, the work of art and others. This is where the ideas of some of the most influential authors in this field are missing.

Disagreements over the assessment of the start, dynamics, and dimensions of this concept have not yet been seriously resolved. The consequence is that the return to religion is linked to different periods of social and economic development, although there are cases when it relates to the beginning of the 1990s. (Vrcan 1999; Blagojević 2005). This also depends on what the main attention of the researchers is focused on and on what space. The result is that there are desecularization studies in Europe, but also in other regions of the world (Berger 2008). Some of them relate to religion in general, as a form of social consciousness and an element of culture. The other deal with only some elements of religion, ranging from church institutions to specific religious practice of individuals and social groups. There are those who are trying to synthesize theoretical and empirical analyses in this field in a fruitful way. It is rarer than it prevails among authors who study religion, religious practice, and even desecularization.

It is important to note that there are disagreements among the researchers of religion about whether the secularization process is irreversible, or not.<sup>1</sup> Authors who dealt with changes since 1989 emphasized that there are clear tendencies of returning religion and religion and the "world". Those who study religion in other environments (as in the United States) have pointed to the revival of religion in other forms, that is, in the emergence and spread of new religious movements. In any case, it can be said that there is a diversity of the manifestation of religious practice, but also the conclusions were drawn by those who study it. In this work, the polarization refers to the return to religion and religious practice that takes different forms in different environments and which are not once and for all given. This is influenced, inter alia, by numerous historical, cultural, social, political and specific religious factors. One of the most general and most influential processes that contribute to and changes in this area is the process of globalization. Moreover, a review of de-education in Europe makes it easier for the researcher to better understand the social and cultural climate in which other social processes take place. Among them, there is an increasingly significant strengthening and the rise of the right political movements.

On the basis of the above, it follows that it is necessary to be careful in every research of religion, i. it is important that in the analysis the author devotes himself to the general and special characteristics of this phenomenon in the context of the humble environment in which it exists. One is researching the same processes in regions and countries that have undergone modernization processes (Western type, for example). It is completely different when it comes to societies that have developed in other models of development, or belong to other cultures and civilizations. It is precisely Europe that differs considerably from patterns of socio-economic development and religious processes from others, such as regions dominated by Islam, for example. Any overlooking of their specificity and the difference leads to unilateral conclusions about the characteristics of social and religious opportunities in them.

Europe is characterized by, among other things, the fact that, since the French Revolution (1789), it has entered the path of secession of the church and state and the definition of secularism or laicism. This is particularly dominant in France. In the Constitution of 1905, it has legalized the independence of the church from the state and vice versa. These provisions and dans apply. In everyday practice, there are many examples when the state reached for measures that are contrary to those provisions of the constitution. This seems, among other things, through the education system, but also by strengthening repression and applying physical force to citizens

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<sup>1</sup> See more about the conceptualization of the secularization as uncertain, variable and reversible process in the papers of the following authors: Blagojević M. (2005; 2015), Vrcan S. (1999), Radisavljević-Čiparižović D. (2006; 2016).

belonging to certain ethnic and religious groups. In other countries of Europe, the church-state relationship is different. They are diverse in a religious sense. According to the model he proposed, there can be different groups of states, which differ in each other from the degree of widespreadness of certain religions and confessions (Davie 2005). In any case, it is important to bear in mind that Europe inherits both the Christian, dominating, and Islamic religious tradition and practice. Any attempt to analyze a religion that does not take this into account leads to unilateral conclusions about actual processes and events in specific environments.

