

Index

- Abrams, Elliot 89
Adams, John 78
Afghanistan 44, 190
Africa 158, 162, 179
 Belgium Congo *see* human rights and
 Dag Hammarskjöld
Agamben, Giorgio 131
Al Jazeera 183
Al Qaeda 185
Alston, Philip 33
American Association for the United
 Nations 15, 122
American Bar Association 129, 130, 131
American Board of Commissioners for
 Foreign Missions 14, 99, 108
American Declaration of the Rights
 and Duties of Man 124
American Civil Liberties Union
 (ACLU) 15, 119, 122
American exceptionalism *see under*
 United States (US)
American Jewish Congress 15, 122
Amnesty International 133
anti-foundationalists 3–5
Appiah, Anthony 62
Arab League 183
Augustine 45

Babbitt (Lewis) 131
Barber, Benjamin 62
Barnett, Barbara 5
Beck, Ulrich 35–6
Beiner, Ronald S. 6
Béland, Daniel 1, 13
Belgium 139
 and the Belgium Congo *see* human
 rights and Dag Hammarskjöld
Bellah, Robert 5, 6–10, 12, 75, 92
 civil religion of human rights? 42–3,
 45, 47
 human rights: a possible new
 religion? 22, 24–5, 27, 38, 41
 rights, religion and security 75, 92–3,
 96
Berlin, Isaiah 63
Bingham, June 84
Bingham, Tom 21–2, 23, 41
‘Birthmark, The’ (Hawthorn) 71
Blair, Tony 185
Blake v Guatemala 158
Bluitgen, Kaare 181–2
Born Again American campaign 7–8
Bourke, Joanna 117
Bradley, Mark 15
Bricker, John 130–33, 135
Brown v Board 123
Bucar, Elizabeth M. 5
Bush, President George W. 28, 30, 48,
 89, 134–5, 156, 185, 190
Bush v Gore 30
Butler, Judith 131

Calvinists 76, 78, 83
Canada 35, 118, 153, 156
Carnegie Council for Ethics in
 International Affairs 28
Carter, President Jimmy 71, 133
cartoon case *see* Denmark and the
 cartoon case
Catholics 14, 94, 178–9, 187
 migrants 156–7, 160
 missionaries 110, 115
 the Pope 179, 187
 women’s rights 162
Chace, James 70–71
Chile 152, 158
China, missionaries to *see* faith and
 empire
Christian Realism
 Christian Realism tradition 12, 73–4,
 93–6

- and Lincoln 78–82
- and Niebuhr 82–8
- Obama and return of Christian Realism 88–92
- see also* rights, religion and security
- Christianity 76, 80
- Calvinists 76, 78, 83
- Catholics *see* Catholics
- Christian Realism *see* Christian Realism
- and fundamental rights 103–4
- Lutherans 178, 190–91
- Methodists 115
- missionaries *see* faith and empire
- Mormons 110, 113–14
- Protestants 14, 45, 78, 99–103, 106, 109–15, 156–7, 160
- Puritans 42, 77–8
- in the US *see under* United States (US)
- civil religion
 - Central and Eastern Europe 9–10
 - civil religious elements beyond the US, whether possible to find 9–21
 - conglomerates of/shared civil religious elements 10–11, 41
 - conservative and liberal traditions of civil religion 8–9, 11
 - as feature of modern liberal societies 5–6
 - hard secularism as intolerant civil religion *see* Denmark and the cartoon case
 - of human rights *see* civil religion of human rights?
 - human rights as civil religion *see* human rights: a possible civil religion?
 - human rights as inspiration for civil religion/possible security discourse 11–13
 - and human rights in the real world *see* human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld
 - national cohesion 40
 - nature of civil religion 6–7, 25, 27
 - working definition in Central and Eastern Europe 10
 - patriotism and cosmopolitanism *see* patriotism and cosmopolitanism
 - political religion 5, 11–12, 24–5
 - US *see under* United States (US)
 - a useful concept today? 6–9
 - world/global civil religion *see under* globalism and global society/economy
- Civil Religion: A Dialogue in the History of Political Philosophy* (Beiner) 6
- ‘Civil Religion in America’ (Bellah) 6
- ‘Civil Religion in Central and Eastern Europe’ (Máté-Tóth/Feleky) 9–10
- Civil Religion in Political Thought: Its Perennial Questions and Enduring Relevance in North America* 5–6
- civil religion of human rights? 12–13, 42–58, 92–6
 - civil religion in America 45–7
 - a civil religion without a civil God? 55–7
 - conclusion: a civil religion of human rights? 57–8
 - popular sovereignty, law and faith 47–51
 - religion as a supplement to reason 43–5
 - revolution and constitution 51–4
- civil rights 162
 - civil rights and human rights, a trans-national perspective 152–7
 - in the US
 - betrayal of 152
 - development of 15, 74, 81, 83, 122–5
 - moral arrogance 79
 - preferred to human rights 57–8, 152–3
 - see also* United States and global human rights: the 1940s
 - in the USSR 133
- Clark, Attorney General Tom C. 123, 127
- Clendinnen, Inga 175
- Clinton, Hillary 28
- Cold War 32, 35, 40, 59, 120, 138, 149
- communitarianism 62–3
- Congo 137
 - and the UN *see under* human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld

