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A LAYMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS CHURCH

(REVISED VERSION)

A Draft Speech Prepared According to the Instructions of
The Honorable Robert Dole

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A LAYMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS CHURCH

The first aspect of this topic that should be taken care of, I think, is the negative aspect. There is a sense in which the layman, taking part in public life as a citizen or as an official, has no responsibility toward the church, as an organized body or denomination, to which he belongs. It is obvious, but needs clear stating for all that, that a man in public life has no business doing any special favors for his church, or its interests, or his coreligionists. As legislator, or executive, or judge, he must look upon his own church, equally with any other church, as a body of citizens, organized for legitimate purposes, some of which may incidentally provide public benefits, such as education, youth training, hospitals, and various charitable works.

In short, a layman in public life does not represent his church in the sense in which a Representative represents his constituents. He is not bound to seek the advantage of his church, as he is bound to seek the advantage of his constituents. He is, on the contrary, forbidden by the principles on which this Nation was founded, and also by the basic religious principle of justice, to seek any special advantage for his church.

But in another sense, and a very important sense, the layman in public life does have a responsibility toward his church, and does represent his church. He must be, whether he wishes it or not, an example before the world of how a member of that church accepts and

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carries out public responsibilities. In public office, he is a show piece of his denomination, and many people will be inclined to judge that denomination by the courage, the moral stamina, the good will, and particularly the spirit of justice, that he shows in the conduct of his office.

As we are all deeply conscious, the Methodist Church owes its origin to the determination of the Wesleys, Whitefield, and those associated with them, to make the Gospel spirit permeate the whole body of society, and fill the whole life of each man. Methodism was a revolt against a compartmented society, and against the compartmented life of the individual. In the Established Church of the Wesleys' time, the poor did not have the Gospel preached to them, and the layman was hardly expected to think, speak, or act upon his religion. The major portion of society, and the major portion of each man's individual life, was completely removed from the influence of religion.

It is to be credited, I think, largely to the Methodist revival, and to its influence on many individuals, churches, and social organizations outside of Methodism itself, that we generally recognize today the need of making religion pervasive in the life of each man, and in the organization and functioning of society. There is, as the popular saying goes, "method in our madness." There is method in our sanity, too. The essence of this method is its all-inclusiveness. In our view, which I am glad to see permeating society, the religious man is all of a piece, and his every action is based upon or guided by religious and moral considerations.

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In this spirit, therefore, I say that the Methodist layman is acting as a Methodist, and is representing his church in the fullest and best sense, when he carries over into public life the moral principles learned in his reading of the Gospels, in his attentive listening to the preaching of ordained ministers, in the conversation of ethically concerned friends, and in his own prayerful thought and meditation. It is by acting in this conscientious manner that the layman in public life fulfills his responsibility to the church.

To many people, politics is a bad word. It need not be. The art of politics, and the science of government, constitute a legitimate field of Christian concern and activity. Politics has a bad name because, through the years, many men have taken advantage of political opportunities for the unjust seizure of advantages. I should not be surprised if some of these men had been subtly intelligent enough to see some advantage to themselves in maintaining the bad reputation of the whole business of politics. For the corrupt politician, it is certainly advantageous that good children should be brought up with the notion that the field of politics is too evil a world for them to enter. The tradition that professional politicians are all wicked, and that the occasional reform politician is invariably a bungling incompetent, is a tradition that has proved of immense value to many a political machine, in cities and States. The essential fact is that the politician is taking on a duty that belongs to him, as a man and as a Christian. He faces difficulties and dangers, and high among these dangers ranks a set of temptations, commensurate with the importance of the opportunities before him.

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I should like to cite, as an indisputable authority on the relation between religious principle and political activity, our first President, George Washington, who led our armies to victory in the War for Independence, who presided with wisdom and moderation over the deliberations of our Constitutional Convention, and who guided our young Nation, as Chief Executive, through the first years of its existence under the Constitution. In Washington's recorded words and deeds, there is a strong and steady current, at once of firm religious faith and moral principle, and of generous respect for the varying religious faiths and rituals of other people. These are the memorable words Washington spoke in his Farewell Address:

"...Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of man and citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice?"

The Methodist magazine, Together, has in its issue for December, 1965, a thoughtful article by Congressman John Brademas, a Democratic Representative from Indiana, called "Christian Responsibility in the

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Political Order." I hope many of you will read and ponder the entire article, but I should like to bring to your attention particularly today the "guidelines to Christians in politics" with which he concludes. Declaring that "politics, seen from a Christian perspective, can be a Christian vocation just as much as being a minister or missionary," he proceeds to offer the following guidelines:

"1. It is not sufficient to be a good Christian to be effective in politics. You must also be a good politician--that is, know your job.