## 2. Globalization and the national state

The nation-state has lost a significant number of roles during the contemporary (neoliberal) globalization of capitalism. This is completely opposite to the international system established by the Westphalian Treaty (1648). According to him, the rightness of the nation-states, their independence, sovereignty, the right of nations to self-determination, is recognized. All national states are sovereign, equal, irrespective of the size and degree of economic and social National state is the main bearer of the sovereignty of nations, protection of citizens in a certain territory, where he applies laws and uses military force. Since then, the foundations of this system have been violated, and many countries have become victims of its collapse. Clearly, “strong” and “weak” countries can be distinguished. SURVEY The inequalities between in economic, political and military power, they are more pronounced today than ever before. While the former has the power to impose their rules on sovereignty (economic, political, monetary, territorial...) and protect their “national” interests, others have mentioned the sovereignty and rights of preserving vital interests severely compromised by the former. For such a functioning of modern capitalism, there are different justifications, which are often quite opposite to most of the adopted international and national laws and rules.

Globalization itself is against the nation-state, because capital is ruining and endangering its foundations and boundaries. Only if a “strong” national state stands behind it is a means of realizing the interests of the most powerful states and supranational communities, institutions and associations. These are the states of the capitalist center, with all their economic, political and military power. When they decide to protect their interests, they do not hesitate either from military interventions, violent changes of power in other countries, and ignore the most important provisions of international law. Victims are almost powerless to resist it more seriously, and when they do so, they are often forced to renounce part of their national sovereignty and identity. All this is followed by the growth of inequality in and between states and regions, in particular social fragmentation in weak states of the capitalist periphery. They are fueled by ethnic and religious conflicts,

which further create the focuses of the social and political crisis. This often leads to the disintegration of society and the state, the creation of zones of long-term conflicts of warring parties, some of which are supported from the outside by the most powerful capitalist countries. There are numerous local and "indirect" wars, and the price of which is mostly paid to the citizens of the state who is the victim of such actions.

In essence, wars are just one of the harshest means of protecting the interests of the capitalist class, and without them, processes of desuverenization of weak national states are carried out on a daily basis in various areas. The likelihood that ethnic, religious and class conflicts will take place is greater if the position of the state is more important in the geostrategic distribution of military, political and economic power. Therefore, the biggest wars and conflicts are now taking place in areas rich in raw materials and minerals, or are important for domination and control on the strategic routes of transport of the most important fuels and raw materials. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, control of water resources has become increasingly important, and this is also an important factor in the emergence of new conflicts and wars. Some of them are also "indirect", i.e. In addition to the local causes of the conflict, the warring parties are directly encouraged by powerful forces from outside. These are "indirect wars", involving powerful states, international institutions, and organizations, supranational and regional economic and military alliances.

In all this, multinational companies play a major role, as their interests have merged with the interests of the capitalist class at the national and supranational level of decision-making. Transnational companies (TNC) control most of the world's trade, imports and exports, high-tech products, and (un) legally and (un) legitimately finance political campaigns in the most powerful countries in the world. These interests could not be realized that large capital has no control over the most important institutions of the world monetary system and important international decision-making institutions (IMF, WTO, OECD, UN, G-20, and others). The collapse of the sovereignty of national states is preceded by numerous actions, among which the economic and financial weakening of the state is emphasized. Under the control of private interests and the aforementioned TNCs, the most important lenders, such as the IMF and SB, impose their interests and capital gains virtually lead the state to debt slavery.

To justify this, a neoliberal ideology serves, which is essentially the so-called. Washington consensus. Its basis is the withdrawal of the state from economic life, deregulation, liberalization, reduction of customs barriers, free flow of goods and capital, reduction of the public sector and accelerated privatization. This recipe was used by the IMF and the World Bank, in the same way, producing new areas and regions dependent on financial institutions and the most developed capitalist countries. This, as a rule, resulted in the rise in unemployment, poverty and inequality among citizens.



Deindustrialization itself meant destroying the material basis of society and the working class, greater dependence on foreign investment, loss of economic sovereignty. In Serbia: “deindustrialization has led to the collapse of the largest part of the working class, as workers have lost their jobs. Poverty, mass unemployment, greater exploitation and social inequalities have come to them” (Новаковић 2016: 749). It led to: Demodernization of the society and weakening of all social movements, including the trade union movement, occurred as consequences of deindustrialization (Obradović, Novaković 2015:274). Dejan Mirović’s findings on the changes in the economic and social structure in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe that joined the EU after 1989 have shown that they all increased external debt, unemployment, poverty, and reduced the population and material basis for the adoption of a national development policy. (Mirović 2013).