- constitutional patriotism 36–7
 constructivism 1–2, 5
 deconstructivism 86
 Cordier, Andrew 141–6
Cosmopolis: The Hidden Agenda of Modernity (Toulmin) 76
 cosmopolitanism *see* patriotism and cosmopolitanism
 Cotton, Reverend 78
 Council of Europe 34–5, 181
 Cox, Henry Robert 1, 13
 crimes against humanity 36
Crisis of American Foreign Policy: Wilsonianism in the Twenty-First Century, The (Slaughter) 28
 cultural imperialism 100–101, 102
see also faith and empire
- Darwin, Charles 104
Das kosmopolitische Europa (Cosmopolitan Europe) 36
Democracy and the Foreigner (Honig) 27
Democracy in America (Tocqueville) 26
 Denmark
 cartoon case *see* Denmark and the cartoon case
 civil religion 10–11, 16, 40–41, 191
 Denmark and the cartoon case 16, 178–91
 concluding remarks 190–91
 anti-Muslim prejudice 190
 civil religion as hard secularism 191
 Danish cartoon crisis 179–82
 collective publication of cartoons as challenge to Muslims 181–2
 debate between free speech/respect for others' religious feelings 180
 factors escalating the crisis 179–80
 Muslim reaction in Denmark 182
 Danish government's passivity and non-diplomacy 183–4, 186–90
 free speech defence 189–90
 inconsistency of approach 188–9
 intolerance against local minorities 187–9, 190
 islamophobic party in coalition with stable government 186
 freedom of speech 180, 183, 186, 187–90
 how did this local affair become global? 183–5
 attempts to engage Danish government in dialogue 183–4
 consumer boycott 184
 violent attacks 185
 secular intolerance in a democratic polity 178–9
 secularized nature of Denmark 178
 developing countries and human rights 33
 discrimination *see* equality
 diversity
 promoting respect for as a priority 1–2
 universal quality of human rights 36
see also equality; human rights
Does Human Rights Need God? (Bucar Barnett) 3, 5
 Dulles, John Foster 131–2
 Dunch, Ryan 102
 duties 66–8
 'Duty to Prevent, A' (Slaughter/Finstein) 28–9
- Egypt 91, 183–4, 185
 Eisenhower, President Dwight 121, 131–3
 Enlightenment 22, 44, 74, 76, 81, 162
 environmental protection 1, 11, 13
 duties and responsibilities 67–8, 70
 global warming 64
 equality
 before the law 21
 civil rights *see* civil rights
 equal moral worth of each human being 60–61, 62, 66
 in Europe 32
 growing emphasis on 1–2
 importance of 83–4
 inequalities in the US 51
 missionaries' views of inequality 104
 racial equality *see* racial equality
 sexual and gendered equality *see* sexual and gendered equality
 European Coal and Steel Community 34
 European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) 34–5, 124, 152, 188

