

ABSTRACTS OF ALL ARTICLES

- 1) **Consensus and its impact on Quranic Exegesis**
Dr. Hafiz Abdullah

The method of the Quranic interpretation approach, first of all, is Quranic exegesis in the light of itself Quran and the second one is Sunnah. Ijma (consensus) is also a primary source to interpretation of the Quran. Any Quranic exegesis approach which contradicts with Ijma (consensus) will be abandoned. This article deals with the role of Ijma in the Quranic interpretation. For example, Muslim Ummah has a unanimous opinion (Ijma) on the seal of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), so any deviated approach in the interpretation of the Quranic verses in this matter will be rejected.

emphasis Jewish ethics places on concerns for human welfare on earth, rather than in the afterlife. This corresponds to the term's Latin root, *saecula*, meaning measurable in time, i.e., the created world, as opposed to *aeterna*, the timeless and everlasting world of the creator. George Jacob Holyoake was mainly self-educated and a vigorous campaigner for secularism and freethought during the 19th century. He wrote 160 books and pamphlets and edited several magazines, including *The Movement* and *The Reasoner*. Holyoake was the last person in England to be imprisoned on a charge of atheism, for saying at a public lecture in Cheltenham in 1842 (at a time of economic hardship): "If I could have my way, I would place the deity on half pay as the Government of this country did its subaltern officers." It was Holyoake who suggested the term 'secularism' and organised the early Secular Societies, becoming Vice-President of the National Secular Society. Bradlaugh was preferred as President because he was a much more eloquent speaker. He campaigned with Bradlaugh for secular affirmations. Some of the other causes Holyoake championed were a free press, the rights of women and the liberation of oppressed nationalities. In 1899 he presided at the inaugural meeting of the Rational Press Association which has spent the last 100 years publishing books such as the Cheap Reprints of The History of Science series and The Thinker's Library, in order to undermine religious superstition and help the spread of rationalist principles. See also: *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, editor: Tullius Gould, p. 625, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, editor: James Hastings, (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark, 1955), vol. XI, p. 347.

44. Berger, Peter, *The Sacred Conopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, (New York: Doubleday: 1967), p. 25.
45. Ibid., p. 26.
46. Beckford, James A., and Thomas Luckmann, (eds.), "The Changing Face of Religion," Reviewed by: Roger O'Toole, *Contemporary Sociology* (Journal), vol. 19, No. 5, Sep., 1990, pp. 736-737.
47. See for detail, Euben, Roxanne L., *Enemy in the Mirror, Islamic Fundamentalism and limits of Modern Rationalism: A Work of Comparative Political Theory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
48. Fukuyama, Francis, *The End of History and the Last Man*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992).
49. Clarke, Paul Barry, and Linzey, Andrew, *Dictionary of Ethics, Theology and Society*, (London: Routledge, 1996), pp. 403-404, see also Ambler, R., *Global Theology: the Meaning of Faith in the Present World Crisis*, (London: Trinity Press, 1990), Balasuriya, T., *Planetary Theology*, (London: SCM and Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1984), McFague, S., *Models of God: Theology for an Ecological, Nuclear Age*, (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press and London: SCM, 1987), Race, A., (ed.), *Theology against the Nuclear Horizon*, (London: SCM, 1988).
50. Huntington, Samuel, P., *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, (New York: The Touchstone Book, 1997), pp. 56-64.
51. Ibid., p. 66.
52. O'Brien, Conor Cruise, *On the Eve of the Millennium*, (New York: Free Press, 1996), p. 28.