"2. You must have or develop a thick skin...." Mr. Brademas here quotes from a sermon preached by Nathan Strong, Hartford Connecticut, on an election day nearly 175 years ago, to the effect that a politician needs the strengthening support of religion to sustain him against temptations, troubles, criticisms, rivalries, and enmities.

"3. All policies, societies, governments, and all politicians are under God's judgment. None must be absolutized or deified as incarnating God's will--for none is righteous--no, not one. The Christian in politics will, therefore, always live under tension, always aware that he measures political achievements by standards that require ever greater effort. He can never be satisfied.

"4. The Christian in politics must be outgoing and must actively seek justice and combat injustice. I should add, however, that there no mandate on him to ride at full armor into every battle that comes along. If he does, he will soon deplete his forces and diminish his effectiveness. He must make realistic judgments on when and where to move.

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"5. The Christian in politics is armed with a unique understanding of human nature. He realizes that man is made in the image of God, yet prideful; he is aware of the role of self-interest in politics, of his own as well as that of others. He knows that, as an active participant in politics, he often will find himself in morally ambiguous situations." In this context, Mr. Brademas quotes Dean John C. Bennett on the Christian "experience of receiving grace and forgiveness while they take responsibility."

The final sentence of Mr. Brademas's article is an admirable summation of the essentially Christian attitude toward any vocation: "It is this forgiving love of God which above all will sustain the Christian in politics as well as in every other work of life."

I applaud Mr. Brademas's statement of a belief which I wholeheartedly share. There is sound scriptural basis for the conviction that every Christian must be, to some extent, a minister. It is the function of lay Christians, as well as of the ordained, to try to spread the Gospel to those who have not heard its divine message, and to encourage fellow-Christians in their effort to live good Christian lives. More than this, every Christian, minister and layman alike, must be a person in whom and through whom the grace of God operates. If a man is not Christian in all things, he may well be considered to be Christian in nothing.

The Christian going forth into the world of men--into business, or politics, or social relationships--must go as a Christian. The nature

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of his Christianity is the source of his strength, as well as the guide of his wisdom and morality.

It is a common saying that "business and religion don't mix." It is a saying often on the lips of those who should know better. Sometimes it is associated with Matthew XXIII, 21: "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." People eager to justify their sharp dealings before their own consciences and before their fellow men try to convince themselves and others that business and religion belong in separate compartments of life, and have no proper relationship. But business and religion do have a relationship, and a relationship that we forget or ignore at our peril. Business, as an activity of man, is subject to the moral laws that constitute the direct application of religion to human life. The Sunday-only religion, the religion of preaching and praying, but not of doing, is a sentimental and hypocritical affair not worth the attention of a man. Religion, if it is to be anything at all, must be a dynamo of action, and not just of some of our actions, but of the whole action of our lives. You cannot stand up and face yourself, let alone your God, if you try to keep a sort of under-the-counter segment of your business not subject to the clear scrutiny of a Christian conscience.

The relationship of business to religion, like the relationship of Caesar to God, is, frankly and fully, subordination. This is not said of religion in a sectarian sense, as though a man should

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conduct a store attractive only to Baptists, or put none but Presbyterian Elders on his board of directors, but of religion in its broadest and strongest and most positive sense. Amman should bring to the conduct of his religion, as of the rest of his life, the light of the Holy Spirit to be his guide, and the fire of the Holy Spirit to be his motive force. His work is a way of making a living for himself and his family, of course, that is understood and inevitable--but, so far as it is humanly possible, he should subordinate that motive to the better motive of service to God and his fellow man. Without ostentation, and without pride, he should drive at his work with a consciousness of what good it can accomplish for others. You know what it is like to have a doctor who has a warm fondness for you, and a cold fury directed against the disease that is attacking you; you know what it is like to deal with a storekeeper who is interested in what you want and need, and will go out of his way to help you get it; you know what it is like when the plumber hurries to get your drains flowing again, or the electrician to restore current, or the garageman to put your car in running order. There is a warm and joyful feeling, above and beyond your relief in having the needed service done, in knowing that the person who did it was motivated by a genuine human sympathy and fellow feeling. What I am proposing is that we all try, and go on trying, to put that spirit of religion, human and divine, into our

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business. It won't be done by thinking and talking about it, by any consideration of doctrine and logic, but it may be done by our calling upon God to warm our cold hearts with the fire of His charity. As George Eliot says in *Adam Bede*: "I've seen pretty clear, ever since I was a young 'un, as religion's something else besides notions. It isn't notions set people doing the right thing--it's feelings."