- European Court of Human Rights
39–40, 152
- European Court of Justice 37–8, 39–40
- European Union/Europe
civil religion of human rights law 42
Council of Europe membership 34
courts *see* European Court of
Human Rights; European Court
of Justice
- Danish cartoon case 181, 185
- equality 32
- European identity 36–7
- European Social Model 32
- human rights
development 124–6
economic and social rights as
security 32–4, 41
and European identity 31–8
Muslim minorities in Denmark 16,
181, 186
role of human rights 33–8, 40
- immigration 16, 181, 186
- missionaries to Europe 113–14, 115
- rule of law 37–8
missionaries spreading 101
- secularism 16, 44, 57
in Denmark *see* Denmark and the
cartoon case
- European Union: Furthering Human
Rights and Democracy Across the
Globe, The* (EU Commission) 33–4
- Evans, Gareth 29
- exceptionalism, American *see under*
United States (US)
- faith *see* religion and faith
- faith and empire 14–15, 99–117
hostility to missionaries in China and
Boxer rebellion 99–100, 110–13
- humanitarianism and human rights
in China 101–108
- fundamental rights and
Christianity 103–4
- missionaries as agents of cultural
change 102
- paternalism and racism 104–5
- protecting the dignity of the
individual 105–7
- purpose of American missionaries
101
- women's rights 106–8
- imperialism of human rights 116–17
- cultural imperialism 100–101, 102
- universal right to religious liberty
109–16
- China 110–13
- hostility and opposition to
missionaries 110–15
- Mormons 113–14, 15
- Protestants/Methodists
missionaries in South
America 115–16
- Turkey 109, 110–14
- US government protecting 112–15
- faith-based human rights
global human rights cases *see* United
States and global human rights:
the 1940s
- hard secularism as intolerant civil
religion *see* Denmark and the
cartoon case
- kinship and migration *see* kinship
and human rights among
trans-national migrants
- missionaries *see* faith and empire
- religious foundation for human rights
4–5, 11, 16–17
- weakening human rights 4
see also religion and faith
- Fall and Rise of Civil Religion* (Gorski) 6
- Feldman, Noah 29
- Feleky, Gábor Attila 9–10
- Ferguson, Niall 1
- Ferrero-Waldner, Benita 33–4
- financial crisis 67–8
- Finstein, Lee 28–9
- For Love of Country: Debating the
Limits of Patriotism* (Nussbaum)
61
- Foreign Affairs* 28
- Fornieri, Joseph 80
- Fortes, Meyer 160–61
- foundationalists 3, 5
- France 24, 114, 178
- freedom of speech
Denmark 180, 183, 186, 187–90
Egypt and the US 91
- Gearty, Conor 22
- Geertz, Clifford 45

- Geneva Conventions 124
 genocide 67–8, 124
 Genocide Convention 131, 154
 Genovese, Kitty 67
 Germany 24, 114, 153, 159
Geschichte des Westens/The History of the West (Winkler) 23
 Glendon, Mary Ann 154, 159
 globalization and global society/
 economy
 cosmopolitanism and patriotism *see*
 patriotism and cosmopolitanism
 global human rights in the 1940s *see*
 United States and global human
 rights: the 1940s
 globalization and a new age of rights
 59–64
 immigration and hard secularism *see*
 Denmark and the cartoon case
 identity 63–6
 irrevocably interconnected 1
 missionaries and humanitarianism
 see faith and empire
 responsibility 66–8
 transnationalization of human rights
 35–6
 world/global civil religion 9–12, 22,
 38–43, 138
 conglomerates of/shared civil
 religious elements 10–11, 41
 shift from institutions to values
 43
 problematic nature of 45
 see also civil religion of human rights;
 human rights: a possible civil
 religion
 Goldhaber, Michael 35, 39
 Gordon, A.J. 111
 Gorski, Philip 6
 Goss, Ernest A. 127–8
 Grande, Edgar 35–6
 Greene, Graham 71
 Gutierrez, Gustavo 157

