

***THE SYMPOSIUM
ON RELIGION AND POLITICS***

**THE HENRY INSTITUTE
CALVIN COLLEGE**

April 30 – May 1, 2004

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

Thursday, April 29, 7:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m. Reception
Fireside Room

Friday, April 30, 9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.

Panel A1: Religion and the American Founding

Location: Willow East

Chair: William Stevenson, Calvin College, stew@calvin.edu

“The Political Theology of the American Founding”

Gregg Frazer, The Master’s College

gfrazer@masters.edu

“Lord Baltimore’s Maryland Enterprise: A New Founding Mythos for Pluralist America”

Jason Boffetti, The Catholic University of America

boffetti@cua.edu

“Christianity in James Madison and American Historiography”

Garrett Sheldon, University of Virginia College at Wise

gws@uvawise.edu

Discussant: William Stevenson, Calvin College, stew@calvin.edu

Panel A2: Foundational Views on Faith and Politics

Location: Willow West

Chair: Stanley Carlson-Thies, Center for Public Justice, Stanley@cpjustice.org

“Religion or Worldview: Examining our Terms”

John Valk, University of New Brunswick

valk@unb.ca

“Redeeming Authority: Toward a Recovery and Proper Understanding of Authority and its Place in Human Society”

David Koyzis, Redeemer College

dkoyzis@redeemer.on.ca

“The Role of Religion in Public Issues: A Defense of Nicholas Wolterstorff’s Christian View”

James K. Lewis, Baylor University

James_K_Lewis@baylor.edu

Discussant: Stanley Carlson-Thies, Center for Public Justice, Stanley@cpjustice.org

Panel A3: The Pope and Political Understanding**Location:** President's Dining Room**Chair:** Robert Shelledy, Marquette University, Robert.shelledy@marquette.edu

"The Papacy: Prophetic Wisdom and Political Power"
 Anthony Mansueto, University of New Mexico-Gallup
amansueto@gallup.unm.edu

"The Diplomatic Theory of Pope John Paul II"
 Fr. Bernard J. O'Connor, Eastern Michigan University
boconnor@emich.edu

Discussant: Robert Shelledy, Marquette University, Robert.shelledy@marquette.edu

Friday, April 30, 10:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m. – Refreshment Break**Friday, April 30, 11:00 a.m. – 12:30 a.m.****Panel B1: Religion and the American Presidency****Location:** White Pine**Chair:** Joel Carpenter, Calvin College, jcarpent@calvin.edu

"Theodore Roosevelt and the Bully Pulpit: Faith and Presidential Policies"
 Gary Scott Smith, Grove City College
gssmith@gcc.edu

"The Religious Faith of Ronald Reagan"
 Paul Kengor, Grove City College
PGKengor@gcc.edu

"Jimmy Carter as the Praxis President: Religion as a Presidential Guide and a Source of Presidential Ineffectiveness"
 D. Jason Berggren, Florida International University
Djberggren@hotmail.com

Discussant: Garrett Sheldon, University of Virginia at Wise, gws@uvawise.edu

Panel B2: Catholic Political Thought**Location:** Maple**Chair:** John Charles Evans, University of Wisconsin, evans@polisci.wisc.edu

“*Dignitatis Humanae* Forty Years Later: Religious Toleration, John Courtney Murray, and the Prospects for ‘A Catholic Modernity’”

Steve Millies, University of South Carolina-Aiken
StevenM@usca.edu

“What Has Rome to Do with Washington, D.C.? Richard John Neuhaus, Culture, and the Church”

Brian Peterson, University of Dayton
petersbz@notes.udayton.edu

“A Case of Engaged Christianity: The Challenge of Integrating Christian Identity and Social and Political

Commitment in the Jesuits”

Peter Bisson, SJ, University of Regina
Peter.bisson@uregina.ca

Discussant: John Charles Evans, University of Wisconsin, evans@polisci.wisc.edu

Panel B3: Religion and International Relations**Location:** Elm**Chair:** Amy Patterson, Calvin College, apatters@calvin.edu

“Secularism and the West: Arguments for Questioning in International Relations”

Erin Wilson, University of Queensland
e.wilson2@uq.edu.au

“Religions: Contributing or Contentious Elements in National Governance?”