It is a calumny invented by the weak and wicked that identifies virtue with languor and weakness. Virtue is the struggle and the victory--vice is surrender and defeat. Virtue is strength, the strength of God himself joined to our human strength--and vice is feebleness and wavering.

To come down to my own business, the business of a man involved in the governing of this great country, and in representing the interests of the citizens of the First District of Kansas--I must approach this business in a spirit of total dedication. I must approach it with prayerful devotion, and with the fervor of a missionary, and with the loving spirit of an apostle. We speak often of the separation of church and state; and it is indeed a vital principle of our American way of life, to be cherished and defended. But this separation does not by any means signify the separation of my soul from Christ, or the separation of my conduct, public and private, from essential Christian principles. The core

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of Christianity, the heart of the Gospel, is a lesson of strict justice and equal love to every man, woman and child on earth. It does no harm to, and casts no slight upon, the people of any other creed. It looks with equal concern upon those of all colors and races. No Jew, no pagan, no Buddhist or Moslem, need feel himself injured by the association of America with this Christianity.

I believe that the maturity of our Christian tolerance as well as of our American belief in freedom is shown by our readiness to champion, not merely admit, the right of others to differ from us. I accept the essential rightness, as political philosophy and as a guide to practical action, of the statement of Justice Louis D. Brandeis: "America has believed that in differentiation, not in uniformity, lies the path of progress. It has acted on this belief; it has advanced human happiness, and it has prospered." Therefore, in many a political controversy, I must hold myself to the attitude expressed in words attributed to Voltaire: "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." My own freedom depends upon yours--your freedom depends upon mine.

This American Christian faith is a living, fighting, growing faith; a faith to live by and a faith to die for. It is the dynamo that makes our free enterprise capitalism surge forward in mighty triumphs of warfare and of peaceful production. It is the spirit that sends forth our doctors, teachers, missionaries,

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for the healing, the education, and the salvation of the world. It is the Spirit of God working in us and through us, and if we, individually and nationally, order our lives in that love of God which is religion, and in that love of neighbor which is patriotism, then we may indeed proclaim in all confidence, for ourselves individually and for our Country, "In God We Trust!" In this spirit, we can pledge allegiance to our country as truly "under God."

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH DINNER
SALINA, KANSAS
FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1966
REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN BOB DOLE

"A LAYMAN'S RESPONSIBILITY TO HIS CHURCH"

THE FIRST ASPECT OF THIS TOPIC WHICH SHOULD BE MENTIONED PERHAPS IS THE NEGATIVE ASPECT. IN A SENSE, THE LAYMAN TAKING PART IN PUBLIC LIFE AS A CITIZEN OR AS AN OFFICIAL HAS NO RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE CHURCH, AS AN ORGANIZED BODY OR DENOMINATION, TO WHICH HE BELONGS. IT IS OBVIOUS, BUT NEEDS CLEAR STATING FOR ALL THAT A MAN IN PUBLIC LIFE CANNOT JUSTIFY DOING ANY SPECIAL FAVORS FOR HIS CHURCH, OR ITS INTERESTS, OR HIS CORELIGIONISTS. AS A LEGISLATOR, EXECUTIVE, OR JUDGE, HE MUST LOOK UPON HIS OWN CHURCH, EQUALLY WITH ANY OTHER CHURCH, AS A BODY OF CITIZENS, ORGANIZED FOR LEGITIMATE PURPOSES, SOME OF WHICH MAY INCIDENTALLY PROVIDE PUBLIC BENEFITS, SUCH AS EDUCATION, YOUTH TRAINING, HOSPITALS, AND VARIOUS CHARITABLE WORKS.

IN SHORT, A LAYMAN IN PUBLIC LIFE DOES NOT REPRESENT HIS CHURCH IN THE SENSE IN WHICH A REPRESENTATIVE REPRESENTS HIS CONSTITUENTS. HE IS NOT BOUND TO SEEK THE ADVANTAGE OF HIS CHURCH, AS HE IS BOUND TO SEEK, UNDER PROPER CIRCUMSTANCES, THE ADVANTAGE OF HIS CONSTITUENTS. HE IS, ON THE CONTRARY, FORBIDDEN BY THE PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THIS NATION WAS FOUNDED, AND ALSO BY THE BASIC RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE, TO SEEK ANY SPECIAL ADVANTAGE FOR HIS CHURCH.

