

THIS EXTREMELY AMATEURISH, PRELIMINARY, AND ROUGH DRAFT  
OF A TRANSLATION © STEVE PERISHO, OCTOBER 2010

Ignaz Zangerle, “Zur Situation der Kirche,” *Der Brenner* 14 (1933-1934): 42-81.

“. . . one will attain [(wird . . . gelangen)] to the considered [(abermaligen, repeated)] insight that the confidence of the Church may not [(nicht . . . dürfe)] be built on earthly wealth and earthly power, so that I doubt not for a moment that wealth in inner goods will increase as that in outer decreases, and [that] the Church will be de-mundanized to the extent that [(in dem Maße entweltlicht, wie)] many of its worldly goods [(viele ihrer Güter der Welt)] fall away.”

*Joh. Adam Möhler*<sup>1</sup>

It is high time the political and ecclesiastico-political [(kirchenpolitischen)] events of recent months in both German states were treated for once from the standpoint of their significance for the Church exclusively, the Church [considered] as the mystical Body of Christ that lives on and grows [constantly] towards [(entgegenwachsenden)] maturity. Or in other words: the Church should be seen here from without [(hier von außen<sup>2</sup>)] as [a] mundane-supramundane phenomenon [(irdisch-überirdische Erscheinung)] of this world, but with the eye of the believer, for whom it is the extended [(erweiterte)] incarnation of the divine love. The word “Catholicism”—which, in general, gets used for “Church” [quite] synonymously—is avoided in what follows because, being an abstraction, it cannot stand for the concretion “the Church” (the Head and Heart of which is Christ) on the one hand; and [because it] remains still too strongly tied to an [(in der Nähe einer)] innerworldly manner of treatment for which Catholicism, Protestantism, and so forth represent similar phenomena [(Erscheinungen)] on the other. But the expression “political Catholicism”—which always hid within itself the danger of misunderstanding “Catholicism” as an abstract principle [43] applicable to all areas of life—will in what follows no longer be understood as if [(in dem Sinne . . . , als)] it designates an already historically settled [(erledigte)] form of the working [(Wirkens)] of the powers of faith in [(in . . . hinein)] the sphere of the political, [a] new [form] demanded by the times [(zeitgeforderte)], but not yet visible.

I

The increasingly apparent sterility [of] precisely the usual Catholic way of viewing political developments and revolutionary changes, so characteristic of the post-war period especially, has its real ground in this, that it [(diese<sup>3</sup>)] remains always in the [airless] vacuum of

---

<sup>1</sup>[Letter to Countess Sophie von Stolberg, Tübingen, 24 June 1834, as reproduced in [Der Katholik: Zeitschrift für katholische Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 3 \(1906\): 380.](#)]

<sup>2</sup>Or, since the clause following “aber” lacks its own verb and therefore a contrasting independence, “from here on out”?

<sup>3</sup>Taken as referring back to “die übliche katholische Art und Weise, politische Entwicklungen und Umwälzungen zu sehen”.

[a] philosophico-static theoretical stance [(philosophisch-statischer Erkenntbarhaltung)]. Entangled in natural-law categories, one considered in complete abstraction the fundamental relation of church and state, for example, [i.e. the question] under which—ideal—conditions th[ese] two kinds of communities<sup>4</sup> might attain to the highest measure of mutual support. Only seldom did one go so far as [to contemplate] the historical concretization of this relation in the German context.<sup>5</sup> Yet what all these events might mean for<sup>6</sup> the Kingdom of God, [for] the *biblico-dynamic*, the *salvation-historical* basic stance,<sup>7</sup> that question was posed in our time self-consciously only by *Ernst Michel*. The true, if also not always obvious significance of all profane history is precisely the history of the salvation of redeemed mankind, the visible representation of which is the Church. Except for its first revelation and realization in<sup>8</sup> the incarnate Word himself, it is to be unveiled for us in its fullness, which will then be referred to a *single* vanishing point, for the first time at the last judgment. And yet may the Christian, who in faith, out of love, and *on the strength of hope*, desires to respond to the prevailing need of a time, ask after the extent to which the form of the Church, the Bride expecting her Husband, is prepared for the inbreaking of the Kingdom of God. He may examine and interpret the signs of the time for this significance, if only he remains alert for the hints of providence [44], which, in the end, can obviously still decline to confirm all our presentiments and attempts at interpretation.

Three post-war events above all made the gradual change in the form of the Church obvious even to those outside of it: the order of the Holy Father entrusting pastoral care in missionary lands more and more to the indigenous clergy in future; the Papacy's formal renunciation of the States of the Church; and the proclamation of "Catholic Action".<sup>9</sup>

The first signifies, of course, in its ultimate implications, the beginnings of the real de-Europeanization of the Church. It is an act of a<sup>10</sup> love full of confidence when it entrusts the seed of the Gospel to the soil<sup>11</sup> of the individual nation<sup>12</sup> and its culture for a new [and] independent expression.<sup>13</sup> Despite even the wealth of **with-ordained** cultural forms, the Church is bound to none of the ways in which it has appeared to this point in history. Perhaps the achievement of technical civilization, [and] above all the unprecedented perfection of the means of transportation and communication, must serve Providence for this precisely, [namely,] to accelerate worldwide the fulfillment of the Lord's word, "Go into all the world . . . !"

A similar conclusion to a long development and beginning of a new—the Church is indeed the living Body of Christ that, at the end of time, when the Lord comes, will be transformed into the transfigured [Body of Christ]—is the second event of [recent] Church history. If, for the majority of Catholics sixty years ago, it would still have been inconceivable that Rome could definitively renounce the States of the Church,<sup>14</sup> nonetheless<sup>15</sup> the present

---

<sup>4</sup>beide Gemeinschaftswesen.

<sup>5</sup>Volk.

<sup>6</sup>Im Hinblick auf.

<sup>7</sup>--die *biblisches-dynamische*, die *heilsgeschichtliche* Grundhaltung--.

<sup>8</sup>durch.

<sup>9</sup>Pius XI, Encyclical "Ubi arcano," 23 December 1922.

<sup>10</sup>its.

<sup>11</sup>dem Acker.

<sup>12</sup>Volkstums, nationality, national traditions.

<sup>13</sup>Ausprägung.