 Hall, Jacquelyn Dowd 123
 Hamlin, Reverend Cyrus 112
 Hammarskjöld, Dag *see* human rights
 and Dag Hammarskjöld
 Hartz, Louis 77
 Hawthorn, Nathaniel 71

 Hay, John 115
 Hegel, Georg 2, 42
 Helsinki Final Act 35
 Henkin, Louis 3
 Herder, J.G. 63
History of the West, The (Winkler) 23
 Holman, Frank 129
Holy Nations and Global Identities
 (Warburg) 10–11, 40–41
 Honig, Bonnie 26–7
 ‘How Moral Can we Get’ (Chace) 70–72
 human dignity 5, 91, 94–5
 human rights
 cases in the 1940s *see* United States
 and global human rights: the
 1940s
 civil religion *see* civil religion
 and civil religion in the real world *see*
 human rights and Dag
 Hammarskjöld
 cold rights 3
 and Dag Hammarskjöld *see* human
 rights and Dag Hammarskjöld
 developing countries 33
 faith-based *see* faith-based human
 rights
 hard secularism as intolerant civil
 religion *see* Denmark and the
 cartoon case
 how do human rights ideas get
 transformed into practice? 13–15
 imperialism of human rights 116–17
 cultural imperialism 100–101, 102
 importance of moving beyond ‘rights
 talk’ 3
 kinship and migration *see* kinship
 and human rights among
 trans-national migrants
 missionaries and humanitarianism
 see under faith and empire
 nature of 32–4, 36
 civil and political rights 32
 consensus lacking 41
 constitutive of autonomy 44
 economic and social rights 32–4, 41
 no global consensus on human
 rights practices 68
 human dignity 5, 91, 94–5
 universality of 15, 32–3, 36–7, 39,
 43, 116–17

- ongoing debates and tensions 16–17
- political considerations *see* human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld and sovereignty *see* United States and global human rights: the 1940s
- transnational alliances around 2
- transnationalization of 35–6
- Western norms promoting 100–101, 102, 136
- who are the most important human rights actors? 13–5
- the ‘why’ of human rights 3–6
 - religion and human rights, 4–5
- women’s rights 106–8, 168–74
 - and the Catholic Church 162
- human rights: a possible civil religion? 5, 12, 21–41
 - Europe human rights and European identity 31–8
 - economic and social rights as security 32–4
 - European identity 36–7
 - role of human rights 33–8, 40
 - rule of law 21–2
 - utopian visions 22–3
 - US: law as civic religion 24–31
 - civil religion 25–6
 - foreign policy 27–30
 - political religion and importance of law 24–5, 26, 29–30
- human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld 14, 136–50
 - Dag Hammarskjöld and the UN 137–9
 - Dag Hammarskjöld’s approach to the UN 138–9
 - Dag Hammarskjöld’s reputation 137
- human rights and civil religion in the real world 136–7
 - UN and the Congo, 137, 139–49
 - Belgium’s role 139–40, 147
 - breakdown of stability after independence 139–40
 - dispute between Kasavubu and Lumumba 141–5
 - political approach of the UN 140–49
 - what is going on? 149–50
- ‘Human Rights and a Post-Secular Religion of Humanity’ (Maluchuk) 3
- Human Rights Watch 154
- Human Stain, The* (Roth) 71
- humanitarianism
 - ‘band-aid’ approaches to 64
 - democracy 138
 - as imperialism 116–17
 - intervention 44
 - and missionaries *see under* faith and empire
- Huntingdon, Samuel 92
- Idea that is America, The* (Slaughter) 27–8
- Ideas and Politics in Social Science Research* (Béland/Cox) 1
- ideational approaches 1–2
- identity *see under* patriotism and cosmopolitanism
- Identity and Violence* (Sen) 65
- Ignatieff, Michael 3–4
- immigration and migration
 - hard secularism/intolerant civil religion *see* Denmark and the cartoon case
 - kinship and human rights *see* kinship and human rights among trans-national migrants
 - US values and democracy 26–7
- imperialism of human rights 116–17
 - cultural imperialism 100–101, 102
- ‘In America’ (Hartz) 77
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights 157
- Inter-American Convention on Human Rights 157–9
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights 152, 157
- ‘International Civil Servant in Law and Fact, The’ (Hammarskjöld) 138
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) 32
- International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) 32
- internet 179–80
- intolerance, hard secularism as *see* Denmark and the cartoon case

