

# THE TELOS

# INSTITUTE

THE 2013 TELOS CONFERENCE

RELIGION AND POLITICS IN A POST-SECULAR WORLD

NEW YORK CITY

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15, TO SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 2013

THE 2013 TELOS CONFERENCE WILL INVESTIGATE THE CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS. TOPICS WILL INCLUDE THE POST-SECULAR IN THE GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE; THE THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM, AND FASCISM; THE CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF POLITICAL THEOLOGY; NEW CIVIL FORMS OF RELIGIOUS PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES; THE POLITICS OF RELIGIOUS PLURALISM; MYTHIC NARRATIVES AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY; THEOLOGY AND MODERNITY; THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IN EASTERN EUROPE; POLITICS AND ISLAM; RELIGION AND POLITICS IN EUROPE; JÜRGEN HABERMAS ON THE POST-SECULAR; AND CARL SCHMITT ON POLITICAL THEOLOGY.

SPEAKERS

JOSEPH BENDERSKY • RUSSELL BERMAN • ARYEH BOTWINICK

GIOVANNI D'ERCOLE • JAY GUPTA • WAYNE HUDSON • PAUL KAHN

TIM LUKE • ADRIAN PABST • MARCIA PALLY • DAVID PAN

SUSANNA RIZZO • JEFFREY ROBBINS • KNUT WENZEL

FOR MORE DETAILS, VISIT THE TELOS INSTITUTE WEBSITE AT [WWW.TELOSINSTITUTE.NET](http://WWW.TELOSINSTITUTE.NET)

# CONFERENCE SUMMARY

## RELIGION AND POLITICS IN A POST-SECULAR WORLD

The twenty-first century has been marked by both events and reflections that have explicitly challenged the long-standing liberal project of maintaining a separation between religion and politics. Not only have political conflicts become inseparable from theological and metaphysical considerations, but standard liberal claims of value-neutrality have been undermined by insights into the theological presuppositions of secular institutions. The goal of the 2013 Telos Conference will be to investigate the changing relationship between religion and politics. Papers topics will include the post-secular in the global public sphere; the theological foundations of liberalism, socialism, and fascism; the contemporary relevance of political theology; new civil forms of religious practice in the U.S.; the politics of religious pluralism; mythic narratives and state sovereignty; theology and modernity; relationship between church and state in Eastern Europe; politics and Islam; religion and politics in Europe; Jürgen Habermas on the post-secular; and Carl Schmitt on political theology.

### CONFERENCE LOCATION

Please note that the location of the Telos Conference has changed. It will now be held in two locations.

On **Friday, February 15**, the introduction and plenary session will be held at the **Taverna Di Bacco**, located at 175 Ludlow Street, in the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

On **Saturday, February 16**, and **Sunday, February 17**, the conference will be held at **St. Francis College**, in the historic Brooklyn Heights neighborhood of Brooklyn, just across the bridge from Manhattan. St. Francis College is located at 180 Remsen Street, between Court and Clinton Streets. The conference will be held in three rooms: the Floor Theater (7th floor) and Rooms 3203 and 3213 (3rd floor).

Directions follow on the next page.

# CONFERENCE SUMMARY

## DIRECTIONS

### **TAVERNA DI BACCO (FRIDAY)**

The Taverna Di Bacco is located at 175 Ludlow Street, in the Lower East Side of Manhattan.

By subway, take the F train to the 2nd Avenue Station stop. Walk five blocks east on Houston Street until you reach the intersection of Houston and Ludlow Streets. Turn right (south) onto Ludlow Street. The restaurant will be on your right side.

For more information, visit the Taverna di Bacco website at [www.tavernadibacco.com](http://www.tavernadibacco.com)

### **ST. FRANCIS COLLEGE (SATURDAY AND SUNDAY)**

St. Francis College is located in historic Brooklyn Heights at 180 Remsen Street, between Court and Clinton Streets. The College is one block from Borough Hall, the Brooklyn court houses, and various municipal buildings. The College is three blocks from the Brooklyn Heights Promenade to the west and Metrotech Center to the east. The conference will be held in three rooms: the Floor Theater (7th floor) and Rooms 3203 and 3213 (3rd floor).

Within two blocks of the campus are all major subway and bus lines to and from all boroughs of New York City. Street parking is limited; however, public parking garages are nearby.