<sup>14</sup>"On September 20, 1870, Victor Emmanuel captured Rome, and the inhabitants of the district voted 133,000 to 1,500 for annexation to Italy. To the pope the Italian government granted the privileges of a sovereign and absolute possession of the Vatican, the Lateran, and Castel Gandolfo. Thus came to an end the States of the Church. . . . For half a century, until the Concordat with Mussolini settled the 'Roman

Vatican State is no longer [merely] the politically<sup>16</sup>-chastened<sup>17</sup> expression of a fundamental desire for independence *vis à vis* the authority of every [other] state. [And this is] an instructive example for the gradual disillusionment of th[ose] Christians who [rashly] step out in advance of the always deeper self-unfolding of the Church. With this **de-state-ization**<sup>18</sup> of the papacy, which represents a further step in the direction of its renunciation of power,<sup>19</sup> the Church has again been freed of a bit [of the] world.<sup>20</sup> The most tangible form of the **state-ization [45]** of the Church—an enclosed papal territory (the temporal!) created in order [1] to ward off the claims of states and at the same time [2] to encounter the world in love in precisely this form of a state<sup>21</sup>—had to be sacrificed, since it no longer fulfilled this [its] own true purpose.<sup>22</sup> The Church falls back today out of love for the world and [as] at the same time forced by it—two aspects of a *single* event!—to the position of defenseless independence. It changes its earthly appearance, in that it divests itself of the transitory, in order the more profoundly to reveal the intransitory [nature] of its living truth, the mystery of the divine love that even today still suffers and gives of itself. Its outer and its inner change of form, which, to the more penetrating eye, are the same, aim—this we feel today, for the ground of Europe quivers already in advance of still greater impending tremors, [and] more obviously [now] than ever—at the visible advent of the Kingdom of God itself, in which that which by the power of God dwells *in* [individual] human souls, is struck together with the whole [of the] glory of God into a *single* flame.

What, finally, does the proclamation of “Catholic Action” signify? Unfortunately, it has been misunderstood by German Catholics especially as merely [a] **super/transformation**<sup>23</sup> and centralization of the ecclesiastical organizations that already exist or, under the title of the lay apostolate, as [a] pure aid to the cure of souls. But for the one who is as far from the laicistic as from the clerical standpoint, it signifies the ultimate<sup>24</sup> declaration of the layman’s coming of age. As [a] “bearer of spiritual authority”, he is, as Ernst Michel remarks, entrusted with the mission to the world. Confirmation as sacrament of the universal priesthood is thus forced to the forefront of ecclesiastical consciousness. The Church understands itself as a holy people of priests. Inasmuch as its visible Head on earth explains that “Catholic Action” signifies a participation of the laity in the hierarchical apostolate itself, its [(the laity’s)] maturation into the “full stature<sup>25</sup> of Christ”<sup>26</sup> becomes visible to the eye<sup>27</sup> of the faithful. **With this [46] new consciousness of the special dignity and duty of the layman (the grounds for which were to be found already long ago in dogma), the ministry [(Kirchenamt)] pushes at this moment and in**

---

question’ in 1929, the papacy refused to accept the loss of its temporal possessions”; “The ‘Roman question’ was finally settled in 1929 by the Lateran Pacts, by which the pope accepted the loss of the former States of the Church in exchange for a large sum and received the domain of Vatican City as his own” (Walker, Norris, Lotz, & Handy, *A history of the Christian church*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (1985), 671, 674).

<sup>15</sup>so.

<sup>16</sup>staatlich, by [other] state[s]?

<sup>17</sup>verbrämte, trimmed, bordered (read as more closely confined).

<sup>18</sup>Entstaatlichung.

<sup>19</sup>Entmachtung, which lacks the note of renunciation.

<sup>20</sup>Stück Welt.

<sup>21</sup>In eben dieser staatlichen Form.

<sup>22</sup>diesen eizigen, wahren Sinn.

<sup>23</sup>Überformung.

<sup>24</sup>volle.

<sup>25</sup>Mannesalter, manhood.

<sup>26</sup>Eph 4:13.

<sup>27</sup>Blick.

**the right Christian measure [for] the selection from among the many organizations for the “individual” of the one that has attained to manhood in the Christian sense.**<sup>28</sup> Now that

individual who has earnestly resolved to live his being-a-Christian [out] in consequence of a conscientious decision interior to himself,<sup>29</sup> knows [that he will have] to carry this [right] through in[to] full answerability, [and] if necessary also in[to the] complete solitude *to which* this individuation<sup>30</sup> should lead.

So seen, “Catholic Action” is at the same time—through the strange [but] providential<sup>31</sup> enchainment of an act of love to the pressure<sup>32</sup> [imposed] by a world that slips again and again into the [posture of an] Anti-Church—the only form of the work of the Church in the world possible today. Thanks to the accelerating disentanglement of the interpenetration and mutually supportive reinforcement<sup>33</sup> of Church and State that grew up historically, it [(i.e. the Church)] has now only as much indirect power over the individual as he in freedom confers upon it. Despite all [of the] concordats, there remain to it almost no public legal means of holding him, with the help of the State, to the even external fulfillment of its [(i.e. the Church’s)] requirements. [If] the Church must release the faithful, as those strengthened—confirmed!—by the Holy Spirit for their world-sanctifying office, into the world [just] as it did in its first times, [then] it can no longer, by [an] indirect influence over the shape of the public temporal order, protect [them] from the most extreme of trials in the here and now. The priest, as the one who administers and dispenses the sacrament, is called back more and more sharply into the interior of the Church, to the altar and to the community living out of the power of the sacrificial meal. In the responsible layman-come-of-age, [by contrast,] the power of faith, love, and hope continually renewed at the heart<sup>34</sup> of th[is] mystery is converted into a work that renews the world. In a way that doesn’t infringe upon<sup>35</sup> the relative independence/autonomy of the [various] areas of culture,<sup>36</sup> everything creaturely/natural is again seized by the power of redemption that attests to itself in the individual believer.

**[47]** This its new form is related decisively to the world—is, as it were, the internal aspect of [the] ever more obviously emergent diaspora-like form imposed upon it by its growing de-territorialization. No longer are there any closed “Catholic” countries, nations, and states.<sup>37</sup> Ultimately one must give up this fiction that lies at the root of a careless use of language, since it is thoroughly contradicted by the reality of a secularized Europe. With the received orders of nations and states,<sup>38</sup> which were broken down by the capitalistic form of business and by industrial technology into the formless society just barely bound [together] by the division of labor and by special interests,<sup>39</sup> came<sup>40</sup> precisely also the limits imposed upon the Church by the

---

<sup>28</sup>Das Kirchenamt rückt mit [(can even together mean moves)] dieser Bewusstmachung der besonderen Würde und Pflicht des Laien . . . in *diesem* Augenblick die Aussonderung des christlich mannbar Gewordenen aus den mannifachen Organisationen zum ‘Einzelnen’ ins rechte christliche Maß.