BUT IN ANOTHER SENSE, AND A VERY IMPORTANT SENSE, THE LAYMAN IN PUBLIC LIFE DOES HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD HIS CHURCH, AND DOES REPRESENT HIS CHURCH. HE MUST BE, WHETHER HE WISHES IT OR NOT, AN EXAMPLE BEFORE THE

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WORLD OF HOW A MEMBER OF THAT CHURCH ACCEPTS AND CARRIES OUT PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITIES. IN PUBLIC OFFICE, HE IS A SHOW PIECE OF HIS DENOMINATION, AND MANY PEOPLE WILL BE INCLINED TO JUDGE THAT DENOMINATION BY THE COURAGE, THE MORAL STAMINA, THE GOOD WILL, AND PARTICULARLY THE SPIRIT OF JUSTICE, THAT HE SHOWS IN THE CONDUCT OF HIS OFFICE.

AS WE ARE ALL DEEPLY CONSCIOUS, THE METHODIST CHURCH OWES ITS ORIGIN TO THE DETERMINATION OF THE WESLEYS, WHITEFIELD, AND THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THEM, TO MAKE THE GOSPEL SPIRIT PERMEATE THE WHOLE BODY OF SOCIETY, AND FILL THE WHOLE LIFE OF EACH MAN. METHODISM WAS A REVOLT AGAINST A COMPARTMENTED SOCIETY, AND AGAINST THE COMPARTMENTED LIFE OF THE INDIVIDUAL. IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH OF THE WESLEYS' TIME, THE POOR DID NOT HAVE THE GOSPEL PREACHED TO THEM, AND THE LAYMAN WAS HARDLY EXPECTED TO THINK, SPEAK, OR ACT UPON HIS RELIGION. THE MAJOR PORTION OF SOCIETY, AND THE MAJOR PORTION OF EACH MAN'S INDIVIDUAL LIFE, WAS COMPLETELY REMOVED FROM THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION.

IT IS TO BE CREDITED, I THINK, LARGELY TO THE METHODIST REVIVAL, AND TO ITS INFLUENCE ON MANY INDIVIDUALS, CHURCHES, AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE OF METHODISM ITSELF, THAT WE GENERALLY RECOGNIZE TODAY THE NEED OF MAKING RELIGION PERVASIVE IN THE LIFE OF EACH MAN, AND IN THE ORGANIZATION AND FUNCTIONING OF SOCIETY. THERE IS, AS THE POPULAR SAYING GOES, "METHOD IN OUR MADNESS." THERE IS METHOD IN OUR SANITY, TOO. THE ESSENCE OF THIS METHOD IS ITS ALL-INCLUSIVENESS. IN OUR VIEW, WHICH I AM GLAD TO SEE PERMEATING SOCIETY, THE RELIGIOUS MAN IS ALL OF A PIECE, AND HIS EVERY ACTION IS BASED UPON OR GUIDED BY RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CONSIDERATIONS.

IN THIS SPIRIT, THEREFORE, I SAY THAT THE METHODIST LAYMAN IS ACTING AS A METHODIST, AND IS REPRESENTING HIS CHURCH IN THE FULLEST AND BEST SENSE, WHEN HE CARRIES OVER INTO PUBLIC LIFE THE MORAL PRINCIPLES LEARNED IN HIS

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READING OF THE GOSPELS, IN HIS ATTENTIVE LISTENING TO THE PREACHING OF ORDAINED MINISTERS, IN THE CONVERSATION OF ETHICALLY CONCERNED FRIENDS, AND IN HIS OWN PRAYERFUL THOUGHT AND MEDITATION. IT IS BY ACTING IN THIS CONSCIENTIOUS MANNER THAT THE LAYMAN IN PUBLIC LIFE FULFILLS HIS RESPONSIBILITY TO THE CHURCH.

TO MANY PEOPLE, POLITICS IS A BAD WORD. IT NEED NOT BE. THE ART OF POLITICS AND THE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT, CONSTITUTE A LEGITIMATE FIELD OF CHRISTIAN CONCERN AND ACTIVITY. POLITICS HAS A BAD NAME BECAUSE THROUGH THE YEARS MANY MEN HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE UNJUST SEIZURE OF ADVANTAGES. I SHOULD NOT BE SURPRISED IF SOME OF THESE MEN HAD BEEN SUBTLY INTELLIGENT ENOUGH TO SEE SOME ADVANTAGE TO THEMSELVES IN MAINTAINING THE BAD REPUTATION OF THE WHOLE BUSINESS OF POLITICS. FOR THE CORRUPT POLITICIAN, IT IS CERTAINLY ADVANTAGEOUS THAT GOOD CHILDREN SHOULD BE BROUGHT UP WITH THE NOTION THAT THE FIELD OF POLITICS IS TOO EVIL A WORLD FOR THEM TO ENTER. THE TRADITION THAT PROFESSIONAL POLITICIANS ARE ALL WICKED, AND THAT THE OCCASIONAL REFORM POLITICIAN IS INVARIABLY A BUNGLING INCOMPETENT, IS A TRADITION THAT HAS PROVED OF IMMENSE VALUE TO MANY A POLITICAL MACHINE, IN CITIES AND STATES. THE ESSENTIAL FACT IS THAT THE POLITICIAN IS TAKING ON A DUTY THAT BELONGS TO HIM, AS A MAN AND AS A CHRISTIAN. HE FACES DIFFICULTIES AND DANGERS, AND HIGH AMONG THESE DANGERS RANKS A SET OF TEMPTATIONS, COMMENSURATE WITH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE HIM.