- Iran 185, 187, 189
Iraq 29, 187, 190
Irony of American History, The
(Niebuhr) 84–5
Islam 109, 178
 attacks on Muslim minorities *see*
 Denmark and the cartoon case
Islamic Organisation for Science,
 Education and Culture (IOSEC)
 183
Japanese-American Citizens' League
 15, 122
Joerges, Christian 38
Journal of Human Rights 3
Just and Unjust Wars (Walzer) 72
justice *see* human rights and Dag
 Hammarskjöld; rights, religion
 and security
Jyllands-Posten 179, 181–2, 184–5,
 188–90
Kahn, Paul 12–13, 59, 72
Kant, Immanuel 76, 91
Kasavubu, President Joseph 139–48
Katznelson, Ira 94
King, Martin Luther 74, 91
kinship and human rights among
 trans-national migrants 14,
 151–77
 civil rights and human rights in a
 trans-national perspective
 152–7
 civil rights and immigration 155–6
 immigration policy in US 153
fictive kinship, Roman Catholic
 Church and trans-nationality
 160–63
fictive kinship 160–61
human rights and illegal immigrants:
 conflicting norms and practices
 157–60
performing human rights 167–77
trans-national lives: some
 preliminary reflections 163–6
 factual background 163–5
 rights talk emerging 165–6, 167–8
Kuklick, Bruce 13–14
Kumm, Matthias 36–7
Latin America/South America
 human rights 124, 152, 157–9
 religion
 and migrants 160–63
 and missionaries 110, 115–16
Lawrence v Texas 134
Lear, Norman 7–8
Lewis, Sinclair 131
Libya 179, 185
Life You Can Save, The (Singer) 60
Lincoln, Abraham 12, 24–5, 42, 46, 54,
 59, 74–5
 rights, but not self-righteousness
 78–82, 83, 85, 87–93
Love, Eric 104
Lumumba, Patrice 139–48
Lutherans 178, 190–91
Magna Carta 21
Mahan, Alfred Thayer 108
Maluchuk, Daniel S. 3–5
Markings (Hammarskjöld) 139
Marxism/neo-Marxism 1, 162
Máté-Tóth, András 9–10
McDougall, Walter 69–70, 71
Methodists 115
Mexican migrants to the US *see* kinship
 and human rights among
 trans-national migrants
migration *see* immigration and
 migration
Mill, John Stuart 4–5
missionaries *see* faith and empire
Missionary Review of the World 103, 106
Mormons 110, 113–14
Mott, John R. 102–4
Muslim minorities, attacks on *see*
 Denmark and the cartoon case
National Association for the
 Advancement of Colored Persons
 (NAACP) 15, 118, 122
National Lawyers' Guild 15, 122
New York Times 29, 70
Newton, Isaac 53, 76
Niebuhr, Reinhold 12, 74–5
 rights, politization and the public
 sphere 82–8, 89–91, 93, 96
Ninkovich, Frank 104
Nuremberg trials 36