<sup>29</sup>aus innerster Gewissensentscheidung heraus.

<sup>30</sup>Vereinzelung.

<sup>31</sup>von der Vorsehung wohl so gefügte, by Providence so well ordained.

<sup>32</sup>Zwang.S

<sup>33</sup>In- und Zueinanders.

<sup>34</sup>im Herzraum.

<sup>35</sup>Ohne . . . zu verletzen.

<sup>36</sup>Kultursachgebiete.

<sup>37</sup>Länder, Völker und Staaten.

<sup>38</sup>Mit den überkommenen Völker- und Staatenordnungen.

<sup>39</sup>Die durch die kapitalistische Wirtschaftsform und durch die industrielle Technik in die gestaltlose, bloß noch arbeitsteilig und interessenhaft gebundene Gesellschaft aufgelöst wurden.

territorialization of the confessions along state lines.<sup>41</sup> It [(the Church)] stands today over against a state that is in the process of setting up<sup>42</sup> a complete system of compulsion that shies away from no infringement of the rights of the human person, since the anarchical society no longer summons up any genuine powers of order.<sup>43</sup> Against the always growing monster that is the modern “nation”,<sup>44</sup> and the massive powers of civilization united in it, the “individual” who lives and works out of the immediacy of faith only just holds out. By acknowledging him today as *its* “individual”, the Church weds itself for the coming time of trial to individual [and] fully responsible believers, in order, in their hearts marked with the cross (the tau), to withstand victoriously the threatening powers and dominions of this and of another world.

## II

One may well hazard the claim that for our people, as for none other in Europe, the cross, Christianity, the Church has become the “thorn in the flesh”.

When<sup>45</sup> the premature attempt of the medievals to realize the city of God<sup>46</sup> (the *civitas Dei*, the kingdom of God) in a<sup>47</sup> Christendom structured around Pope and Caesar threatened to degenerate into a [48] growing secularization<sup>48</sup> of the Church because it [(the Church)] had been all too closely tied to the erection of the medieval state rooted in feudal law,<sup>49</sup> the reforming papacy precipitated<sup>50</sup> a massive<sup>51</sup> revolution, which was conceived of as [the] restoration of an earlier, purer state of affairs, namely<sup>52</sup> the tradition-hallowed unity of the pair<sup>53</sup> *regnum-sacerdotium* (=imperium). But the German people, by means of the<sup>54</sup> symbol of imperial dignity bearer of the unity characteristic of the West to that point,<sup>55</sup> was by this decision all the more decisively affected, as especially the unity of the true German state appeared to be guaranteed in the face of powerful princely particularism by the structure of the German church (which was interior to it, and rooted in feudal law) alone.<sup>56</sup> With the gradual de-sacralization of the Western Empire initiated by [this ecclesiastical revolution],<sup>57</sup> the German kingship fell into decline, Gallic France rose up against Emperor and Pope, [and] the particularistic German powers associated with the landed princes (which later on had also to play their part [in] the great intra-ecclesiastical revolution against the Empire) were strengthened. Perhaps there is [therefore] a subterranean/infernal connection that never makes itself available for recognition

---

<sup>40</sup> sind . . . gefallen.

<sup>41</sup> die staatliche Territorialisierung der Bekenntnisse.

<sup>42</sup> sich eben anschickt . . . aufzurichten.

<sup>43</sup> keine echten Ordnungskräfte mehr aufbringt.

<sup>44</sup> Dem sich immer mehr auswachsenden Ungeheuer der modernen ‘Nation’.

<sup>45</sup> Als.

<sup>46</sup> Gottesstaat, state/country of God, theocracy.

<sup>47</sup> der.

<sup>48</sup> Verweltlichung, making worldly.

<sup>49</sup> dem lehensrechtlichen Aufbau des mittelalterlichen Staates.

<sup>50</sup> sprengte, which could mean forced.

<sup>51</sup> gewaltigen.

<sup>52</sup> von sich aus.

<sup>53</sup> Zwei-Einheit.

<sup>54</sup> im.

<sup>55</sup> bisherigen, hitherto prevailing.

<sup>56</sup> nur durch den lehensrechtlichen Einbau der deutschen Kirche.

<sup>57</sup> dadurch eingeleiteten.

between the Reformation and this de-sacralization of the Empire. **But by the rising dignity of the local prince [(das aufstrebende Landesfürstentum)] was the direction of its religious movement [(ihre religiöse Bewegungsrichtung)] headed off and its immanent tendency to standardize the people/nation by self-conscious becoming in the State to the “Nation” deceived about its fulfillment.** Every as yet undiscovered historical cause aside, it may in the end [(Letzten Endes)] have been the metaphysical peculiarity of our people/nation itself which caused/allowed it to come, in accordance with the inscrutable decree of Providence, to the open wound of schism/the disintegration of faith [(Glaubensspaltung)]. The Church has become for us Germans [(uns Deutschen)] in truth the crux [(cross)]. We German Catholics, too, stand in the shadow of this unhappy election [(Auserwähltheit, choseness)], whose meaning begins for the first time to become clear to us, now that [(jetzt . . . da)] a bolt/sheet of lightening [(Wetterleuchten<sup>58</sup>)] announces the imminent struggle of mankind over an ultimate decision [(die kommende letzten Entscheidungskämpfe der Menschheit)]. If we must condemn the Reformation as [an] apostacy from the [(Abfall vom)] true faith [and] as heresy, because it denied that [49] the Church of its time was organically and essentially identical with the [Church] instituted by Christ, and in contrast with St. Francis wished to realize an unhistorical counter-re-establishment of primitive Christianity [(Widerherstellung des urchristlichen Zustandes)] outside of and over against the *Una Sancta Catholica*, then surely we must also acknowledge that at work behind all of th[is] rebellion were [some] genuinely religious forces (St. Clement Mary Hofbauer said again and again, “Germans would like [(wollten)] to be pious”), [i.e.] that [the satisfaction of] authentically Christian longings, such as that for the [(der)] Pauline freedom of the Christian, were in the midst of it [(mit ihr)] *aimed at [(gemeint)]*. But we must also go beyond this and confess our own heavy responsibility for [(unsere eigene schwere Schuld an)] this fall-into-sin of our people, because we must have represented the truth—which persuades only when it is embodied in the lives of men [(von lebendigen Menschen verwirklicht)]—in a manner so unworthy of confidence, that [fully] one-half of all Germans could and would no longer recognize the face of Christ in this our Church. Just as a father can never before God sever himself from his unruly children, so too can we German Catholics never get free of our [(der)] responsibility for our Protestant fellow Christians. And of course at that moment precisely the German people would have needed the Church more than ever [(in besonderem Maße)] to make the Christian its own as deeply as possible, because at the core of its identity [(in seinem Innersten)] something unconverted still lurked [(sich noch immer . . . verborgen hielt)], because Christianity had not in this case [(ihm)] grown out of the wondrously fecund blood of the martyrs [(der geheimnisvollen Fruchtbarkeit des Märtyrerblutes)], but, as was the case for all of the Germani [(Germanen)], the acceptance of the Christian faith was in the first place a political act of fidelity to duke or king on the part of a body of vassals, to say nothing of the bloody “conversion” of the Saxons by Charlemagne. With the Reformation, since which the distinguishing/differentiating designation “Holy Roman Empire of [the] German Nation” was, generally speaking, first common, have the Germans severed themselves from that Western commonality of mind [(Gemeinsamkeit des Geistes)] that was a result of the discipline of mind [(Geisteszucht)] that, in the early middle ages, the Church had imposed upon the people, so as to be able to preach the glad tidings to them unhindered. Still today the best of the modern nations responsible [now] to themselves alone [(die modernen, nur sich selbst verantwortlichen Nationen)] stem from the time when they were [all] still children of their common [50] Mother, who literally taught them to speak. Through this ultimate splitting of Christendom, religiosity [(das Religiöse)] was simply dethroned as [the] highest obligatory value