I SHOULD LIKE TO CITE, AS AN INDISPUTABLE AUTHORITY ON THE RELATION BETWEEN RELIGIOUS PRINCIPLE AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY, OUR FIRST PRESIDENT, GEORGE WASHINGTON, WHO LED OUR ARMIES TO VICTORY IN THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE, WHO PRESIDED WITH WISDOM AND MODERATION OVER THE DELIBERATIONS OF OUR

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CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, AND WHO GUIDED OUR YOUNG NATION, AS CHIEF EXECUTIVE, THROUGH THE FIRST YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. IN WASHINGTON'S RECORDED WORDS AND DEEDS, THERE IS A STRONG AND STEADY CURRENT, AT ONCE OF FIRM RELIGIOUS FAITH AND MORAL PRINCIPLE, AND OF GENEROUS RESPECT FOR THE VARYING RELIGIOUS FAITHS AND RITUALS OF OTHER PEOPLE. THESE ARE THE MEMORABLE WORDS WASHINGTON SPOKE IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS:

"....OF ALL THE DISPOSITIONS AND HABITS WHICH LEAD TO POLITICAL PROSPERITY, RELIGION AND MORALITY ARE INDISPENSABLE SUPPORTS. IN VAIN WOULD THAT MAN CLAIM THE TRIBUTE OF PATRIOTISM, WHO SHOULD LABOUR TO SUBVERT THESE GREAT PILLARS OF HUMAN HAPPINESS, THESE FIRMEST PROPS OF THE DUTIES OF MEN AND CITIZENS. THE MERE POLITICIAN, EQUALLY WITH THE PIOUS MAN OUGHT TO RESPECT AND TO CHERISH THEM. A VOLUME COULD NOT TRACE ALL THEIR CONNECTIONS WITH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC FELICITY. LET IT SIMPLY BE ASKED WHERE IS THE SECURITY FOR PROPERTY, FOR REPUTATION, FOR LIFE, IF THE SENSE OF RELIGIOUS OBLIGATION DESERT THE OATHS, WHICH ARE THE INSTRUMENTS OF INVESTIGATION IN COURTS OF JUSTICE?"

THE METHODIST MAGAZINE, TOGETHER, HAS IN ITS ISSUE FOR DECEMBER, 1965, AN ARTICLE BY DEMOCRAT CONGRESSMAN JOHN BRADEMAS, CALLED "CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY IN THE POLITICAL ORDER." MANY OF YOU MAY HAVE READ THE ARTICLE, BUT I SHOULD LIKE TO REVIEW THE "GUIDELINES TO CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS" DISCUSSED THEREIN. DECLARING THAT "POLITICS, SEEN FROM A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE, CAN BE A CHRISTIAN VOCATION JUST AS MUCH AS BEING A MINISTER OR MISSIONARY," CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS PROCEEDS TO OFFER THE FOLLOWING GUIDELINES:

"1. IT IS NOT SUFFICIENT TO BE A GOOD CHRISTIAN TO BE EFFECTIVE IN POLITICS. YOU MUST ALSO BE A GOOD POLITICIAN -- THAT IS, KNOW YOUR JOB.

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"2. YOU MUST HAVE OR DEVELOP A THICK SKIN....." HERE HE QUOTES FROM A SERMON PREACHED BY NATHAN STRONG, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT, ON AN ELECTION DAY NEARLY 175 YEARS AGO, TO THE EFFECT THAT A POLITICIAN NEEDS THE STRENGTHENING SUPPORT OF RELIGION TO SUSTAIN HIM AGAINST TEMPTATIONS, TROUBLES, CRITICISMS, RIVALRIES, AND ENMITIES.