By subway, there are a number of options:

- 2 Train, 3 Train (7th Avenue Express) stop at Borough Hall.
- 4 Train, 5 Train (Lexington Avenue Express) stop at Borough Hall.
- A Train (8th Avenue Express) stops at Jay Street/Borough Hall.
- B Train (6th Avenue Express) stops at DeKalb Avenue; change to the M Train or R Train which stop at Court Street.
- C Train (8th Avenue Local) stops at Jay Street/Borough Hall.
- D Train (6th Avenue Express) stops at Atlantic Avenue; change to the 2 Train, 3 Train, 4 Train, or 5 Train which stop at Borough Hall.
- F Train (6th Avenue Local) stops at Jay Street/Borough Hall.
- M Train (Nassau Street Local) stops at Court Street.
- N Train (Broadway Express) stops at Pacific Street; change to the R Train which stops at Court Street.
- Q Train (Broadway Express) stops at DeKalb Avenue; change to the M Train or R Train which stop at Court Street.
- R Train (Broadway Local) stops at Court Street.
- W Train (Broadway Local) stops at Whitehall Street; change to the R Train which stops at Court Street.

# FRIDAY SCHEDULE

## Introduction and Plenary

4:00 to 6:00 PM

Taverna Di Bacco, 175 Ludlow Street (NEW LOCATION)

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### Welcome

Mary Piccone, Telos Press, and David Pan, Telos Institute

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### Introduction

Russell A. Berman, Stanford University (US)

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### Why Political Theology?

### Moderator:

Russell A. Berman

#### Political Theology and the Popular Imagination

Paul Kahn, Yale University (US)

#### The Post-Secular and the Pluralization of Political Theology:

##### Vanquishing the Shadow of Carl Schmitt

Jeffrey Robbins, Lebanon Valley College (US)

#### Political Theology for Industrial Democracy:

##### Developing and Sustaining the Materiality of Millenarian Modernity

Tim Luke, Virginia Tech (US)

#### Political Theology and Collective Experience

David Pan, University of California, Irvine (US)

## Cocktail Reception

6:00 to 7:30 PM

Taverna Di Bacco, 175 Ludlow Street

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

**Note: The location of the conference on Saturday and Sunday has changed to St. Francis College in Brooklyn. Please see pages 1–2 for more information.**

## Breakout Session 1

9:00–10:30 AM

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### Politics and Islam

Floor Theater (7th floor)

### Moderator:

David Pan

**Qur'an Burning and the Controversy over an American Apology**

Carol Burke, University of California, Irvine (US)

**Neo-traditionalism as a Response to Globalization among Muslim Youth and their Segmented Assimilation in France**

Hamza Zeghlache, University of Setif (Algeria)

**Religion after Revolution in the Arab Spring**

Amine Ahmed, University of Gafsa (Tunisia)

**The Postsecular Body of the 2011 Egyptian Revolution**

Luca Mavelli, University of Kent (UK)

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### Religious Options in U.S. Society

Room 3203 (3rd floor)

### Moderator:

Marcia Pally

**Religion, the Post-Secular, and the Politics of the Twenty-first Century**

Greg Melleuish, University of Wollongong (Australia)

**The Black Church and the Life of the Nation**

Kenneth Johnson, City of Sunnyvale, CA (US)

**Psychedelic Citizenship and Re-enchantment:**

**Affective Aesthetics as Political Instantiation**

Roger Green, Metropolitan State University of Denver (US)

**“Nones” of the Post-Secular World:**

**Spirituality and Secularity Today**

Daniel Dion, Loyola University, Chicago (US)

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 1

9:00–10:30 AM (*continued*)

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**The Post-Secular in the Global Public Sphere**  
Room 3213 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**  
Jay Gupta

**Katechontic Sovereignty:**

**Overcoming Time in Contemporary State Violence and World Politics**

François Debrix, Virginia Tech (US)

**Post-Secular Consciousness and World Society: The Importance of a Global Public Sphere In Habermas's Perspective on Religion and Democracy**

Javier Aguirre, Universidad Industrial of Santander (Colombia)

**The Future of Global Governance:**

**Towards a Catholic Contribution Regarding the Idea of State Sovereignty**

Matthew Bagot, Spring Hill College (US)

**Agonistic Pluralism and Globalization in a Post-Secular Age:**

**Religion and the New Cosmopolitanism**

Daniel Wong, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (US)

## Break: Coffee will be served

10:30–10:45 AM

## Breakout Session 2

10:45 AM–12:15 PM

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**Purity and Fanaticism**  
Floor Theater (7th floor)

**Moderator:**  
Russell A. Berman

**Purity, Cleanliness, Flawlessness: Religious Values in Political Thinking**

Zoltán Balázs, Corvinus University, Budapest (Hungary)

**Un-represent: Theorizing Political Fanaticism**

Andrew Poe, Amherst College (US)

**On the Question of “Pure Religion” in Benjamin's Thought**

Carlos Gasperi, Rutgers University (US)