---

<sup>58</sup>Could this be an allusion to the insignia of the Storm Troopers?

[[höchster verbindlicher Wert]] of the Western community of peoples; indeed, the State in [the] German lands of the particularistic territorial state arrogated to itself in contradiction to the catholicity of the Church the right to define the extent of the kingdom[s] of the Confessions territorially. This decisive secularization [[Säkularisierung]] of Christianity was required in order to complete, after the desacralization [[Entsakralisierung]] of the Empire, the secularization [[Verweltlichung]] of the State and states, the developing and expanding national states. Since the European world of early medieval states had been Christianized only superficially [[in der Spitze und an der Oberfläche, on summit and surface]], one must speak really of a quick slide of the State back into paganism [[(einem Wieder-heidnisch-werden des Staates)]. By this was the Catholic Reformation, the so-called Counter-Reformation, [which was effected] under the protection of the “Catholic” states, namely [[(auch)]] the German [“Catholic” states], also driven. It sought to reconstruct closed “Catholic” spheres, to bring Church, Nationality, and State again under its protection [[zur Deckung]], [and it did this] with the help of the State. But even this noble attempt must be considered today a failure. It could always avert [[(hat er . . . verhindern können)]] the political integration of the German people into the “Nation” at the cost of the Catholic part of [said people].<sup>59</sup> But because German Catholics were in the minority, they had to persevere all too forcefully and all too long in the political as well as cultural posture of defense ([the] Prussian Kulturkampf and the formation of a confessional party being the most recent historical examples of this); could never (breathing with but a single lobe of the lungs [[(nur mit einem Lungenflügel)], as it were) allow the power of their faith [[(ihre Glaubenskräfte)]] to flow naturally [[(selbstverständlich)]] out into the culture at large [[(Die Kultur des Gesamtvolkes)]. On the other hand, they were much too closely tied to the people as a whole to cultivate, in the long term [[(in dem langgestreckten Raum)]] and given [[(bei)]] the tremendous political fragmentation, a Catholic German culture of their own. The end result for the whole people was that only an appearance of a solution was found, the classical literature of the bourgeois age [[(des bürgerlichen Zeitalters)], which, born of [a] Protestant ethos [[(Lebensgefühl)], [and] relying on enlightenment and tolerance, **[51]** could create no style of life and thought binding upon the whole nation, because it avoided consciously the religious founding [[(Fundierung)]. Only a few Catholic German minds (Görres, for example) became obligatory for the whole people. Still today there runs obliquely [[(quer)]] through the whole people an ineradicable cultural divide [[(Grenze)]. Seldom do individual Catholics succeed in speaking across it and being heard over there as well. But even in the setting of the [[(im Rahmen der)]] whole Church German Catholics [[(acc.!)]] grew akin to the [[(wurde . . . Angehörigen des, became relatives of the)]] people of the Reformation, **[though] we pronounce this now quietly/calmly, no longer with justification trusted** [[(sprechen wir es einmal ruhig aus, nicht mehr recht getraut)]. Yet [it] came to this, that [[(Dazu kam noch, daß)]] thanks to the real predominance of the neo-Latin [[(romanischen)]] peoples and their cast of mind, the style of the whole of ecclesiastical life [[(des gesamt kirchlichen Lebens)]] was gradually *superstamped* in the neo-Latin/Roman fashion [[(romanisch-römisch überprägt)]. Perhaps this tragic situation of German Catholics, of Catholic Germans, **seen in the Church and in the people** [[(von der Kirche und vom Volk her gesehen)], has a deeper meaning.

Just by the mere existence of Protestantism the Catholic portion of the people has been spared the formation of an ideology similar to Action Française, [an ideology] that goes back to the secularization of the former relative unity of Church, Nationality, and State. The pressure to

---

<sup>59</sup>This is to be read, I think, as follows: It could always avert **the political integration of the German people into the “Nation” at the cost of the Catholic part of [said people]** (political integration at the cost of . . .).