Research by world-renowned economists has proven that most of the economies that have been rapidly evolving over the course of 25 years have escaped such a fate. They have avoided the services of these institutions, renounced the excessive market freedom and more used domestic financing. They did not resort to deregulation, liberalization and quick and general privatization, especially public goods. Moreover, these countries underestimated the domestic currency, protected their economy with higher customs, invested more in public services (education, health, science) and had a nationally loyal and dedicated ruling elite. By contrast, most transition countries and “weak” national states did not escape the influence of pseudo-financial institutions. In the region, only Hungary seriously opposed the services of the IMF, and the resistance of Slovenia lasted only until 2004. Members of the Commission for Growth and Development concluded that there is no single recipe for accelerated economic development, and the fastest growing economies of the world did not apply the most important elements of a neo-liberal doctrine (Душанић 2011).

Among the most important consequences of the neoliberal globalization of capitalism the growth of economic and social inequalities, mass unemployment and poverty of citizens. According to Branko Milanović’s research, economic inequalities in the world today are higher than before the global crisis, both among the most developed countries and underdeveloped countries, and within each of them. The place of birth determines with two weights the income of an individual and only 20% of the class and family affiliation of the family. Jozef Stiglic emphasized the causes and dimensions of the growth of inequality in the United States: “One percent of the richest Americans account for a quarter of the national income. If instead of income we consider wealth, one percent of the richest people control 40 percent of total wealth” (Stiglic, 2015: 93). The average salary of workers is at the level of thirty years ago. Therefore Stiglic called that capitalism “surrogate capitalism” because it socializes debts while privatizing the profit (Stiglic 2015:98, 99). Toma Piketty pointed to trends in inequality

in the long run on the example of the US, France and the United Kingdom. The increase in income from labor was in favor of the growth of income inequities in favor of the richest, while the purchasing power of employee salaries grew slower by 2010. (Piketi 264, 269, 312, 313). The said countries are important for making the most important decisions in the EU, but also in NATO and the world. Recent Eurostat data confirm the trend of inequality in the distribution of income in the EU. Namely, inequality of income is wider, and the top 20% of the top income pyramid has a 5.9-fold higher income than the 20% of the poorest in the EU. In Serbia, this ratio is even higher, amounting to 9.2: 1! (*Vreme*, 19 June 2015). There remains an open question for further analysis of the extent to which these inequalities in Serbia are due to the “crowning” of national sovereignty and the influence of the “international community”, especially the functioning of financial institutions (IMF, WB) and the dynamics of government borrowing.

Of course, financial borrowing is just one dimension of the weakening of the nation-state. It is preceded or followed by political, military, cultural, religious, and ethnic “desuverenization”, which often leads to the loss of identity of individuals, social groups and wider collectivities. Serbia is an example of a country whose ruling elites highlight the goal of joining the EU. It is therefore important to point out the most important dimensions of the crisis of the European Union itself, which is a natural consequence of the neoliberal globalization of capitalism.

For the emergence of the EU, not only were the important economic interests of the founder countries, but also the needs and interests of the strongest capitalist power of the world (USA) to strengthen its political, economic and military influence in Europe and the world after the Second World War. Therefore, they strongly encouraged its creation, but also control it all the time in the most important aspects of development (especially military through NATO). The general direction of the development of the EU over the past six decades has been a sign of globalization at the regional level and the neoliberal development of the last few decades. This means that in the structure of this community, the principle of protecting the interests of the most powerful states of the Center is realized at the expense of less developed countries, especially those on its semi-product. At the time of the global crisis of capitalism, this is expressed every day as a conflict of vital interests of powerful and powerless members, centers and peripheries, the north and south, the developed west and the poor East, financially powerful states and indebted states. Monetary policy is in the center of conflict of interest, both in the euro-zone and in other EU member states. Subsequently, conflicts of interest are compounded at the level of fiscal, economic and regional development policies, institution building and management systems, and all decisions in the field of national and regional security policy. These problems are deepened after 2008. The EU has been “influenced by globalization and the global economic crisis by the influence of the IMF, WB and