**Re-working the Philosophy of Martin Heidegger:**

**Iran's Revolution of 1979 and its Quest for Cultural Authenticity**

Mohammad Rafi, University of California, Irvine (US)

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 2

10:45 AM–12:15 PM (*continued*)

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### Secular Political Theology

Room 3203 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**

Joseph Bendersky

**“John Galt is a Heathen!”:**

**The Inconvenient Atheism of Ayn Rand**

Stuart McAnulla, University of Leeds (UK)

**Reclaiming Political Theology in the Name of Caesar**

Mark William Westmoreland, Villanova University (US)

**In Prayer God is “Closer than Her Jugular Vein”:**

**Teaching the Secular Body Sense in Robin Yassin-Kassab’s *The Road To Damascus***

Noor Hashem, Cornell University (US)

**The Politics of Author and Reader:**

**Reading Descartes’ Idea of God in *Meditation III***

Juan Donado, New School for Social Research (US)

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### Church and State in Eastern Europe

Room 3213 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**

Marcia Pally

**Church-State Relations and Civil Religion in Post-Communist Eastern Europe:**

**A Case Study from Hungary**

Karoly Pinter, Pázmány Péter Catholic University (Hungary)

**The Pussy Riot Case as PR of the Russian Orthodox Church’s Increasing Power**

Olga Egorova, Riga Graduate School of Law (Latvia)

**Evangelicals and Politics in Contemporary Ukraine**

Olena Panych, Donetsk Christian University (Ukraine)

**Politicization of Ritual-like Performance within the Liberal Public Sphere**

Grzegorz Brzozowski, University of Warsaw (Poland)

## Lunch

12:15–1:15 pm

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 3

1:15–2:45 PM

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**Carl Schmitt and Political Theology**  
Floor Theater (7th floor)

**Moderator:**  
David Pan

**Political Theology: What Carl Schmitt Actually Said and Meant**  
Joseph Bendersky, Virginia Commonwealth University (US)

**The Political Theology of Place:  
Agonism and Contemporary Political Space**  
Paloma Puente-Lozano, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (Spain)

**Pragmatism as Democratic Political Theology**  
David Ferris, New York University (US)

**Secular De-Formations: The Ill Legitimacies of the Modern Age**  
Ulrike Kistner, University of Pretoria (South Africa)

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**Christianity in America**  
Room 3203 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**  
Tim Luke

**Christianity and the Nascent “Fascist Conscience”  
in Twenty-First Century America**  
Michael Joseph Roberto, North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University  
(US)

**“Religion IS a Political Force”:  
The Christian Governmentalization of Neo-liberal America**  
Maria Prado Ballarin, Stonybrook University (US)

**Christianity and the Founder’s Intent: Analyzing the Contrasting Use of Religious  
Rhetoric Between *Common Sense* and *The Federalist Papers***  
Wally Hart, Texas A&M University (US)

**Commentary**  
Fred Siegel, St. Francis College (US)



# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 3

1:15–2:45 PM (*continued*)

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**Habermas and the Post-Secular**  
Room 3213 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**  
Adrian Pabst

**What is Post-Secularism in an American Political Context?**

Jay Gupta, Mills College (US)

**The Rise of the Post-Secular World Society:**

**Habermas’s latest work on Faith and Reason**

Eduardo Mendieta, Stonybrook University (US)

**The Religious as Political**

Ian Morrison, American University, Cairo (Egypt)

**The Motif of “Judeo-Christian Mysticism” in Jürgen Habermas’s Critical Theory:  
History and Potential of a Contentious Terminology**

Samuel Mueller, New School for Social Research (US)

## Break: Coffee will be served

2:45–3:00 PM

## Breakout Session 4

3:00–4:30 PM

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**Mythic Narratives and the State**  
Floor Theater (7th floor)

**Moderator:**  
Adrian Pabst

**Conceptual Fantasy and Historical Reality:**

**Re-Visioning the Myths of Benito Mussolini and the Sacralization of Politics in  
Fascist Italy through the Photographs and Film of the LUCE Institute**

Patrick Cavaliere, Laurentian University (Canada)

**The Sacred in the Narratives of East German Politicians**

Amitai Touval, Metropolitan College, NY, Baruch College (US)

**The Greek Right-Wing Group “Golden Dawn” and Religion:**

**A Comparison with German National Socialists**

Christos Moutsouris, Panteion University (Greece)

**Secular Maps and Religious Landscapes**

Danielle Haque, Cornell University (US)

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 4

3:00–4:30 PM (*continued*)

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### Forms of Secularization

Room 3203 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**

Jay Gupta

#### **Bergsonism in the Post-Secular Turn**

Richard Weiner, Rhode Island College, Minda de Gunzberg Center for European Studies at Harvard University (US)