confirm the [truth of] one's own faith imposed upon one by the very proximity of an alternative confession keeps ever alive in the German Catholic an awareness of the otherness and singularity of the religious, prevents him from abstracting from the natural-supernatural phenomenon of the Church what is state-like and organizational, juridical and formal, or even specifically Roman, as though this were the [very] principle of Catholicism, in order to use it uncritically in the construction of an anti-liberal, neo-conservative, pseudo-Catholic state system. To him a "Catholicism" devoid of personal decision for faith would be unthinkable. Only in [the] neo-Latin lands was it possible to activate politically the latent so-called pragmatic "Catholicism" of many intellectuals within the bounds of an anti-liberal, neo-conservative movement. At the point of its condemnation by the Church [in 1926], Action Française had not got beyond the form [52] of an ideologization of broad circles of intellectuals [and] even positively faithful Catholics, while the much less ideologically focused fascism of Italy induced it [(diese, Action Française?)] to take up a basic position in [the] reality of cultural and ecclesiastical politics. And yet a German Catholic, professor of constitutional law Carl Schmitt, developed, in his little booklet *Römischer Katholizismus und politische Form*<sup>60</sup> (whose diction reflected the sinister rigidity of an intellect oddly detached), a theory [1] which looked fixedly upon the Church as confined to [aspects] established and juridical, and therefore right past the supernatural reality of the corpus Christi mysticum; a theory [2] according to which the concrete Church becomes an undoubtedly grand-scale intra-worldly complexio oppositorum, and therefore beholden to an abstract principle, to "Catholicism" absolutely,—a theory, finally, [3] at the service of the salvation of a European state system crumbling in the face of impending economic and social chaos, while to the State is recommended the use of this putative blueprint of the Church analogically. But unlike Charles Maurras, Carl Schmitt has found among young German Catholics, at least to date, no noteworthy following. For them being a Catholic is indissolubly bound to a personal and supernatural act of faith. They see in the state-sponsored and juridical structure of the Church only one form of the work which it, with the look of love, took up on the world's behalf. They believe [in] a mission of the Church in the world as such, [and] especially in its form as society, by which to recognize individuals living and working by faith, a mission to the worker movement above all, which represents already a real starting point for new people-becoming [(Volkwerdung)] "in hope". Such a "politics from faith [(Politik aus dem Glauben)]", which takes the world seriously in the Christian fashion [(christlich ernst)] as "creation", was set before these young people in the [(1926)] book of the same title by Ernst Michel, which is the exact antithesis to the entire ideology of the State of a Carl Schmitt, which usually, to use its own terminology, [53] represents a complete secularization of Catholic thought [(Gedankenguts, body of thought)]. This faithful political stance [(Haltung)] was propagated [(getragen)] by a new *evangelism* (the word [being] understood in the sense of St. Francis: *vivere secundum formam sancti evangelii*), by a re-awakening of the Church in [human] souls. The supernatural reality of the mysterious life of God, which the concrete Church under the visible signs of the sacraments pours out upon us; the living truth, which is captured [(gefaßt ist)] in the dogmas of the Church by Logos-permeated and Holy-Spirit-inspired human words, had become overwhelmingly [(in überwältiger Weise)] transparent in human hearts by a miracle from above. (Of such renewed [and] ever more powerful breakthroughs of the divine life in individuals the true history of the Church is composed. Every scandal within the Church, every falling-away, every heresy must serve but a single goal: of representing the face of Christ ever more purely, until he comes himself. The Church is every day brought to fulfillment [(vollendet)], and yet is every day led out [again] beyond its [then] current perfection

---

<sup>60</sup>1923. Trans. G. L. Ulmen as *Roman Catholicism and political form* (Greenwood Press, 1996).

[[Vollendung]]. We may acknowledge the [[ihr]] essence that remains eternally the same, and yet must at the same time be attentive to [[ auf . . . gefaßt sein, be affixed to]] its infinite capacity for [a] transformation motivated by love [[Verwandlungsfähigkeit aus Liebe]]. The Church imitates in its history the life and suffering of its Lord. At the end of this world it will be crucified and buried under frightful persecutions, in order then to rise again from the dead with its returning Lord in [a] divinely transfigured form.) This new evangelism, which the purest self-realization of the Church to date represents, fetches and fetches home the hidden truth in Protestantism. It is one of the ways in which Christians still separated from one another grow gradually towards one another [(eine der Formen des allmählichen Aufeinanderzuwachsens der noch getrennten Christen)]; for only the inner assimilation/alignment [(Angleichung)] and unification of Christians accomplished via [(in . . . erfahrbare)] underground communication creates the presuppositions for a reunification of the churches into *the* Church. These men feel as it were the growth-movements [(Wachstumsbewegungen<sup>61</sup>)] of the Church, to which the obstacles placed so carefully by Providence are opposed [(denen die ebenso von der Vorsehung gesetzten Hemmnisse entgegenstehen)]; indeed, in [these growth-movements] themselves [(in ihnen selber)] the new is revealed, [together] with all [of the] pangs of the becoming/birth [(das Neue mit allen Schmerzen des Werdens)]. [54] Both elements form . . . [(erst)] the whole Church. Neither [(Keines)] may be equated with it and accuse the other of heresy. Given [(bei)] the present form of the Church, perhaps the new must be experienced [(erlitten)] more profoundly than ever. These individuals—and in a case like this there are always [such] individuals—suspect that the Church goes [out] to meet a new world age of the spirit and of love, in which [(wo)] what has long belonged [(schon längst gehört)] to it inwardly devolves upon/is passed/awarded to it [quite] **automatically** [(von selber)]. As signs of this inner transformation one may well consider: the rediscovery of Holy Scripture as source of faith (Bible movement), the centering of the life of worship on the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice (liturgical movement), and, on the basis of th[is] sacrifice of the community [(aus der Opfergemeinschaft heraus)], the reorganization of the Christian people into the primordial cell [(Urzelle)] of the Christian life, into community. It expresses itself also in a deeper understanding of Paul and his proclamation of Christian freedom; and [(wieder)] this is grounded in the living experience of innermost [part] of the Christian person, the conscience. This evangelism leads to conscious dialogue with that school of thought [(Richtung)] within Protestantism that, thanks to [(durch)] its new reflection on [(Neubesinnung auf)] the bases of the Reformation, can be addressed again theologically by Catholics; [i.e. to conscious dialogue] with the representatives of the so-called dialectical theology. Already past [(Vorausgegangen)] was the living encounter with Kierkegaard, whom precisely [(eben)] this “theology of the Word” thinks through to the end/finished/at an end [(zu Ende denkt)]. It was mediated above all by *Theodor Haecker*<sup>62</sup>, who, starting from Kierkegaard, had, through [(über)] Newman, himself discovered Catholic truth. (The significance of his precociously conclusive [(vorläufig abschließende)] little book *Der Begriff der Wahrheit bei Sören Kierkegaard*<sup>63</sup> for precisely intra-Catholic developments [(gerade für die innerkatholische Bewegung)] has yet to be fully appreciated.) Finally, one thinks of [(sei . . . auf . . . hingewiesen)] a phenomenon [(Vorgang)] in

---

<sup>61</sup>On the analogy of Wachstumsschmerzen, growing pains. Wachstumsbewegungen: contractions?

<sup>62</sup>1879-1945. Translated and commented on both Kierkegaard and Newman, under whose influence he converted to Catholicism in 1921. Worked for *Der Brenner*. Opposed the Nazis. Was one of the most influential of Catholic writers between the two world wars (BBKL).