USA” (Новаковић 2016: 279). The current intercontinental migrant crisis has contributed to this. One of the consequences is the rise and strengthening of the right political movements

On the socio-political map of the EU, the most developed and powerful countries are distinguished, such as Germany and Great Britain. The first is the importance of the geopolitical and historical circumstances of the Second World War for the United States, in all its ways, as a “pivot state”, SOURCE important for the preservation of the interests of the most powerful force in the world. The other, as the former colonial power, remained an important factor in world politics, but also one of the most important allies of the United States. It got the same role as Germany. They are at the same time the most developed EU member states. Through them, the interests of the global capital of the less developed countries in and outside of this regional community are imposed. The most plausible example of this is Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, which are directed by policies and measures of European and world financial institutions. These countries are the biggest victims of the EU’s neoliberal development and its institutional, legitimacy, democratic, demographic, political, moral and security crisis. They are at the periphery of the EU, the role of which is further impoverished, with the aim of further strengthening the power and wealth of the countries of the center of the region and the world. They are still in a difficult situation with countries aiming to join the European Union. This is also indicated by the processes of deepening economic and social inequalities in the center and at the periphery of the EU, but also unemployment and poverty. It is precisely this proof that this is a “globalization of poverty” as a logical consequence of neoliberal capitalist globalization (Despotović, Đurić 2016: 85).

Every effort to create a single EU in the economic, political, social, cultural and security sense faces systemic obstacles. They are in the foundations of the EU, the way this regional community emerged. Moreover, it is characterized by a profound contradiction between the foundations on which it is based, the goals it is dedicated to, or proclaimed by them, and the actual way of functioning. On the one hand, unity, democratic decision-making, multiculturalism, protection of human rights, harmonization of the interests of all members have been proclaimed, while on the other there is a deficit of legitimacy and democracy, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious diversity that is seriously undermined. Namely, a multitude of national, religious, political, territorial, collective and individual identities are increasingly confronting and revealing the systemic crisis of the EU. This crisis is only one form of manifesting the crisis of the capitalist system as such.

The most important decisions in the EU are not brought to the central institutions, but through (un) formal decision-making in the strongest states, among which the first place is occupied by Germany. These interests are essentially aligned with the interests of the US and NATO, so deciding in the European Parliament, the European Commission and the European Council

is more protocol and formal than real. The relationship between these institutions is often incompatible, and the legitimacy and democratic nature of the decisions they make are controversial. Namely, at the EU level, there is no institution of decision-making directly and democratically elected by EU citizens. Decision making is indirect, at a national level, displaced to a regional one. Hence its illegitimacy and undemocratic nature. In addition, there is a pronounced disparity in the influence and decision-making rights between big and small countries, old and newcomers. The principle of "one citizen is one voice" is not applied, but it is a formal and real imposition of the interests of the most populous and powerful countries to others. The work is "indirect democracy" or "façade democracy", in which the worst are "weak states".

The self-proclaimed value of the EU peace project is drastically denied by military and other interventions on the soil of Europe and the world, involving EU members (in particular Germany, France, Holland and Britain). The EU is against all forms of discrimination, and in everyday practice it behaves quite the opposite. It also cares little about the solidarity within this regional community. The best proof of this is the conflicting interests between the indebted countries and those who are not, and are the fate of the first (Greece and Germany for example). Pledge for a strong social state has long been a dead letter on paper. In Europe, the EU and the world, for many decades, the so-called "welfare state". With the global economic crisis, the unified capitalist class makes it all the more difficult and in various ways. In addition, the EU is incapable of ensuring the security of its citizens, and by participating in NATO actions illegally and permanently violates the security and national sovereignty of many countries in the world. Some researchers link the EU crisis with events known as the "Arab Spring" (Gajić 2016: 79).