#### **The Politics of Agnosticism:**

##### **Latour and the Post-secular**

Michael Norton, University of Arkansas, Little Rock (US)

#### **The Secularization of Blasphemy**

Austin Dacey, University of Central Florida (US)

#### **The Political Theology of Occupy:**

##### **On Resistance and the Secular**

Jordan Miller, Salve Regina University (US)

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### Values of the Nation-State

Room 3213 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**

Tim Luke

#### **Renaissance, Reformation, and the Road to Westphalia**

William Bain, National University of Singapore (Singapore)

#### **Democracy:**

##### **An Idea or a Practical Solution?**

Mary Frances McKenna, Dublin City University (UK)

#### **Politics and the Natural End of Man**

Jacob Wood, Catholic University of America (US)

#### **Catholic Social Teaching and the Rise of Liberalism**

Conor Kelly, Boston College (US)

## Break: Coffee will be served

4:30–4:45 PM

# SATURDAY SCHEDULE

## Plenary Session 2

4:45–6:45 PM

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**Religion and Politics in Europe**  
Floor Theater (7th floor)

**Moderator:**  
David Pan

**The Church, an Instrument of Peace in the Contemporary World:**

**50 Years Encyclical *Pacem in Terris***

Bishop Giovanni D'Ercole Auxiliary, Archdiocese of L'Aquila (Italy)

**Melancholic Faith:**

**A European Alternative**

Knut Wenzel, University of Frankfurt (Germany)

**Theologies of Relationality:**

**A Response to Economic and Political Binary Choices**

Marcia Pally, New York University (US)

**Commentary**

Russell Berman, Stanford University (US)

## Reception and Dinner

7:00–11:00 PM

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### Taverna Di Bacco

175 Ludlow St

New York, NY 10002

[www.tavernadibacco.com](http://www.tavernadibacco.com)

The restaurant is located in the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Please see the “Directions” page 2 of the program for subway directions.

# SUNDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 5

9:00–10:30 AM

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### Post-Secular Liberalism

Floor Theater (7th floor)

### Moderator:

David Pan

**The Leadership Council of Women Religious, the Vatican, and MacIntyre's Practice**  
Donald Wortham, College of St. Scholastica (US)

### Reawakening Enlightenment?

**Contesting Religion and Politics in European Public Discourse**

Anders Berg-Sorensen, University of Copenhagen (Denmark)

### Post-Secular Enchantments:

**The Non-reductive Materialisms of John Milbank and William Connolly**

Josef Bengtson, University of Southern Denmark (Denmark)

### Commentary

Peter Candler, Baylor University (US)

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### Religion and the State

Room 3203 (3rd floor)

### Moderator:

Joseph Bendersky

### “Christian Cultural Roots” and “Sociological Catholicism”:

**Spanish Catholic Bishops' Idea of Identity for 21st-Century Democracy**

Mireno Berrettini, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Italy)

### The Christian Churches, the State, and Genocide in Rwanda

Anthony Court, University of South Africa (South Africa)

### State and Religion in Bolivia After Liberalism:

**Where does the Pachamama Fit?**

David Knowlton, Utah Valley University (US)

### The Conquest of the North:

**A Modern Idea with a Mythical Twist**

Genevieve Pigeon, Université du Québec à Montréal (Canada)

# SUNDAY SCHEDULE

## Breakout Session 5

9:00–10:30 AM (*continued*)

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### The Post-Secular in the German Tradition

Room 3213 (3rd floor)

**Moderator:**

Jay Gupta

#### German Jewish Studies and the Post-Secular Turn

Katja Garloff, Reed College (US)

#### Religion, a Religious Idea?

Philosophical and/or Christian Ethics in the Thought of Friedrich Schleiermacher

Matthew Robinson, Northwestern University (US)

#### Hegel's Political Theology

Thomas Wright, DePaul University (US)

#### Disintegrating Experience:

Theodor Adorno and the Margins of Post-Secular Philosophy

Wes Arblaster, University of Dayton (US)

## Break: Coffee will be served

10:30–10:45 AM

## Plenary Session 3

10:45 AM–12:30 PM

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### Pre-History of the Post-Secular

Floor Theater (7th floor)

**Moderator:**

Tim Luke

#### Spinoza after Maimonides and Hobbes:

What Kind of Negative Theology Leads to a Liberal Politics?

Aryeh Botwinick, Temple University (US)

#### Secular Sovereignty and the Post-Secular Challenge

Susanna Rizzo, Champion College of Australia (Australia)

#### Schelling and Postsecularism

Wayne Hudson, Charles Sturt University (Australia)

#### The Secularism of Post-Secularity

Adrian Pabst, University of Kent (UK)