<sup>63</sup>Brenner-Verlag, Innsbruck, 1932. 76 pp.

which Providence is certainly involved. In growing measure since the War there have been converts from Protestantism, but also from Judaism, [(not recently converted [(nicht zuletzt bekehrte))] Catholics,)] who have worked rousing and restoratively [(aufstützend und erneuernd)] among “old and established” Catholics [(innerhalb des ‘eingesessenen’ katholischen Kirchenglaubens)]. **[55]** It almost seems as if the Lord wanted through such transplantations of individuals to break up yet more forcefully the earthly realm of the Church. To the individual chosen for this work of Providence, however, such [a] becoming fruitful of the inheritance brought with [him] onto new ground was therefore given only because he sacrificed everything and submitted himself unconditionally to the truth of the Church. But all of this happens without even a single word of the objective wealth of the Catholic faith, handed down [through the centuries (des überlieferten objektiven katholischen Glaubensgutes)], being abandoned. All of this *is* already the realization [(Realisierung)] Newman called for with such force so repeatedly: [the realization] of the revealed truth captured [(gefaßt)] in dogma, the existential expression of which man should according to Kierkegaard become; is [already] that realization [(Verwirklichung)] which however cannot be attained via a further [(weitere)] moralization of the Christian [life], but becomes obvious only when we become transparent to the [(der)] supernatural reality of God himself in us poor human vessels, [i.e.] via the radiation [out of us] of what the Catechism calls sanctifying grace. This new, purer self-realization of the Church, the full extent of which we can only on the basis of the just-mentioned visible phenomena [(aus den eben angedeuteten sichtbaren Vorgängen)] guess at, becomes visible (and this is for us the decisive thing!) especially among [(gerade unter)] German Catholics to a very high degree [(am stärksten)].

In Germany the form of the Church [(die Gestalt der Kirche)] approaches in the course of its progressive de-territorialization more and more its future form of diaspora [(der künftigen Diasporaform)]. By “de-territorialization” is meant here not just the emancipation of the Church from the restrictions imposed upon it by national and provincial governments [(das Freiwerden der Kirche von (territorial-)staatlichen und landschaftlichen Bindungen)], but that more general phenomenon of its gradual detachment from all [of the] historical [and] even sociological restrictions [(Gebundenheiten)] of the German-speaking lands [(des deutschen Volksraumes)]. The territorialization of the confessions [(Die räumliche Festlegung der Bekenntnisse)] came about thanks to the pressure exerted by the territorial state[(unter dem Zwang des Territorialstaates)] alone. The dissolution and liquefaction [(Auflösung und Flüssigmachung)] of the German body politic [(Volkskörpers)] by the capitalistic economic system, which long ago blew away [(gesprengt)] the very [(auch)] borders of the German territorial state, forces upon the Church, if it wants to encounter this **[56]** changed world in love, a new form [(Form)] of . . . visible existence, . . . that of a diaspora [(die Diasporaform)]. The Church sets out within Germany on a march [(beginnt . . . zu wandern)]. This its new [and] developing structure will and must serve [(entsprechen)] th[ose] communities [(Gemeinden)] building themselves up out of responsible individuals, communities [(Gemeinschaften)] defined less by bonds “organic” [and/or] natural than by, in the very first place, a common commitment to being Catholic [(die Gemeinsamkeit des Katholischseins)]. With this, the obvious embeddedness of the individual Catholic in a human environment and landscape [(Menschenumgebung und Landschaft)] appropriate to him [and] consecrated [(durchweihete)] by the sacraments, in areas [(Gegenden)] still today considered “Catholic”, is finished. From now on, no [square] foot of German soil will be “Christian” [or] “Catholic” except insofar and -solong as a Catholic stands upon it, [i.e. a Catholic] really committed to [(der aus der . . . lebt)] the reality of the faith, [a reality] that permeates and transfigures [absolutely] everything creaturely. This state of affairs is only accelerated by the recent political transformation of Germany, since the still-extant statehood

of the provinces [(Länderstaatlichkeit)] is, organizationally speaking, politically [(organisatorisch-politisch)] finished; [and since] a new stage in the secularization [(Verweltlichung)] of the religious is, ideally speaking, politically [(ideall-politisch)] opening up [(eingeleitet)], thanks to the transformation of the intellectual heritage of the confessions into [(durch die Einformung des geistigen Bestandes der Konfessionen in)] the national Christian ideology of the State [(die christlich-nationale Staatsideologie)], in keeping with [(unter)] the point of view of those who are traditional or conservative. German Catholics occupy in this precedent/model/course of events wholly permeating Europe [(in diesen ganz Europa durchdringenden Vorgang)] a middle position. While in the northern lands the Church begins to advance precisely on the basis of its form as diaspora [(von der Diasporaform aus)], in the Roman [lands] the [supposedly] “natural” (but actually historical) unity [(die geschichtlich gewordene ‘natürliche’ Einheit)] of Church, nationality, and State crumbles away. Also there the church detaches itself from the soil of the people. As a consequence, one may today no longer speak of a “pact between [the] Italian nation and [the] Roman Church” that, by the Italian Concordat, has been renewed. Instead [(doch)], the word concerning the Ecclesia perigrinans appears to be verified even for Europe itself. It wanders, if the signs don’t all deceive, yet more widely in the north, perhaps in order to encounter the Germani a second time, this time in an altered [(gewandelter)] form. The astonishing internal and external growth of the Church in England in the last century, the [57] effect [(Wirkung)] of a poet such as Sigrid Undset[,] suggests precisely this perspective on [(in)] the northern lands themselves. The conversion of an entire people is no longer a serious possibility [(kommt . . . nicht mehr in Frage)], given the current state of affairs. But in [(bei)] this recovery of many individuals of these nationalities German Catholics may have an important mediatory role to play. [For] that situation of the Church which has long been a reality for Catholics of the northern lands is rapidly [(zusehends)] becoming their situation as well. They have lived [(tragen . . . an)] for centuries with the tension between Roman and German ways of being [(romanischem und germanischem Wesen)]. (Although we Christians must live in permanent expectation of the Lord--that he did not appear in the [just] elapsed nineteenth century does not in any way exclude the possibility that he could [(kann) still] at any moment come again in all his glory--, yet we can say nothing certain about the future of the Church. We know only that the gates of hell will not prevail against it, that the Lord will come again in judgment, [and] that we will be resurrected. The when is hidden in the bosom of the Father. But if we understand the signs of this time we can be quite confident [(Wohl . . . mit Sicherheit)] that we have come a bit closer still [(ein Stück wieder)] to the appearance of the Antichrist. We Christians must strive to see the current [(jeweilige)] situation of the Church with complete clarity. But such a striving includes also a perspective on [(in)] the future. And yet [(dabei)], we must never for even an instant forget that all of our ideas about what will still be [the case] with the Church [(das, was mit die Kirche noch sein wird)] can be so to speak wiped away by the hand of Providence. Only to individual saints has something about this been revealed. And even this is of value in the eyes of the Church only [(noch)] as “private revelation”.) **Is it presumption to believe that, in all of th[is] guilt-ridden and sorely afflicted nation of ours [(dem gerade unserem schuldbeladenen und schwerkgeprüften Volke)], its part in the human preparation for the [(der)] new grace-filled [(gnadenhaften, grace-like)] glory of the church could be given up? That all of its suffering for [(um)] the Church might, in the end, have to serve only the salvation-historical task of producing those individuals who will still use the Church for the [(58)] building up of its new form? Perhaps then even the earthly existence of our people, if it heeds this summons, is once again prolonged [(wird . . . noch einmal hinausgeschoben, pushed out/put off] , just as the life of all peoples appears [to be] prolonged in view of the [(vor dem Blick der)] Church that will abide until the end of time.**