There is also an internal process of "crowning" the sovereignty of a nation-state. It manifests itself, among other things, in lowering decision-making to lower local and regional as well as cross-border levels of decision-making. They are multi-national imposed by the "Brussels administration" and the world's financial and political organizations (STO, WB, UN). There are more than 50,000 classic bureaucrats in Brussels, who lobby for the interests of a large world, primarily financial, capital, on a daily basis. They do this in various ways, but mostly in favor of globalized capital. Even the UN officially and formally agreed that multinational companies have the right to influence beyond the borders of the nationalized countries of globalized capital. Behind them stands the national state, economically and militarily strong, making it easier for them to act on the world market or affecting them so that they can maximally exploit the dependent economies of the periphery of the system. Justification is always found, even if it was the protection of national interests of strong states and the defense of democracy and human rights.

The ideology of human rights, as well as multiculturalism, serve to justify the existing power relations and protect the interests of the richest countries in the world and even in the European Union. In the name of this, the applicable international norms are violated, and all nations and regions are subjugated. Events in North Africa, the Middle East of Syria and Central Asia have been largely created and assisted by the most influential NATO and EU members. In the interests of profit and large capital, “humanitarian” military interventions, promote ethnic, religious, regional and other conflicts. This is not foreign either to Europe, which by the bombing of the FR of Yugoslavia in 1999 violated the most basic principles of international law and basic human rights, and helped the processes of further fragmentation and disintegration of this country. What followed in other parts of the world is just a continuation of such a policy, largely created by the United States, with its most powerful allies in Europe, Britain and Germany.

In the majority of members of this regional community, the right, as well as extreme, political movements and parties have come to an end. Even before the onset of the global crisis, they existed, but they strengthened it, and some just formed. Some of them have had a long history that dates back to World War II (the National Front in France). Others were created later. There are those who formed a few years ago (PEGIDA or Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the Western world in Germany, created in 2014). In many cases, such movements have become more extreme, as has been shown in the current migration crisis. They all acted and acted at a certain stage of their development inside and outside the institutions of the system. The rise in the political scene after 2012 is visible, both at the national and European level of decision-making. Such a thing would not have been possible, at least in such proportions, that the European left did not collapse for decades. The causes of this are both national and regional and global.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. The rise and consequences of the functioning of the right political movements in Europe

The rise of the right political movements in the world has facilitated several systemic and structural factors. More systemic and structural factors that facilitated the rise and rise of right political movements and parties. In Europe, the global economic crisis of capitalism and related inequalities and poverty, the changed attitude of the power of the main players to the geostrategic map of the world, and the crisis of the national state in the EU and beyond are highlighted by importance. These are the basic incentives

<sup>2</sup> According to Neven Cvetičanin: “... in France, Britain and Germany the left-wing left-wing situation against the right, and there is a visible conflict between the center and the margin, which begins to dominate the political field.” In: Cvetičanin N. (2008), *Epoha s one strane levice i desnice*, Služeni glasnik & Institut društvenih nauka. Beograd: 509, 510

for reviving right-wing ideas and increasing right-wing movements. Many of them changed the tactics and forms of their actions, adapted to the new social conditions. Others emerged during the global economic crisis and experienced rapid success. The current migrant crisis has further strengthened them in this endeavor, and they are all more solid and more inclined to perform together. This is seen by the most important attitudes of their ideology, as well as everyday performances at the local, regional and European level of action. Here are the most basic elements of their ideology, i.e. the values they are fighting for. Then, briefly, the most influential political genuine movements in some European countries are clarified. Finally, the characteristics of the social groups to which they are addressing are more and more. They also point to the way in which they work in and outside the national states, the means they serve in order to achieve their goals and the most important political and social consequences of their ascent.