Jane Sabes, Andrews University
sabesja@andrews.edu

“Discovering the Implications of the Secular Myopia Found Within the United States Foreign Service”

Steven Lichty, Baylor University
lichtys@earthlink.net

Discussant: Amy Patterson, Calvin College, apatters@calvin.edu

Panel B4: God at the Statehouse: Religion and Politics at the State Level**Location:** Blue Spruce**Chair:** Edward Cleary, Providence College, ecleary@providence.edu*Wisconsin* - David Yamane, University of Notre Dame
Yamane.1@nd.edu*California* - Edward Cleary, Providence College
ecleary@providence.edu*Michigan* - Kevin den Dulk, Grand Valley State University
dendulkk@gvsu.eduDiscussant: Kedron Bardwell, Grand Valley State University, bardwek@gvsu.edu**Friday, April 30, 12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. – Lunch**

Willow Room

Friday, April 30, 1:15 – 2:00 p.m.**Faith-Based and Community Initiatives**

Oak Room

Question and Answer with Stanley Carlson-Thies (former member of Bush White House Office on Faith-Based and Community Initiatives) on life in the Office

Friday, April 30, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.**Panel C1: Rhetoric and American Politics****Location:** White Pine**Chair:** Garth Pauley, Calvin College, gpauley@calvin.edu

“Don’t Give Me that Old Time Religion: The Absence of Religion in Spiro Agnew’s Rhetoric”

Justin Coffey, University of Illinois at Chicago
Jcoffe2@uic.edu

“Religious Rhetoric and Reality: The Lack of Continuity between Campaign Activities and Policy in the 1976 Presidential Contest”

David Veenstra, Univ. of Illinois at Chicago, adjunct Trinity Christian College
Dveens1@uic.edu

“Holy War Rhetoric? An Analysis of Religion in George W. Bush’s Foreign Policy Speeches”

Amy Black, Erin Hoekstra, and Christopher Upham, Wheaton College
Amy.e.black@wheaton.eduDiscussant: Garth Pauley, Calvin College, gpauley@calvin.edu

Panel C2: Beyond Kuyperianism: Re-Conceiving Theology and Politics**Location:** Maple**Chair:** John Bolt, Calvin Theological Seminary, Bljt@calvinseminary.edu

“Natural Law and the Two Kingdoms: Recovering Lost Categories for Understanding Calvin’s Social Thought”

Dave VanDrunen, Westminster Seminary, California
dvandrunen@wscal.edu

“The Pietist Impulse in American Evangelical Politics”

D.G. Hart, Intercollegiate Studies Institute
DHart@isi.org

“Luther on Political Disobedience: A Qualified Natural Law Approach”

Daniel Jurkovic, Carthage College
djurkovic@carthage.edu

Discussant: John Bolt, Calvin Theological Seminary, Bljt@calvinseminary.edu

Panel C3: Religious Understanding and Politics**Location:** Elm**Chair:** Matthew Roberts, Calvin College, mroberts@calvin.edu

“Jonathan Edwards on Property Rights”

Caleb Henry, Seattle Pacific University
henryc@spu.edu

“John Locke’s Theory of Christianity and Democracy”

Joanne Tetlow, Catholic University of America
joannetetlow@yahoo.com

“Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847) and the 1843 Disruption: From Theological to Political Clash”

Claire Puglisi Kaczmarek, Universite de Toulon et du Var
Claire.kacz@wanadoo.fr

Discussant: Matthew Roberts, Calvin College, mroberts@calvin.edu

Panel C4: Religion and International Relations**Location:** Blue Spruce**Chair:** Ron Kirkemo, Pt. Loma Nazarene University, rkirkemo@ptloma.edu

“Evaluating Consensus-Based Approaches to Human Rights”

Grace Kao, Virginia Polytechnic and State University
gracekao@mac.com

“What Would Jesus Do about Terrorism: Christian Realism v. Christian Pacifism”

Stephen Graham, University of Indianapolis
graham@uindy.edu

“Two Schools of Classical Realism”

Daniel Young, Northwestern College (Iowa)
young@nwcsiowa.edu

Discussant: Ron Kirkemo, Pt. Loma Nazarene University, rkirkemo@ptloma.edu

Friday, April 30, 3:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. – Refreshment Break