Only against the [(einem)] background of [(mit)] these perspectives can the significance of the most recent political and ecclesiastico-political events in the empire [(Reich)] and in Austria be understood.

The first and most important question to confront the Catholic gripped by [(von . . . ergriffene)] the urgency of the [present] historical moment runs [as follows]: What does the collapse of political Catholicism mean for the Church, considered as [(soweit sie . . . ist)] indigenous to the German nation [(Volk)]? Really [(Doch)] only this much, that an historically conditioned form of [the] development of an informed political opinion among Catholics [(politischer Willensbildung der Katholiken)], a form that had become obviously unsuitable, had to be abandoned, in order that its powers of faith might be developed to their full extent in the sphere of the political. As a proof of this may well be regarded the fact that National Socialism, which for the near future will of course determine the fate of the German people in certain directions [(auf seine Art)], could be formed outside of that healing and transforming influence which must radiate out from [(ausgehen)] Catholic men and women who work politically [(politisch wirken)] on the basis of their faith directly [(unmittelbar aus ihrem Glauben heraus)]. Instead of which, all too many . . . [(zeitmächtige)] powers were retained in one party, the Central Party [(Zentrumspartei)], which, thanks to [(durch)] its overly rigid [(allzu enge)] commitment to the principles of Christian natural law, and to the Catholic moral law, too, would only with great difficulty have been able to emerge from out of itself and into [(von sich aus zu)] a genuine historical investment [(Einsatz)], if it had not from the outset become, in the system of parliamentary democracy, *the* party of the middle. To [those who take up] such a basic intellectual position, there remains only the function of the balancing of political oppositions, [as] seen from the [vantage point of the] Party [itself (von der Partei aus gesehen)]: **der Extreme [(gen./dat.)] übrig.**

[59] What German Catholics had taken up politically was an intermediate position intellectually. They took up that mid point between creaturely tensions that essentially only the Church had, for itself beforehand intellectually, overseen [(hat, geistig für sich vorweg, übersahen, seen clearly/overlooked)], since it had overcommitted itself to an *ordo* valid universally, **historical exceptionalism [(die geschichtliche Besonderung)]**. In this was expressed merely the one-sided philosophical cast of mind regnant within ecclesial life. It is more concerned with the philosophico-theological grounding and interrelationship [(Begründung und Einordnung)] of dogmas in the existing system than with the illumination of the [present] salvifico-historical moment in the [(der)] the dogmatic discovery and comprehension of truth. Thus, systematic theology is [thought] necessary because it is the garment protective against [(Schutzkleid gegen)] the heresy that is always licking up [around us] like a tongue of flame [(die immer wieder aufzüngelnde Häresie)], and the “natural” philosophy that serves [systematic theology], [because] it [(die)] insists upon [(an . . . festhält)] the fundamental compatibility of human thought and divine revelation,—in this lies at the same time the great danger for the Catholic Christian: [that] for the merely intellectual possession of the truth [he will] neglect the [experience of] being fervently possessed by it [(das lebendige Ergriffensein von ihr<sup>64</sup>)]. [The truth], whose living, personal embodiment Christ is, must be lived out [(hineingelebt, lit. lived into)] by us in space and time. Christ must become visible in us. Only thus is the world **re-Christianized [(? wieder durchchristet)] and—as [a] state to be constantly renewed [(? als**

---

<sup>64</sup>Also: the living affection of the mind/emotion of it (Ergriffensein has an older, technical sense).

**jeden Augenblick zu erneuender Zustand)]**—Christian. The attempt to save this historical world through [the] natural and the moral law does not lead to the goal, since it refuses [(nicht . . . wollen)] to see the redemption that has actually been accomplished, and the freedom that [said redemption] entails, in its full significance.

The Center [Party] was first rooted to the [(ist zunächst zur . . . gegründet worden)] defense of those claims of the Church [about its] public [status] in law [(jener öffentlich-rechtlichen Ansprüche der Kirche)] which the Church [(diese)] can never relinquish to [(gegenüber)] the State, [but] above all not in Germany. Here [there] exists still the danger that that state which--on account of the [(unserer)] depravity at [(bis hin . . . hinein)] the core of the person that derives from original sin--Luther had released into its [own] secularity [(Weltlichkeit)] and at the same time then given [(mit . . . ausgestattet)] an indirectly Christian mission as “custodian until Christ”<sup>65</sup> [60] would [(werde)] again break through into some political form of a secularized Protestantism [(der Säkularisierung des Protestantismus)]. Already in the last century of German history Catholics had twice clashed with a [(dem)] national Christian authoritative state [(christlich-nationalen Obrigkeitsstaat)] of [the] Prussian sort and the pursuit of absolute dominion [so] characteristic of it. In spite of this, the majority of Catholics remained all too long in the defensive posture by which this political configuration [(Form)] was ultimately determined. But if the Party was to become the least bit effective politically, one had to lay out a concrete (if also still very [(so)] modest) political program, the justifiable necessity of which was to be derived not from preconceived principles, but from the prevailing historical situation of this our people [(Volk)]. Only [(aber)], for this [particular] combination of [the] politics of Church and State [(kirchlicher und Staatspolitik)] one raised the claim, This is *the* form of Catholic politics. Yet [(aber)] in Central Europe at this time the Center [Party] was also the strongest political expression of that intra-ecclesiastical integralism which sought to take Catholics in all areas of culture out of the world and bind them to a comprehensive “Catholic” cultural program. The energies of will that, in a kind of outwardly skillful asceticism [(in einer Art nach außen gewandter Askese)], were placed behind these public [(allgemeinen)] norms derived from the Christian natural law are openly [(offen)] directed to the goal of a direct reconquest of the “godless”, “heathen” world. In reality, the strangely determined offensive mentality [(der seltsam verbissene Angriffsgeist)] that characterizes all of these “forced” [(“gewollten”)] attempts arises from the unconscious striving to deceive oneself about the fact that the Church finds itself with respect to [(gegenüber)] the world ultimately in the defensive position [(Verteidigungsstellung)]. One would only too willingly like to set up [(möchte sich . . . einrichten)] one’s own “Catholic” world, instead of falling back to the last, but unassailable, position, that of the faithful “individual”, and renewing the world from there [(von dort aus)].