The basic values at the center of political programs and the actual functioning of the right political movements are the following: anti-globalism and Euroscepticism, return to national state and security, racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, the preservation of Christian faith and European culture, against migrants and all other minorities and ethnicities. There are also special requirements arising from specific national and local environments, which in the new conditions are highlighted in the foreground. Of course, it is illusory to expect the existence of a unique and consistent political program of the right political movements. As a rule, they adapt to newly emerging opportunities, and change or mitigate the radical goals of their parties, in order to formulate similarly, and sometimes even more radical ones, in new circumstances. On this occasion, we will focus on the most influential right political movements in Europe.

The National Front in France has existed for decades. Its founder and a man who for decades was his leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, put the party in the foundations of the party for extremely conservative values such as. His daughter, and the current leader, Marine Le Pen, changed some of the basic goals and in time adjusted the tactics of action at the national and European levels. Among her demands are, among others, advocacy for return to decision-making at the national level, the abolition of EU institutions, the ban on the arrival of migrants, and especially Muslims. Hence her commitment to return to national culture and values. In the heat of political struggle to win the best possible position in the structure of political power, Marine Le Pen stated: My goal is to destroy the European Union – not Europe." (*Vestinet*, 21 December, 2015). Regarding her efforts to occupy a better place in the political system, the argument for migrants does not have enough jobs for the French. The National Socialist Party's biggest success was achieved in local elections in France in 2014 when it won 25% of voters' votes. (Stojiljković 2014: 144). The rise in the political power rank continued with the entry of the National Front into the European Parliament.



There, a group of right-wing movements of the EU became the largest political group. At the French National Front, the National Front took a high place, and Marine Le Pen won every fourth vote of elected voters in the presidential election.

Viktor Orban is Hungary's prime minister and leader of the right-wing Fides party. In addition, there is an extreme right-wing party (Jobik, the leader is Gabor Vona) with radical racist and professorial attitudes. During the migration crisis, Orban clearly stressed the need to prevent the arrival of migrants from the Middle East, North Africa and Asia. He pointed to the greatest weaknesses of the EU: the absence of democratic decision-making, the power of informal decision-making by Germany and France, the inability to protect its own members of the community and its citizens, and the great dependence of the EU on the decisions of powerful states of the world. Their concrete decisions during the migrant crisis, the need to protect national interests, Christianity, European culture and Europe in general. His statements and political moves came across different echoes. The most influential EU leaders condemned him, and a significant number of new EU members (the so-called Visegrad Group) supported him and approved his behavior. The great dissatisfaction of European leaders caused Viktor Orban's decision to organize a referendum on migrants (early October 2016). Out of all voters, 39.9% came out of the referendum, and 98.2 out of 98 voted against the migrants. For the success of the referendum, it was necessary to have 50% plus one voter at the polls. Although no positive decision was made, the referendum showed that the Hungarian society was deeply divided and a relatively large influence (B92 October 2, 2016).

Right political movements and parties in Austria have a long tradition. On the one hand, those who originated from the second world war. On the other, younger parties and political groups, who have become more active in the social and political scene of Austria in recent years. Particularly interesting is that, at the beginning of the migrant crisis, Austria had a benevolent attitude towards the newcomers. Public and massive welcome rallies, all in the name of humanism and respect for human rights. As migrations became more massive, and Orban's policy sharper and more exclusive to them, the position of the official representatives of Austria changed. Foreign ministers' councils (Christian Kurz) have come to the conclusion that migrants are not allowed to enter the European mainland and that reception centers for migrants are created in northern Africa (Libya). Like Hungary and Austria, Schengen has suffered and some of the EU's basic values (freedom of movement for people, for example). On the political scene in Austria, the most conservative views were made by the Austrian Liberal Party leader Hans Christian Strahan. He advocated the abolition of the EU and the return to the values of the national state. It is interesting that the influence of the right movements is relatively high, such that the symbolic

majority in the presidential election of 2016 won their opponent's candidacy (Norbert Hofer and Van der Belen).