Friday, April 30, 4:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

Panel D1: Religion and Public Administration

Location: White Pine

Chair: James Penning, Calvin College, penn@calvin.edu

“Religion, Spirituality, and the Workplace: Implications for Public Administration”
Stephen M. King, Campbell University
kings@mailcenter.campbell.edu

“Cooperation and Commitment without Compromise: The Challenges Faced by Evangelicals in Navy Chaplaincy”
Jason Waak, University of Illinois at Chicago
unionfan@uic.edu

“‘Tax Equity:’ A Catholic Perspective”
Christopher Coccozza, DeSales University
Crc0@desales.edu

Discussant: James Penning, Calvin College, penn@calvin.edu

Panel D2: Religion, Civil Society and Civic Virtue

Location: Maple

Chair: Jonathan Chaplin, Institute for Christian Studies, jchaplin@icscanada.edu

“Blessed Be the Ties that Bind: Theories of Civil Society in Christian Perspective”
Jonathan Chaplin, Institute for Christian Studies
jchaplin@icscanada.edu

“Is Religion a Civic Vice? Substantive Civic Virtue and the Development of a Religious Political Identity”
Bryan McGraw, Harvard University
bmcgraw@charter.net

“Religion, Social Criticism, and Civil Society”
Mark Schemper, Calvin College
Mschem73@calvin.edu

Discussant: Simona Goi, Calvin College, sgoi@calvin.edu

Panel D3: Church-State Issues in American Politics**Location:** Elm**Chair:** Steve Monsma, Pepperdine University, smonsma@pepperdine.edu

“The Religious Imagination and Hearing the ‘Other’: Judge John T. Noonan, Catholic Social Teaching, and Immigration”

Kathryn Lee, Eastern University
klee@eastern.edu

“Liberal Constitutionalism, Marriage, and Sexual Orientation: A Contemporary Case for Dis-Establishment”

Gordon Babst, Chapman University
gbabst@chapman.edu

Discussant: Steve Monsma, Pepperdine University, smonsma@pepperdine.edu

Panel D4: Islam and International Politics**Location:** Blue Spruce**Chair:** Scott Hibbard, Johns Hopkins University, shibbard@jhu.edu

“Economic Globalization and Political Democratization in Islam: A Case Study of Bahrain”

Scott Waalkes, Malone College
swaalkes@malone.edu

“Islam in West Africa: From Empires, Colonial Encounters, to Post-Colonial Politics in Ghana”

E. Obiri Addo, Drew University
EAddo55193@aol.com

“The Resurgence of Fundamentalism: A Comparative Analysis of the Islamist Paradigm vis-à-vis the Evangelical Paradigm”

Ojan Aryanfard, University of London
oa@georgetown.edu

Discussant: Scott Hibbard, Johns Hopkins University, shibbard@jhu.edu

Friday, April 30, 6:00 p.m. – 7:30 p.m. – Dinner

Willow Room

Friday, April 30, 8:00 p.m.**“A New Christian World: Reading the Signs of the Kingdom Amid Global Geopolitics”**

Bytwerk Video Theater in DeVos Communication Building, Room 015

Dr. Kwame Bediako, Director of the Akrofi-Christaller Memorial Centre for Mission Research and Applied Theology in Ghana, West Africa will present the lecture. Reception following

Saturday, May 1, 9:00 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.

Panel E1: Philosophical Understandings

Location: White Pine

Chair: Jonathan Chaplin, Institute for Christian Studies, jchaplin@icscanada.edu

“The Church and Democratic Ideals: A Case for Karl Barth’s Political Theology”

Todd Cioffi, Princeton Theological Seminary

Todd.cioffi@ptsem.edu

“ ‘Clergy’ and ‘True Religion’: David Hume’s Attempt to Improve Popular Religions”

Rebecca McCumbers, University of Notre Dame

rmccumbe@nd.edu

“Liberal Apologetics or Poetic Pragmatism? Defending Democracy against its ‘Cultured Despisers’ ”

Brett Wilmot, Villanova University

brett.wilmot@villanova.edu

Discussant: Jonathan Chaplin, Institute for Christian Studies, jchaplin@icscanada.edu

Panel E2: Religion and Political Activism

Location: Maple

Chair: Sue Crawford, Creighton University, Crawford@creighton.edu

“Keystone State Christianity and Parish Politicking”

Brian Calfano, University of North Texas

Brc0026@unt.edu

“Bridging the Sacred and Secular: The Political Priorities of Religious Advocacy Groups during the 108th Congress”

Rachel Kraus, Purdue University

krausr@purdue.edu

“From Influence to Impact: Does Religious Conservative Influence Make a Difference?”