23. Gehrig, Gail, *American Civil Religion, An Assessment*, (New York: Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1981), p. 18.
24. Hammond, Phillip, E., and R. Bellah, (ed.), *Varieties of Civil Religion*, p. 132.
25. Gehrig, Gail, *American Civil Religion, An Assessment*, p. 23.
26. Wuthnow, Robert, *The Reconstructing of American Religion*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp.123-124.
27. Bellah, Robert, *The Broken Covenants: American Civil Religion in Time of Trial*, (New York: Seabury Press, 1975), p. 65, in Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), Chapter, 3, p. 115.
28. *The Bible* 1 Corinthians 12: 12, 13, 17, (The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians).
29. Morgan, Edmund, S., (ed.), *Puritan Political Ideas*, pp. 84-86, in Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, Chapter, 3, p. 115.
30. Ibid., p.86, Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976), Chapter, 3, p. 116, (Winthrop's statement is in original old English).
31. Bellah, Robert, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, Chapter, 3, p. 116.
32. Locke, John, *A Letter Concerning Toleration*, ed., Charles L. Sherman, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1937), p. 17.
33. Edwards, Jonathan, *The Nature of True Virtue*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960), in Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, Chapter, 3, p. 118.
34. Robert, Bellah, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, Chapter, 3, p. 118.
35. Bellah, Robert, "The Revolution and the Civil Religion," Jerald C. Brauer, (ed), *Religion and the American Revolution*, Chapter, 3, p. 119.
36. Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," *The Christian Century* (Journal) 115 (1988): 398.
37. Schaeffer, Francis, *A Christian Manifesto*, (USA: Crossway Books, 1981), p. 33.
38. Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," *The Christian Century* (Journal) 115, 399.
39. Davis, Derek H., "Law, Morals, and Civil Religion in America," *Journal of Church and State*, Summer 97, vol. 39, issue 3, p. 4.
40. Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 405, see also Wuthnow, Robert, *The Reconstructing of American Religion*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 250.
41. Wuthnow, Robert, "Divided We Fall: America's Two Civil Religions," p. 406, see also Wuthnow, Robert, *The Reconstructing of American Religion*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.251.
42. Hammond, Phillip, E., "The Conditions for Civil Religion: A Comparison of the United States and Mexico," "The Rudimentary Forms of Civil Religion," and "Pluralism and Law in the Formation of American Civil Religion," in *Varieties of Civil Religion*, ed., R. Bellah and P. E. Hammond, (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), chapter, 3, p. 2.
43. Holyoake, George, Jacob, *The Reasoner, Journal of Freethought and Positive Philosophy*, (12 December, 1854), In fact the term secularism was used to describe the

REFERENCE

1. Comte, Auguste, *The Positive Philosophy*, freely translated and condensed by Harriet Martineau, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1886), p. 522. This six volumes of the Positive Philosophy were condensed and liberally translated by Harriet Martineau and first published in 1855 two years before the death of the distinguished author and it was reprinted in 1886—the edition used in this dissertation.
2. The word “positive” as a synonym for “scientific” in its generally accepted sense.
3. Mill, J. S., *Auguste Comte and Positivism: The Essential Writings*, (New York: Kessinger Publishing; 5th edition, 2003), p. 25.
4. Ward, Lester, Frank, *Dynamic Sociology*, vol. I, pp. 86-87.
5. Durkheim, Emile, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans., Joseph Ward Swain, (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1926), p. 214.
6. Bellah, Robert, “Civil Religion in America,” in *Beyond Belief, Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), p. 186.
7. Huntington, Samuel P., *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2004), pp.103-106.
8. “I believe in the United States of America as a Government of the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the government; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign Nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it; to support its Constitution; to obey its laws; to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.”
9. Huntington, *Who Are We? The Challenges to America's National Identity*, pp. 103-106.
10. Bellah, Robert, *Religion In America*, ed., William G. McLoughlin and Robert N. Bellah (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 5-6.
11. Bellah N. Robert, *Religion in America*, p. 9.
12. Bellah N. Robert, *Beyond Belief*, p. 186.
13. Nisbet Robert, *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed., Mircea Eliade, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1987), vol. III, p. 526.
14. Lawson, Tony and Garrod, Joan, *The complete A-Z Sociology handbook*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1999), p. 94.
15. Hess B. Beth, Markson, W. Elizabeth and Stein J. Peter, *Sociology*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 4th Edition, 1993), p. 403.
16. Giddens Anthony, *Sociology*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 3rd Edition, 1997), p. 588.
17. Tocqueville, de Alexis, *Democracy in America*, (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), vol. 2, p. 110.
18. Ibid p. 115
19. Ibid., p. 116
20. Russell E. Richey and Donald G. Jones, (eds.), *American Civil Religion*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1974), pp. 4-18.
21. Ibid., p. 30.
22. Coleman, John, A., “Civil Religion,” *Sociological Analysis*, 31(2):67-77 (Summer 1970).