- Nussbaum, Martha 61–2
 Nye, Joseph S. 30
- Obama, President Barack 12, 28, 75
 return of Christian Realism 88–92, 93
One World: The Ethics of Globalization
 (Singer) 60, 64
- Organisation of Islamic Countries
 (OIC) 183
- Organization for Security and
 Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)
 34–5, 183
- Oyama v California* 119–20, 127
- Pagden, Anthony 39
- Pakistan 179, 185
- Palestine 187
- Palmer, Alasdair 22
- Papke, David Ray 30
- patriotism and cosmopolitanism 13,
 59–72
 constitutional patriotism 36–7
 globalization and a new age of rights
 59–64
 cosmopolitanism 60–62, 64, 66
 patriotism's arbitrary boundaries
 61–3
 identity 63–6
 multiple identities 65–6
 as social capital 65
 thick/thin relationships 63–4, 66,
 68
 the moral nation 69–72
 responsibility 66–8
 mitigation of harms 67
 perfect and imperfect duties 66–7,
 68
- Pierson, Reverend Arthur T. 103–4
- Plato 43, 56, 168
- pluralism 63
- political religion *see under* civil religion
- Pope, the 179, 187
- Porsdam, Helle 42–3, 57, 59
- poverty 64–5, 67–8, 70
- Pratt, Mary Louise 175
- Preston, Andrew 14–15
- Price, Eva Jane 14, 99–100, 104, 108
- Protestants 14, 45, 78, 99–103, 106,
 109–15, 156–7, 160
- Puritans 42, 77–8
- Quiet American, The* (Greene) 71
- racial equality 1
 imperialism and missionaries 104–5
 South Africa 126, 133, 152
 US 51, 81, 83–4, 88–9, 93
 African-American struggle for
 human rights 125
 burial discrimination 132–3
 global human rights norms
 combating racial
 discrimination 122–9
 Jim Crow segregation 130
 property ownership restrictions/
 racial covenants 118–20,
 122–3, 127–8
 racism in wartime 119, 125
see also equality
- Rasmussen, Anders Fogh 183–4, 186,
 189–90
- religion and faith
 beliefs and meaning 55
 character of religious faith 56–7
 Christianity 76, 80
 Calvinists 76, 78, 83
 Catholics 14, 94, 110, 115, 156–7,
 160, 178–9, 187
 Christian Realism *see* rights,
 religion and security
 Lutherans 178, 190–91
 Methodists 115
 Mormons 110, 113–14
 the Pope 179, 187
 Protestants 14, 45, 78, 99–103, 106,
 109–15, 156–7, 160
 Puritans 42, 77–8
 in the US *see under* United States
 (US)
- civil religion *see* civil religion
 emotional intensity of 43
 as foundation for human rights *see*
 faith-based human rights
 helping immigrants and refugees
 156–7
 Catholic Church 160–63
- Islam 109, 178
 attacks on Muslim minorities *see*
 Denmark and the cartoon
 case
- missionaries *see* faith and empire