Among the right-wing parties, Freedom is the most influential in the Netherlands, and the leader is Gert Wilders. In the first place, he emphasized anti-migrant attitudes, xenophobia and Islamophobia. The sign of the right-wing movements and parties is not exhausted. In Norway and Sweden, their influence is relatively small, and there are little representation in the parliament. ISOUS and Names All they have used the existing EU problems to emphasize the need for its abandonment and antimigrant behavior. He thinks that the UKIP UK (the UK Independent Party, Nigel Farage's leader) has been overwhelmingly convinced that he has contributed decisively to "Brexit SOURCE. He, along with many other factors, contributed to such a result of the referendum in the UK. A special interest is that the anti-immigrant and right-wing movements in the most indebted EU members are relatively weak. In this way, they deny the belief that high indebtedness, unemployment and poverty lead directly to the strengthening of the right political movements.

Right-wing movements in Europe and right-wing leaders address most of the citizens who are disappointed with the policies of national and European elites, job losers during the global economic crisis, unemployed citizens and groups affected by austerity. If the unemployment rate is high, it focuses on the unemployed. It then emphasizes the bad attitudes of the arrival of migrants, but also of the existence of the euro as a currency. There are also other social groups who are sympathizers or right-wing voters. These are those who are against minority groups (Roma, foreigners, members of other people, ethnicity, religion and culture).

In short, the global crisis, changes in the geopolitical map of the world and the multiple crises of the European Union are the dominant incentive factors for the rise of right-wing movements and parties in Europe. They have achieved significant results at the local, national and European levels. In some countries, they entered parliament in 2012, and in 2014 they became the largest group in the European Parliament (Stojiljković 2014: 139). A significant contribution has been made by populism, used both in its day-to-day operations and in the political institutions of its countries and the European Union.

## Conclusion

The text summarizes the basic interpretations of the concept of desecularization as a process that has been happening in the last few years in Europe and the world. It was pointed out the most important differences in the estimates of this process by the most influential authors. Then it was pointed out the connection between religious and other conflicts with the processes of globalization in Europe, especially in the European Union. It



was emphasized that these processes are not one-way and unambiguous and that it is necessary to take into consideration numerous determinants, from historical, cultural, religious to specific national and local. The desecration trend in Europe is mentioned and briefly described, which has long since emphasized that the church is separated from the state. In the case of France, it has been clarified that there are significant contradictions and conflicts between the state and the church, and that the authorities use many areas and resources (from the education system to the public order and security authority) to impose their interests. In other countries, the situation is different, especially in the central and eastern European countries of the EU. Their leaders, during the current global economic crisis and mass migration to Europe, have clearly opted for racism, Euroscepticism, Islamophobia, and the strengthening of security structures at the national level.

The central part of the text is dedicated to the attitude of the globalization and national state. Then, on the example of the EU and its systemic crisis, it is shown on concrete examples. In the end, the basic social values that the right political movements and the social groups to which they are addressing are advocated. It was concluded that the rise of the right political movements was backed by the crisis of the neo-liberal model of capitalism, the altered relations of forces on the geopolitical map of the world and Europe, and mass migrations from North Africa, the Middle East, Syria, Afghanistan and Central Asia. Old and new right political parties are represented as rescuers of the most vulnerable social groups, defenders of the national state and sovereignty, protectors of Christian values and a factor that will give citizens greater prosperity than the ruling national and European elites do. Populism is the most frequently used means of persuading its own membership and potential supporters. They do it outside and through the institutional system, but now everything is more solid and more persistent. The same processes are characteristic, but to a lesser extent, in the developed Scandinavian countries, which are one of the most desirable places for the current migrants to move.

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