"3. ALL POLICIES, SOCIETIES, GOVERNMENTS, AND ALL POLITICIANS ARE UNDER GOD'S JUDGMENT. NONE MUST BE ABSOLUTIZED OR DEIFIED AS INCARNATING GOD'S WILL -- FOR NONE IS RIGHTEOUS -- NO, NOT ONE. THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS WILL, THEREFORE, ALWAYS LIVE UNDER TENSION, ALWAYS AWARE THAT HE MEASURES POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS BY STANDARDS THAT REQUIRE EVER GREATER EFFORT. HE CAN NEVER BE SATISFIED.

"4. THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS MUST BE OUTGOING AND MUST ACTIVELY SEEK JUSTICE AND COMBAT INJUSTICE. I SHOULD ADD, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS NO MANDATE ON HIM TO RIDE AT FULL ARMOR INTO EVERY BATTLE THAT COMES ALONG. IF HE DOES, HE WILL SOON DEplete HIS FORCES AND DIMINISH HIS EFFECTIVENESS. HE MUST MAKE REALISTIC JUDGMENTS ON WHEN AND WHERE TO MOVE.

"5. THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS IS ARMED WITH A UNIQUE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN NATURE. HE REALIZES THAT MAN IS MADE IN THE IMAGE OF GOD, YET PRIDEFUL; HE IS AWARE OF THE ROLE OF SELF-INTEREST IN POLITICS, OF HIS OWN AS WELL AS THAT OF OTHERS. HE KNOWS THAT, AS AN ACTIVE PARTICIPANT IN POLITICS, HE OFTEN WILL FIND HIMSELF IN MORALLY AMBIGUOUS SITUATIONS." IN THIS CONTEXT, THE ARTICLE CONTAINS A QUOTATION FROM DEAN JOHN C. BENNETT ON THE CHRISTIAN "EXPERIENCE OF RECEIVING GRACE AND FORGIVENESS WHILE THEY TAKE RESPONSIBILITY."

THE ARTICLE CONCLUDES WITH A SUMMATION OF THE ESSENTIALLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TOWARD ANY VOCATION: "IT IS THIS FORGIVING LOVE OF GOD WHICH ABOVE ALL WILL SUSTAIN THE CHRISTIAN IN POLITICS AS WELL AS IN EVERY OTHER WORK OF LIFE."

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I WHOLEHEARTEDLY SHARE THIS VIEW. THERE IS SOUND SCRIPTURAL BASIS FOR THE CONVICTION THAT EVERY CHRISTIAN MUST BE, TO SOME EXTENT, A MINISTER. IT IS THE FUNCTION OF LAY CHRISTIANS, AS WELL AS OF THE ORDAINED, TO ATTEMPT TO SPREAD THE GOSPEL TO THOSE WHO HAVE NOT HEARD ITS DIVINE MESSAGE, AND TO ENCOURAGE FELLOW-CHRISTIANS IN THEIR EFFORT TO LIVE GOOD CHRISTIAN LIVES. MORE THAN THIS, EVERY CHRISTIAN, MINISTER AND LAYMAN ALIKE, MUST BE A PERSON IN WHOM AND THROUGH WHOM THE GRACE OF GOD OPERATES. IF A MAN IS NOT CHRISTIAN IN ALL THINGS, HE MAY WELL BE CONSIDERED TO CHRISTIAN IN NOTHING.

THE CHRISTIAN GOING FORTH INTO THE WORLD OF MEN -- INTO BUSINESS, OR POLITICS, OR SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS -- MUST GO AS A CHRISTIAN. THE NATURE OF HIS CHRISTIANITY IS THE SOURCE OF HIS STRENGTH, AS WELL AS THE GUIDE OF HIS WISDOM AND MORALITY.

IT IS A COMMON SAYING THAT "BUSINESS AND RELIGION DON'T MIX." IT IS A SAYING OFTEN ON THE LIPS OF THOSE WHO SHOULD KNOW BETTER. SOMETIMES IT IS ASSOCIATED WITH MATTHEW XXIII, 21: "RENDER THEREFORE UNTO CAESAR THE THINGS WHICH ARE CAESAR'S; AND UNTO GOD THE THINGS THAT ARE GOD'S."