- popular sovereignty, law and faith
47–51
- role in justice and security *see* rights,
religion and security
- self-certainty 91
- as a supplement to reason 43–5
- Sweden, 137, 139
- US *see under* United States (US)
- Renaissance 74, 76, 94
- Rengger, Nicolas 94
- responsibility *see under* patriotism and
cosmopolitanism
- Rice v Sioux City Memorial Cemetery,
Inc* 132–3
- rights, religion and security 11, 12,
73–96
- Christian Realism tradition 12, 73–4,
93–6
- Lincoln: rights, but not
self-righteousness 78–82
- Niebuhr: rights, politicization and
the public sphere 82–8
- Obama and the return of Christian
Realism 88–92
- conclusion 92–3
- doubt versus certainty: two versions
of American civil religion 76–8
- justice 73–5, 78–82, 84, 86, 89–94, 96
- Rights Talk* (Glendon) 159
- Roosevelt, President Franklin D. 15,
31–4, 41, 111, 125
- Four Freedoms address 31, 59, 125
- Rorty, Richard 3
- Rose, Flemming 188–90
- Rosenthal, Joel 13, 14
- Roth, Philip 71
- rule of law 21–2, 41
- Europe 37–8
- missionaries spreading 101
- US 29–30, 51–4
- Rule of Law, The* (Bingham) 21–2
- Rushdie, Salman 180
- Ruttley, Philip 39
- Saint Anselm 50
- Schlesinger, Arthur 95
- Schmitt, Carl 43–4, 48, 50
- secularism
- in Europe *see under* Europe/
European Union
- as intolerant civil religion *see*
Denmark and the cartoon case
- as desecralization 47
- security 11–13
- common compromise discourse 16
- economic and social rights as security
31–4, 41
- and human rights 35
- terrorism 29, 190
- effect on human rights 40
- law and national security 30
- and sacrifice 49, 54
- undocumented migrants 155
- war on terror 24, 30, 48
- see also* human rights: a possible civil
religion?; rights, religion and
security
- Sei Fuji v California* 129–30
- Seidenfaden, Tøger 16
- Sen, Amartya 65–6, 67
- sexual and gendered equality 1, 51
- female equality 116–17
- women's rights 168–74
- and the Catholic Church 162
- humanitarianism and human
rights in China 106–8
- see also* equality
- Shelley v Kramer* 123, 127
- Singer, Peter 60–61, 64, 67
- Sipes v McGhee* 118–20, 127
- Skockpol, Theda 95
- Slaughter, Anne-Marie 27–9
- Smuts, Field Marshall Jan 126
- Socrates 59
- soft power 30
- Sommer, Doris 176
- South Africa 126, 133, 152
- South America *see* Latin America/
South America
- sovereignty
- civil rights/ human rights
- development and sovereignty
123–9
- and international norms 120–21
- immigration 152
- curtailing sovereignty 159
- and law and faith 47–51
- law and the popular sovereign 51–4

- performative sovereignty *see under*
 United States and global human rights: the 1940s
- Speer, Robert E. 107–8
- Steiner, Henry 33
- Sudan 179, 185
- Sweden
 civil religion 150
 religion 137, 139
- Syria 109, 185
- Take Back America Conference 7
- terrorism *see under* security
- Tjalve, Vibeke Schou 11–12
- To Secure These Rights* (Truman Committee on Civil Rights) 122
- Tocqueville, Alexis de 26
- torture 67, 134, 153–4
- Toulmin, Steve 76
- Truman, President Harry 122, 132
- Tsing, Anna 135
- Turkey 109, 110–14, 178
 Danish cartoon case 185
 missionaries 109, 110–14
- United Kingdom 24, 106, 168
 Danish cartoon case 185
 Magna Carta 21
- United Nations (UN)
 Charter 15, 29, 35, 138
 adoption 124
 and discrimination in the US 118–20, 122–9, 132–3
 Dag Hammarskjöld *see* human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld
- human rights 32
 economic/social rights 32
 Muslim minorities in Denmark 181
 political rights 32
see also Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Human Rights Council 28
- justice and human rights *see* human rights and Dag Hammarskjöld
- treaty-making 124, 131
- United States and global human rights: the 1940s 15, 118–35
 conditions of possibility 122–9
- civil rights/ human rights
 development and sovereignty 123–9
 support for global rights argument 122–3
- global human rights norms
 combating racial discrimination 122–9
- performative sovereignty 129–35
 Bricker Amendment/limiting participation in global human rights 129–33
 recovery of human rights discourse in US 133–5
- sovereignty/domestic policy and international norms 120–21
- In Re Drummond Wren* 118–19
- Lawrence v Texas* 134
- McGhee* case 118–20, 127
- Oyama* case 119–20, 127
- Rice* case 132–3
- Sei Fuji* case 129–30
- Shelley v Kramer* 123, 127
- United States of America (US)
 American exceptionalism 25–7, 45–6, 77
 civil rights as opposed to human rights 153–4
 commitment to idea of the sovereign 48–9, 54
 human rights and international norms 120–21
 and Lincoln 78, 80–81
 and meaning of civil religion 57–8
 two varieties of 69
- Born Again American campaign 7–8
- civil religion 6–9, 12, 45–7, 59, 87–8
 conservative and liberal traditions 8–9, 11
 with Denmark 10–11, 40–41
 embracing universal values 45
 global 42
 law as civic religion 24–30, 42
 popular sovereignty, law and faith 47–51
 revolution and constitution 51–4
 political religion and importance of law 24–5, 26, 29–30
 poverty, duty to address 67
 as a religion first and foremost 45