Kimberly Conger, Iowa State University

conger@iastate.edu

Discussant: Sue Crawford, Creighton University, Crawford@creighton.edu

Panel E3: Islam and American Politics

Location: Elm

Chair: Joe Kickasola, Regent University, joekick@regent.edu

“American Muslims in the Aftermath of September 11: Data from the Detroit Area Arab-American Study”

Ron Stockton, University of Michigan at Dearborn

rstock@umd.umich.edu

“The Significance of the Muslim Vote in American Politics after 9/11”

Roxane Peyser, Georgia State University

peyserr@aol.com

Discussant: Joe Kickasola, Regent University, joekick@regent.edu

Panel E4: Religion and Politics in India**Location:** Blue Spruce**Chair:** Stephen Graham, University of Indianapolis, graham@uindy.edu

“Religion and State in India: 1947 to Present”

Scott Hibbard, Johns Hopkins University
shibbard@jhu.edu

“Legalizing Religion: How the Higher Judiciary in India Interprets Constitutional Law with Respect to Religion”

Ronojoy Sen, University of Chicago
ronojoysen@yahoo.comDiscussant: Stephen Graham, University of Indianapolis, graham@uindy.edu**Saturday, May 1, 10:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m. – Refreshment Break****Saturday, May 1, 11:00 a.m. – 12:30 p.m.****Panel F1: Religion as a Political Resource****Location:** White Pine**Chair:** Kevin denDulk, Grand Valley State University, dendulkk@gvsu.edu

“A Qualitative Difference? Gender, Church Social Networks, and Political Resources”

Anand Sokhey, Ohio State University, sokhey.2@osu.edu
Paul Djupe, Denison University, djupe@denison.edu

“Promoting Social Activism: Religious Networks, Community Context, and Civic Engagement”

Frank Niles, John Brown University
FNiles@jbu.edu

“In the World But Not of It? Political Churches and Community Involvement”

Allison Calhoun-Brown, Georgia State University
polacb@langate.gsu.eduDiscussant: Kevin denDulk, Grand Valley State University, dendulkk@gvsu.edu

Panel F2: Religion and Political Participation**Location:** Maple**Chair:** Kimberly Conger, Iowa State University, conger@iastate.edu

“Religious Attendance and Local Political Participation”

Carol Ann MacGregor, McGill University
carol.macgregor@mail.mcgill.ca

“Participation Rates of Marginalized Religious Groups”

Ronald Eric Matthews, Jr., Kent State University, rmatthew@kent.edu
Nisha Harinath, Kent State University, nisha_harinath@hotmail.com

“Religious and Demographic Aspects of Liberal Voting in American Elections”

Lee Carpenter, Hamline University School of Law
leecarp@msn.comDiscussant: Kimberly Conger, Iowa State University, conger@iastate.edu**Panel F3: Religion and Politics in Post-Communist Eastern Europe****Location:** Blue Spruce**Chair:** Bruce Berglund, Calvin College, brb6@calvin.edu

“The Politics of Religious Life in Post-Communist Romania: A Zero-Sum Game?”

Mihnea Vasilescu, University of Pittsburgh
Miv4@pitt.edu

“Why Is There No Religion in the Former GDR? Religious Demand and the Case of Eastern Germany”

Paul Froese, Baylor University, Paul_Froese@baylor.edu
Steven Pfaff, Washington University, pfaff@u.washington.eduDiscussant: Bruce Berglund, Calvin College, brb6@calvin.edu**Saturday, May 1, 12:30 p.m. – 2:00 p.m. – Lunch**

Willow Room

Saturday, May 1, 2:00 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.