PEOPLE EAGER TO JUSTIFY THEIR SHARP DEALINGS BEFORE THEIR OWN CONSCIENCES AND BEFORE THEIR FELLOW MEN TRY TO CONVINCE THEMSELVES AND OTHERS THAT BUSINESS AND RELIGION BELONG IN SEPARATE COMPARTMENTS OF LIFE, AND HAVE NO PROPER RELATIONSHIP. BUT BUSINESS AND RELIGION DO HAVE A RELATIONSHIP, AND A RELATIONSHIP THAT WE FORGET OR IGNORE AT OUR PERIL. BUSINESS, AS AN ACTIVITY OF MAN, IS SUBJECT TO THE MORAL LAWS THAT CONSTITUTE THE DIRECT APPLICATION OF RELIGION TO HUMAN LIFE. THE SUNDAY-ONLY RELIGION, THE RELIGION OF PREACHING AND PRAYING, BUT NOT OF DOING, IS A

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SENTIMENTAL AND HYPOCRITICAL AFFAIR NOT WORTH THE ATTENTION OF A MAN. RELIGION, IF IT IS TO BE ANYTHING AT ALL, MUST BE A DYNAMO OF ACTION, AND NOT JUST OF SOME OF OUR ACTIONS, BUT OF THE WHOLE ACTION OF OUR LIVES. YOU CANNOT STAND UP AND FACE YOURSELF, LET ALONE YOUR GOD, IF YOU TRY TO KEEP A SORT OF UNDER-THE-COUNTER SEGMENT OF YOUR BUSINESS NOT SUBJECT TO THE CLEAR SCRUTINY OF A CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF BUSINESS TO RELIGION, LIKE THE RELATIONSHIP OF CAESAR TO GOD, IS, FRANKLY AND FULLY, SUBORDINATION. THIS IS NOT SAID OF RELIGION IN A SECTARIAN SENSE, AS THOUGH A MAN SHOULD CONDUCT A STORE ATTRACTIVE ONLY TO BAPTISTS, OR PUT NONE BUT PRESBYTERIAN ELDERS ON HIS BOARD OF DIRECTORS, BUT OF RELIGION IN ITS BROADEST AND STRONGEST AND MOST POSITIVE SENSE. A MAN SHOULD BRING TO THE CONDUCT OF HIS RELIGION, AS OF THE REST OF HIS LIFE, THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY SPIRIT TO BE HIS GUIDE, AND THE FIRE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT TO BE HIS MOTIVE FORCE. HIS WORK IS A WAY OF MAKING A LIVING FOR HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY, OF COURSE, THAT IS UNDERSTOOD AND INEVITABLE --- BUT, SO FAR AS IT IS HUMANLY POSSIBLE, HE SHOULD USBORDINATE THAT MOTIVE TO THE BETTER MOTIVE OF SERVICE TO GOD AND HIS FELLOW MAN. WITHOUT OSTENTATION, AND WITHOUT PRIDE, HE SHOULD DRIVE AT HIS WORK WITH A CONSCIOUSNESS OF WHAT GOOD IT CAN ACCOMPLISH FOR OTHERS. YOU KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO HAVE A DOCTOR WHO HAS A WARM FONDNESS FOR YOU, AND A COLD FURY DIRECTED AGAINST THE DISEASE THAT IS ATTACKING YOU; YOU KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE TO DEAL WITH A STOREKEEPER WHO IS INTERESTED IN WHAT YOU WANT AND NEED, AND WILL GO OUT OF HIS WAY TO HELP YOU GET IT; YOU KNOW WHAT IT IS LIKE WHEN THE PLUMBER HURRIES TO GET YOUR DRAINS FLOWING AGAIN, OR THE ELECTRICIAN TO RESTORE CURRENT, OR THE GARAGEMAN TO PUT YOUR CAR IN RUNNING ORDER. THERE IS A WARM AND JOYFUL FEELING, ABOVE AND BEYOND YOUR RELIEF

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IN HAVING THE NEEDED SERVICE DONE, IN KNOWING THAT THE PERSON WHO DID IT WAS MOTIVATED BY A GENUINE HUMAN SYMPATHY AND FELLOW FEELING. WHAT I AM PROPOSING IS THAT WE ALL TRY, AND GO ON TRYING, TO PUT THAT SPIRIT OF RELIGION, HUMAN AND DIVINE, INTO OUR BUSINESS. IT WON'T BE DONE BY THINKING AND TALKING ABOUT IT, BY ANY CONSIDERATION OF DOCTRINE AND LOGIC, BUT IT MAY BE DONE BY OUR CALLING UPON GOD TO WARM OUR COLD HEARTS WITH THE FIRE OF HIS CHARITY. AS GEORGE ELIOT SAYS IN ADAM BEDE:

"I'VE SEEN PRETTY CLEAR, EVER SINCE I WAS A YOUNG 'UN, AS RELIGION'S SOMETHING ELSE BESIDES NOTIONS. IT ISN'T NOTIONS SET PEOPLE DOING THE RIGHT THING ---- IT'S FEELINGS."