developed the idea of civil religion to secularize the religious teachings or to use it for secular purposes.

If we use religious feelings for nationalism, in fact we borrow religious doctrines from any traditional religion. If we use it to unite and strength the modern society which is multicultural or plural society, it will also be called civil religion.

We have inferred from the above discussion that civil religion contains two aspects. Our further discussion will envisage these aspects of civil religion:

- ❖ Civil religion is to the “use” of traditional religion as an instrumentality for the attainment of national goals, as we shall discuss it in the coming chapters.
- ❖ Civil religion is a movement to secularize the traditional religions, so that they can be compatible with modern socio-political structure liberal democracy and enlightenment values, as we shall see it in detail in second part of this dissertation.

**Civil Religion→Global Theology or Universal Religion
or Secularization of Religion→Universal Civilization**

issues like poverty, unemployment, environmental crisis human rights and family planning and other democratic and enlightenment values.

Civil religion or Global theology will be the part of universal civilization. So, these are interrelated concepts.

Universal Civilization and CR:

What is meant by universal civilization? Huntington says:

“The idea implies general the cultural coming together of humanity and the increasing acceptance of [Enlightenment] common values, beliefs, orientation, practices, and institutions by peoples throughout the world”⁽⁵⁰⁾.

He further says:

“The concept of a universal civilization is a distinctive product of Western civilization. In the nineteenth century the idea of ‘the white man’s burden’ helped justify the extension of Western political and economic domination over non-Western societies. At the end of twentieth century the concept of a universal civilization helps justify Western cultural dominance of other societies and the need for those societies to ape Western practices and institutions. Universalism is the ideology of the West for confrontations with non-Western cultures”⁽⁵¹⁾.

In this way, civil religion is a movement to secularize the traditional religions of world so that they might be compatible with the idea of universal civilization or enlightenment ideology. Tocqueville also did this work during enlightenment period, Tocqueville indicates in his discussion of Christianity that the alliance between Christianity and liberal democracy was much more fragile.

Conclusion:

Conor Cruise O’Brien argues in his book⁽⁵²⁾ that the American civil religion may be the major force working for the preservation of the Enlightenment, and with it democracy, in the world.

The Enlightenment secular tradition has even produced its own kind of generic public religion, a religion of the Republic, which Bellah has immortalized with the term civil religion. Historically, it is this common faith that supports the republic and tends to identify with its secular values. Civil religion has provided a sacred legitimation for capitalist and democratic system.

Although civil religion’s roots are found in Enlightenment period, but this idea has now developed in Muslim countries. After Enlightenment period, religion could not be relegated from society. So the western philosophers

secularization persists in intriguing sociologists of religion and in dictating their subdisciplinary agenda. Paradoxically, the tenacity of the secularization thesis seems to be rivaled only by that of the phenomenon of religion itself. Roberson depicts a mutual politicization of religion and religionization of politics on an international scale, while Cipriani perceives a secular adoption of religious elements are appropriated. Lambert discerns the emergence, in a French village, of a privatized and secularized Catholicism (characterized as 'transcendental humanism') which is nonetheless capable of sacralizing area of public life. Said Amir Arjomand explores intellectuals' political conditioning of the contemporary Islamic religious revival and stresses the importance of modern political, organizational, and ideological elements in this puritanical espousal of all-embracing fundamentalism. In a number of contributions, empirical findings provide a basis for cogent criticism of the secularization thesis. Lambert suggests that secularization theory underestimates the limits of modern rationality as well as the adaptive and productive capacities of religion⁽⁴⁶⁾.