- 'religion of the republic' 6, 25
- two versions of 76–8
- universal values 72
- whether a positive or negative cultural force 26
- civil rights
 - betrayal of 152
 - development of 15, 74, 81, 83, 122–5
 - moral arrogance 79
 - preferred to human rights 57–8, 152–3
- see also* United States and global human rights: the 1940s
- Constitution 30, 46, 52, 59, 85–6, 152–3, 159
- foreign policy 27–30, 69–70, 89–92, 108, 138
 - Belgium Congo 142, 146–9
- founding fathers, settlers and legacy 42, 52, 77–9, 154
- GI Bill of Rights 31–2
- human rights 32–4
 - Danish cartoon case 185
 - economic and social rights 31, 32–3, 40–41
 - free speech 91
 - global human rights *see* US and global human rights: the 1940s
 - OSCE 35
 - and sovereignty 152
- identity and values 26–8, 46, 69–72, 77
- migration from Mexico *see* kinship and human rights among trans-national migrants
- patriotism and cosmopolitanism 69–72
- popular culture as soft power 30
- racial equality *see under* racial equality
- religion 190
 - Christian Realism *see* Christian Realism
 - Christianity 42, 44, 45–7, 49, 79–80
 - importance of 46
 - missionaries *see* faith and empire
 - popular sovereignty, law and faith 47–51
 - Progressive movement and the Social Gospel 102–3, 107, 110–11
 - rights, religion and security *see* rights, religion and security
 - universal right to religious liberty, US government protecting 112–15
- role/mission 8, 12, 25, 42, 45–6, 59, 69–72, 84–5
- rule of law 29–30, 51–4
- Second Bill of Rights 31
- Supreme Court and the judiciary 29, 30, 39, 152, 154, 159
 - human rights cases *see* United States and global human rights: the 1940s
 - judicial review 48, 52–3
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights 21, 32, 35, 124, 130, migration 152–3, 159, 166
- universality/universalism 22
 - civil religion 22, 38–9, 42, 45
 - liberal democratic principles 27, 37
 - US civil religion not a universal faith 72
- see also* civil religion
- cosmopolitanism and universal values 62
- human rights 15, 32–3, 36–7, 39, 43, 116
 - consensus lacking 41
 - universal nature of human rights 116–17
 - universal right to religious liberty *see under* faith and empire
- see also* human rights
- humanity, universal 101
- identities 66
 - in US 69
- law 45
- patriotism 63
- principles
 - of justice 37
 - universally valid abstract principles 68
- religious liberty, universal right to *see under* faith and empire
- thin universalism 63
- US faith in 69, 77

- USSR 35, 138
 Belgium Congo 140, 147, 149
 civil rights 133
 human rights 32, 152, 154
‘Utility of Religion, The’ (Mill) 4
- Vital Center, The* (Schlesinger) 95
- Walzer, Michael 63, 66, 72
war on terror *see under* security
Warburg, Margit 10–11, 40–41
weak belief 4
Weber, Max 47, 111
- Wesley, Charles 14, 99–100
Westergaard, Kurt 179
‘When Judges Make Foreign Policy’
 (Feldman) 29
Wilder, Geert 179
Winkler, Heinrich Gustav 23
Winter, Jay 14, 22–3
women’s rights *see under* sexual and
 gendered equality
World Conference on Human Rights,
 second 32–3
Wren, In Re Drummond 118–19
Wuthnow, Robert 8–9, 11