IT IS A CALUMNY INVENTED BY THE WEAK AND WICKED THAT IDENTIFIES VIRTUE WITH LANGUOR AND WEAKNESS. VIRTUE IS THE STRUGGLE AND THE VICTORY -- VICE IS SURRENDER AND DEFEAT. VIRTUE IS STRENGTH, THE STRENGTH OF GOD HIMSELF JOINED TO OUR HUMAN STRENGTH -- AND VICE IS FEEBLENESS AND WAVERING.

TO COME DOWN TO MY OWN BUSINESS, THE BUSINESS OF A MAN INVOLVED IN THE GOVERNING OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY, AND IN REPRESENTING THE INTERESTS OF THE CITIZENS OF THE FIRST DISTRICT OF KANSAS -- I MUST APPROACH THIS BUSINESS IN A SPIRIT OF TOTAL DEDICATION. I MUST APPROACH IT WITH PRAYERFUL DEVOTION, AND WITH THE FERVOR OF A MISSIONARY, AND WITH THE LOVING SPIRIT OF AN APOSTLE. WE SPEAK OFTEN OF THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE; AND IT IS INDEED A VITAL PRINCIPLE OF OUR AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE, TO BE CHERISHED AND DEFENDED. BUT THIS SEPARATION DOES NOT BY ANY MEANS SIGNIFY THE SEPARATION OF MY SOUL FROM CHRIST, OR THE SEPARATION OF MY CONDUCT, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE, FROM ESSENTIAL CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES. THE CORE OF CHRISTIANITY, THE HEART OF THE GOSPEL, IS A LESSON OF STRICT

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JUSTICE AND EQUAL LOVE TO EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD ON EARTH. IT DOES NO HARM TO, AND CASTS NO SLIGHT UPON, THE PEOPLE OF ANY OTHER CREED. IT LOOKS WITH EQUAL CONCERN UPON THOSE OF ALL COLORS AND RACES. NO JEW, NO PAGAN, NO BUDDHIST OR MOSLEM, NEED FEEL HIMSELF INJURED BY THE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA WITH THIS CHRISTIANITY.

I BELIEVE THAT THE MATURITY OF OUR CHRISTIAN TOLERANCE AS WELL AS OF OUR AMERICAN BELIEF IN FREEDOM IS SHOWN BY OUR READINESS TO CHAMPION, NOT MERELY ADMIT, THE RIGHT OF OTHERS TO DIFFER FROM US. I ACCEPT THE ESSENTIAL RIGHTNESS, AS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND AS A GUIDE TO PRACTICAL ACTION, OF THE STATEMENT OF JUSTICE LOUIS D. BRANDEIS: "AMERICA HAS BELIEVED THAT IN DIFFERENTIATION, NOT IN UNIFORMITY, LIES THE PATH OF PROGRESS. IT HAS ACTED ON THIS BELIEF; IT HAS ADVANCED HUMAN HAPPINESS, AND IT HAS PROSPERED." THEREFORE, IN MANY A POLITICAL CONTROVERSY, I MUST HOLD MYSELF TO THE ATTITUDE EXPRESSED IN WORDS ATTRIBUTED TO VOLTAIRE: "I DISAPPROVE OF WHAT YOU SAY, BUT I WILL DEFEND TO THE DEATH YOUR RIGHT TO SAY IT." MY OWN FREEDOM DEPENDS UPON YOURS -- YOUR FREEDOM DEPENDS UPON MINE.

THIS AMERICAN CHRISTIAN FAITH IS A LIVING, FIGHTING, GROWING FAITH; A FAITH TO LIVE BY AND A FAITH TO DIE FOR. IT IS THE DYNAMO THAT MAKES OUR FREE ENTERPRISE CAPITALISM SURGE FORWARD IN MIGHTY TRIUMPHS OF WARFARE AND OF PEACEFUL PRODUCTION. IT IS THE SPIRIT THAT SENDS FORTH OUR DOCTORS, TEACHERS, MISSIONARIES, FOR THE HEALING, THE EDUCATION, AND THE SALVATION OF THE WORLD. IT IS THE SPIRIT OF GOD WORKING IN US AND THROUGH US, AND IF WE, INDIVIDUALLY AND NATIONALLY, ORDER OUR LIVES IN THAT LOVE OF GOD WHICH IS RELIGION, AND IN THAT LOVE OF NEIGHBOR WHICH IS PATRIOTISM, THEN WE MAY INDEED PROCLAIM IN ALL CONFIDENCE, FOR OURSELVES INDIVIDUALLY AND FOR

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OUR COUNTRY, "IN GOD WE TRUST!" IN THIS SPIRIT, WE CAN PLEDGE
ALLEGIANCE TO OUR COUNTRY AS TRULY "UNDER GOD".