Global Theology and CR:

After the fall of U.S.S.R. 1989, the importance of religion as social phenomena has been considered. Now western philosophers want to compatible religions of the world with democracy, capitalism, and other secular ideas like human rights, freedom, etc. Euben⁽⁴⁷⁾ and Fukuyama⁽⁴⁸⁾ developed the idea of compatibility of traditional religions with secular democratic ideas. We can say it a secularization of religion. We can also say it Global Theology or Universal Religion. Global theology is a relatively new way of thinking. It is an attempt to understand the present global situation from the secular viewpoint. According to Global theology:

"We are now having to think of the totality of our earthly existence, and of its new, or newly discovered, limits. There is a limit to human interference with life on the globe, beyond which the globe begins to die. There is a limit to the accumulation of military defence, beyond which it becomes, paradoxically, a threat to our very existence. And there is a limit to the economic exploitation of other human beings, beyond which the global economy begins to founder and growth goes into reverse"⁽⁴⁹⁾

Global theology means to tend the religion from dogmas, self-purification of all the outer and inner defilements to humanitarian and worldly

Religion wasn't defeated but, henceforth, competed with other claims to truth. Science has proved to be a formidable adversary"⁽⁴⁵⁾.

But contrarily in civil religion, religious enthusiasm its religious symbols, and religious teachings are used in support of secular ideas and its socio-political institutions. We can say in other words, to legitimate, support, and justify various aspects of secular ideas and pattern of life is called civil religion. Secularism minimizes the role of religion in society but in civil religion, traditional religious teachings are legitimized in a society only for the justification of liberal and non-religious ideas and institutions. We can say, it is also a dimension of secularization which is a secularization of religion. Civil religion thus borrows from the sacred to give meaning to the secular.

In enlightenment period, two ideologies were developed. Although the western philosophers of these ideologies were agreed on one point that religion has no right to play any role in socio-economic-political structure of society. So science and modern philosophy took over and replaced religion.

First was that to perish the religion and religious ideas.

Second was that to see the religion as a social phenomenon.

On the basis of first ideology, U.S.S.R. was being into existence, because Karl Marx called the religion opium. So his followers perished the religion and religious ideas people in their country after revolution. But western countries did not follow this ideology, they considered religion only a personal matter of an individual. Due to the lack of religion and religious emotions, Russian society was collapse in 1989. Russian philosophers could not understand that elements of general religiosity to be necessary to the creation of a unified social order and religious doctrines are essential for society, because these doctrines develop enthusiasm and unite the people. Rousseau had all these things in his mind, so he developed the idea of civil religion. This viewpoint focuses on the power of religion to legitimize the liberal and democratic ideas.

From Rousseau to Bellah, civil religion or transcendent universal religion concept is consisting of one meaning which was religious nationalism. When Bellah reconsidered this idea in 1965, it was introduced in the background of American nationalism. Now it has another meaning which would be the secularization of traditional religion.

Civil religion is itself set against the backdrop of secularization in the West. We can say that in the postmodern age secularization theory now has failed. Roger O'Toole says same thing in the following words:

"Through the secularization thesis has fallen on hard time, no new paradigm has yet emerged to administer the coup de grace invoked and anticipated by its most vehement critics. Despite all the slings and arrows that assail it, the concept of

Divinity, who foresees and provides the life to come, the happiness of the just, the punishment of the wicked, the sanctity of the social contract and the laws: these are its positive dogmas. Its negative dogmas I would confine to one—intolerance', Rousseau's overall concern in *Social Contract* is to identify an effective but nondespotic government, a vehicle for expressing the general will. In the book's final part, he discusses several means for 'strengthening the constitution of the State', and it is in this context he introduces the notion of civil religion, an aid in governing. Clearly, by calling it 'civil', he intended it in some sense to be independent of the church, and, by calling it 'religion' he likewise intended it to be independent of the ruling regime"⁽⁴²⁾.