Panel G1: Religious Institutions and Politics

Location: White Pine

Chair: Allison Calhoun-Brown, Georgia State University, polacb@langate.gsu.edu

“The Role of Gender in the Politics of Female and Male Protestant Clergy”
 Laura Olson, Clemson University; John Green, University of Akron;
 Sue E.S. Crawford, Creighton University; Melissa M. Deckman,
 Washington College
Crawford@creighton.edu

“Stepping Off the Bully Pulpit? Changing Political Participation among American Clergy”
 James Penning, Calvin College, Corwin Smidt, Calvin College
penn@calvin.edu

“Acts of Politics: Dynamics of Norms, Strictness, and Supply in Politics”
 Sue Crawford, Creighton University
Crawford@creighton.edu

Discussant: Allison Calhoun-Brown, Georgia State University, polacb@langate.gsu.edu

Panel G2: Religion and Political Tolerance

Location: Maple

Chair: Doug Koopman, Calvin College, dkoopman@calvin.edu

“Do Compulsory World Religion Courses in Modesto, CA High Schools Promote Religious Tolerance?”
 Emile Lester, College of William and Mary
exlest@wm.edu

“Religion and McCarthyism: Through the Prism of Senator Margaret Chase Smith”
 Eric Crouse, Tyndale University College
ecrouse@tyndale.ca

“Bridging the Gap: Equal Rights and Religious Freedom in Canada”
 Barry Bussey, Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada
bbussey@sdacc.org

Discussant: Doug Koopman, Calvin College, dkoopman@calvin.edu

Panel G3: Religion and American Foreign Policy**Location:** Elm**Chair:** Robert DeVries, Calvin College, rdevries@calvin.edu

“Between Power and Justice: American Christian Perspectives on U.S. Foreign Policy in Israel/Palestine”

Robert O. Smith, Baylor University
Robert_Smith1@baylor.edu

“Political and Legal Reform in the Middle East: The Bush Foreign Policy and Islamic Remedies”

Joe Kickasola, Regent University
joekick@regent.edu

“Trade and Ethics: The Middle Way of the Interfaith Working Group on Trade and Investment”

Mike Kuchinsky, Goucher College
mkuchins@goucher.edu

Discussant: Robert DeVries, Calvin College, rdevries@calvin.edu

Saturday, May 1, 3:30 p.m. – 4:00 p.m. – Refreshment Break

Saturday, May 1, 4:00 p.m. – 5:30 p.m.

Panel H1: Civil Religion and American Politics**Location:** White Pine**Chair:** Jeff Tatum, Calvin College, jdt4@calvin.edu

“Politicians’ Responses to Newdow v. U.S.: A Study of Religion in America, God, and Hegemony”

Paul J. Olson, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
pjolson@unlserve.unl.edu

“The Hearing Ritual”

Diane Johnson, Kutztown University
djohnso@kutztown.edu

Discussant: Jeff Tatum, Calvin College, jdt4@calvin.edu

Panel H2: Evangelicalism and Political and Social Life**Location:** Maple**Chair:** Jared Farley, Miami University of Ohio, farleyja@muohio.edu

“The George W. Bush Presidency: A Review of Compassionate Conservatism and Its Effect on the American Poor”

Robin Benjamin Weinstein, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary
Rweinstein9@comcast.net

“The Political Failure of Evangelicalism in Haiti (1957-1986)”

David Michel, Chicago Theological Seminary
dmichelsamuel@yahoo.com

“Evangelical Egalitarianism and Mutual Submission”

Debra Daniels
Debbie@colorguys.com

Discussant: Jared Farley, Miami University of Ohio, farleyja@muohio.edu

Panel H3: Religion and Political Alignment in the United States**Location:** Elm**Chair:** D’Linell Finley, Auburn University, Montgomery, dfinley@mail.aum.edu

“Religion and Political Alignment”

Lyman Kellstedt, James Guth, Furman University, John Green, University of Akron, Corwin Smidt, Calvin College.
smid@calvin.edu

“Religion and Realignment: The ‘Catholic Vote’ in American Elections, 1952-2002”

Stephen Mockabee, University of Cincinnati
Stephen.mockabee@uc.edu

Discussant: D’Linell Finley, Auburn University, Montgomery, dfinley@mail.aum.edu

Copies of Papers Presented at the Symposium are available in the Library of the Prince Conference Center between 7:30 a.m. and 8:00 p.m. on Friday and Saturday (April 30 and May 1)