CHRISTIAN FAITH AND MODERN DEMOCRACY: GOD AND POLITICS IN THE FALLEN WORLD By ROBERT P. KRAYNAK.
University of Notre Dame Press. 320 pp. $24.95 paper.

AMERICA'S CULTURE WAR is not about culture. It is about religion--Christianity, in particular--and its role in the public life of the nation. On one side, secularists of various stripes insist that religion is the source of our greatest problems--prejudice and bigotry, ignorance and injustice--and thus ought to be relegated entirely to the private sphere of life, if not eliminated altogether. On the other side of the cultural divide, assorted religious intellectuals maintain that Christianity provides an essential moral foundation for liberal democratic government. Many go even further, to identify an essential connection between Christianity and democracy.

It is the great virtue of Robert P. Kraynak's Christian Faith and Modern Democracy to question the assumptions of both sides in the culture war. Not that he feigns neutrality in these important matters. As a self-described believing and practicing Roman Catholic, Kraynak, who teaches political philosophy at Colgate University, strongly supports those who advocate a greater role for the church in American public life. In his early chapters, he powerfully defends the view that liberalism is incapable of vindicating the human dignity on which liberal rights are based. This is the case because it is impossible to defend dignity with doubt about the highest ends of life, as liberalism has sought to do from the time of its origins in early modern Europe. Hence, liberalism needs Christianity in order to ground its most elemental moral claims.

But the bulk of Kraynak's book--well over four-fifths of it--is devoted to making a different, more controversial argument. Although liberalism requires a religious foundation, Christians, in Kraynak's view, should resist the temptation to synthesize liberal democratic and Christian principles. Such a synthesis must be rejected because Christianity cannot be "connected in principle to any form of government and may even be incompatible in crucial respects with liberal democracy."

The inevitable tension between the requirements of politics and faith is, of course, a very old theme in Christian thinking, going back at least as far as St. Augustine's doctrine of the "Two Cities," if not to Jesus Christ himself, who spoke of distinct duties to God and to Caesar. Unlike Judaism and Islam, which view the divine law in political terms as a civil or legal code, Christian divine law cannot, in Kraynak's words, "be codified directly into civil law or translated into a specific political order." The City of Man must inevitably fall short of the City of God. Christians should thus remain somewhat detached from the form of government that prevails at any given period of history. In the Middle Ages, when the dominant political arrangements were aristocracy and monarchy, the temptation was to overemphasize hierarchy and downplay the innate dignity of all human beings. Today, when our political assumptions are in many ways the reverse, Kraynak believes we need to be reminded that there is "something inherently hierarchical in..."