But there is a difference between Bellah's and Rousseau's concept of civil religion. Rousseau's civil religion has no transcendental reference point. The general will of the people is sovereign and stands under no "higher law." In this respect Rousseau's civil religion differs from that described by most interpreters of American civil religion in which the state stands under the judgment of a higher law.

Is CR a Secularization of Religion?

Revitalization of Secularism in Postmodern Age:

The term secularism itself is actually of very recent origin. It was coined in 1854 to express "a certain positive and ethical element which the terms 'infidel', 'skeptic', and 'atheist' do not express"⁽⁴³⁾

Secularization refers to the "diminishing social significance of religion." Berger contends that "secularization has occurred on three levels: societal, cultural, and individual. At the societal level, religious institutions no longer exercise substantial control or influence over the state or other important social institutions, such as education. Secularization involves the separation of other institutions from organized religion and religious ideas. To illustrate, we can point to the degree to which functions such as education, social welfare, and social control, once the responsibility of religious institutions, have become the responsibility of the liberal democratic state. In this sense, religious symbols and institutions have been relegated to a position in which their influence over the larger society has diminished. Patterns of secularization have also influenced various aspects of cultural life. As secularization precedes, the arts, literature, and philosophy less frequently draw on religious sources for inspiration"⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Berger further says that "the main cause of secularization is modernism. The western scientific and technical mood of the Enlightenment claimed that science knew better than religion. The attack took its toll.

problems. Rather than drawing attention to the distinctiveness of the Judeo-Christian tradition, liberal civil religion is much more likely to include arguments about basic human rights and common human problems. Issues like nuclear disarmament, human rights, world hunger, peace and justice receive special emphasis"⁽⁴¹⁾.

The problem of nuclear arms occupies an especially prominent place in liberal civil religion. Liberal clergy have so often taken the lead in seeking solutions to the arms race that the peace movement has come to be identified in many circles as a religious issue. Other issues in the liberal version of American civil religion include civil rights, international justice and ecology.

Objectives of Civil Religion:

Why Rousseau too much concerned with civil religion, Bellah tells us about it in the following lines:

"It is instructive to reflect on why Rousseau was concerned about civil religion, advocated it, and coined the term for it. No doubt part of the reason was to provide a substitute belief system for those whose faiths had been shattered by the forces of Enlightenment. But there is a more important reason. Civil religion was not to be just another religion; its purpose was precisely to harmonize religion and politics. Pagan religions had been so co-extensive with their political orders that 'there was no way of converting a people but by enslaving them.' Christianity, by projecting a 'kingdom of the other world,' changed all that. 'Jesus came to establish on earth a spiritual kingdom, which, separating the religious from the political system, destroyed the unity of the State. [A] perpetual conflict of jurisdiction has resulted from this double power, which has rendered any good polity impossible in Christian States; and no one has ever succeeded in understanding whether he was bound to obey the ruler or the priest'. Authority, then, is the crux of the matter—more precisely, authority to set jurisdictional boundaries and invoke transcendental sanctions. For these twin problems Rousseau offers a single solution: civil religion. Civil religion is religious because it is necessary that citizens be disposed to 'love their duties', and it is civil because its sentiments are those of 'sociability, without which it is impossible to be either a good citizen or a faithful subject'. Therefore, 'the dogmas of civil religion ought to be simple, few in number, precisely fixed, and without explanation or comment. The existence of a powerful, wise, and benevolent

have the equal concern and affection of God. Derek H. Davis says about this version:

“America's role in world affairs is perceived much differently in the liberal version of civil religion. The nation has a responsible role to play in the world not because it is a chosen people but because it is uniquely blessed with vast resources to be shared. Rather than focusing on issues of personal morality, liberal civil religion is likely to stress global issues such as human rights, nuclear disarmament, world hunger, and peace. The importance attached to these issues is generally not legitimated with reference to any particular secular mandate, but simply on the belief that these are matters of life and death. Nevertheless, religious faith is frequently the motivation for involvement, differentiating civil religion from purely secular or humanist beliefs. The cry of the Old Testament prophets for peace and justice is the authoritative directive for liberal civil religion. Liberal civil religionists typically show a greater concern than their conservative counterparts in seeking peace and justice. Feeding the world's poor is a central focus, as illustrated by liberal support for such organizations as Bread for the World, Lutheran World Relief, Catholic World Relief, and World Vision. And a recent survey by the American National Election Study indicated that liberal religious lobbies are more than twice as supportive of defense spending reductions as conservative religious lobbies”⁽³⁹⁾.

Robert Wuthnow says about this version of civil religion:

“The liberal version of American civil religion draws on a different set of religious values and portrays the nation in a very different light. Few spokespersons for the liberal version make explicit reference to the religious views of the founding fathers or suggest that America is God's chosen nation. Indeed, the idea of one nation under God is often rejected because of its particularistic connotations and, more generally, because of the way it has been interpreted by conservatives”⁽⁴⁰⁾.

The liberal view of civil religion focuses less on religion as such, and more on humanity in general. Robert Wuthnow says:

“In this view, America has a vital role to play in world affairs not because it is the home of a chosen people but because it has vast resources, has caused many of the problems currently facing the world, and simply as part of the community of nations has a responsibility to help alleviate the world's

the case. Not only have Christians been on both sides of the fence but we can find the same cleavage in the Enlightenment thought of the founding fathers. The stress on virtue that we have already noticed—Jefferson’s “love of others,” Franklin’s “zeal for the public good”—is very close to the biblical archetype, while the stress on self-interest that is also common among the founding fathers suggests the powerful influence of the utilitarian archetype⁽³⁵⁾.

Biblical or Conservative Civil Religion:

Robert Wuthnow writes:

“The civil religion to which we so blithely pay homage has become deeply divided. Like the fractured communities found in our churches, our civil religion no longer unites us around common ideals. Instead of giving voice to a clear image of who we should be, it has become a confusion of tongues. It speaks from competing traditions and offers partial visions of America’s future. Religious conservatives offer one version of our divine calling; religious liberals articulate one that is radically different”⁽³⁶⁾.

Wuthnow described the basic framework of the conservative and liberal forms of American civil religion. The conservative version posits that America is a chosen nation. On this interpretation, our form of government enjoys lasting legitimacy because it was designed by founding fathers sensitive to God’s leadership. While the framers omitted specific references to God in the Constitution, they made certain that the documents reflected biblical truths, such as the separation of powers which was intended as an auxiliary check on human sinfulness. As Francis Schaeffer, a popular evangelical author, asserted in *A Christian Manifesto*:

“These men truly understood what they were doing. They knew they were building on the Supreme Being who was the Creator, the final reality. These were brilliant men who knew exactly what they were doing”⁽³⁷⁾.

In 1953, Congress, under encouragement from President Dwight Eisenhower, sought to solidify the nation’s religious moorings by adding the words “under God” to the pledge of allegiance. A year later, it decreed the nation’s motto to be “One Nation Under God”⁽³⁸⁾.

Utilitarian or Liberal Civil Religion:

The liberal version of American civil religion is also linked to religious values, but in a different way. As Wuthnow points out, few spokespersons for the liberal version make explicit reference to the religious views of the founding fathers or suggest that the United States is God’s chosen nation. Indeed, the idea of one nation under God is rejected because all nations are considered to