This ultimately unfruitful [offensive?] attempt at the organization of a “Christian”, of a “Catholic” culture leads to that alienation/externalization [(Veräußerlichung)] of ecclesial life in the *Vereinsbetreib*. It flat-out [(geradezu)] prevents the necessary mobilization [(Aktivierung)] of the [61] Church for the coming struggle. This [mobilization] consists in this, that men are led to live always more deeply out of its mystery of the permanent [(immerwährenden)] Incarnation of the Son. The creation of a Christian culture the Church must leave to its children and their creaturely givens [(Gegebenheiten)] for as long as [there] still time [(solange noch Zeit ist)], for redemption presupposes creation. It can secure [the] life and work of the Christian via consecrations [of the Host] and invocation[s] of his [(der)] guardian angel. When the enemy advances [(heranrückt)], they will of their own accord [(von selber)] desert the field of their

---

<sup>65</sup>Gal 3:24.

work and rush into the protective house of the Father. So long as we can [do anything] at all [(Solange wir nur irgend können)], we must remain in the most immediate contact with the world, in order to fetch all men home into the Church—the task, and the sole task, of the whole of Christian culture [(dem, und nur dem dient auch all christliche Kultur)]—, and if that is all [we do (und sei es auch nur)], then [(damit)] in the decision a few more fighters are in the castle. The dogmatic definition [(Festlegung)] of the infallibility of papal teaching authority, the centralization and unification of the Church itself, is the answer that the Church has given already in advance to the clamping-together [(Verklammerung)] of the disordered mass of men into the [(im)] totalitarian State, to a course of events [(Vorgang)] that begins today to set out on its conclusive stage [(Stadium)]. Only in this form can it assert itself within the power-complex of the modern State in order to win and protect souls.

This Party was therefore described by ecclesiastical authority all the[se] years as the one that was uniquely appointed to represent the public interests of the Church. At the same time its existence was repeatedly grounded in [(mit)] the necessity of a closed political front of all Catholics. From there [and] in accordance with the laws immanent to such a body of power, the Center [Party] had to feel itself tempted to consider the explicit and the silent approval of its current [(jeweiligen)] politics by the bishops as applicable to its entire political program. But the mature Catholic who, faithful to his own conscience (it, too, open to reality), had, in the individual case or [more] fundamentally, opted for another political way, [62] found [himself] in danger of exposing himself [(sich . . . auszusetzen)] for this reason to a suspicion of his attachment to the Church [(Kirchlichkeit)]. Even if it only seldom came to public breaks with [(Ausbrüchen aus)] the front, the long overdue renewal of the body of the party [(Parteikörpers)] from underneath, from the young people on up, no longer took place. About this not even the passing position of power [(die vorübergehende Machtstellung)], which had devolved upon the [(dem . . . zugefallen war)] Center in the last stage of the Weimar Republic as the most conservative group of the Great Coalition, could deceive those in the know [(den Wissenden)]. In fact, the majority of those among young Catholics who were spiritually/intellectually alert had already deserted the historically impotent [(umwirksame)] because ultimately indecisive middle position, and decided for the time being [(zunächst)] for [the] “left” in the sense that it [(sie<sup>66</sup>)] was anti-capitalistic, in favor of a planned economy, and “socialistic” [(antikapitalistisch-, planwirtschaftlich-, and ‘sozialistisch’-minded)], because it [(sie)] in its sense for reality [(Wirklichkeitssinn)] saw also the coming political decisions in [(auf)] the area of the economy and society. Here one had already long since anticipated [(erkannt)] the functionalization of the civil/bourgeois constitutional state [(des bürgerlichen Rechtsstaates)] as well as the parliamentary democracy subordinated to it [(ihm zugeordneten)] by the anonymous society. It is a remarkable stroke of Providence, that there were men of the much-maligned left wing of the Center [Party (des vielgeschmähten linken Zentrumsflügels)] who, in order to prepare a new *Volkwerdung* “on the strength of hope” [(‘auf Hoffnung hin’)] in the midst of a governmental, social, and economic order of questionable legitimacy [(einer fragwürdig gewordenen Staats-, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsordnung)], had called incessantly [(seit Jahr und Tag)] for the political and cultural dispersion [(Ausgliederung, exclusion)] of Catholics throughout the entire nation [(ins ganze Volk)]. [And] obviously without tangible political success! It came/happened then from without, with power/despotism, in a completely unanticipated [(niegeahnten)] form. All the same, criticism from this quarter [(von dieser Seite her)] made the dissolution of the Weimar Republic easier for many Catholics, and impressed

---

<sup>66</sup>Referent is unclear. Could be “the majority”, “the spiritually/intellectually alert”, the “young Catholics”, “the middle position”, even “[the] ‘left’” (though there is no article there).

forcefully [(erst recht) upon them] the necessity in the new State of [a] genuine politics of the people [(Volkspolitik)], [this new State] that gives itself out as the most perfect integration of our people [(Volk)] to date, [and] that, as political representative of the people, wants to get control of and direct its every manifestation of life politically, qua State [(staats-)politisch]).

The Catholic has [now] been individualized with respect to [(auf . . . vereinzelt)] the sphere of the political irrevocably. As an “individual” he now, insofar as he feels himself in a special way responsible for Nation [(Volk)] and State, has to transform his **[63]** strength-of-faith immediately into political being and activity. In the National Socialist state his responsibility for political activity [(ihm die Verantwortung für sein politisches Handeln)] is for him no longer uncoupled from a collective of politically like-minded Catholics. This his new position can become still more evident when he must, on the basis of his conscience, raise himself up against the threat [posed] by an all-powerful state to the inalienable right of the human person to freedom. He may stand all the more [(erst recht)] alone when it becomes necessary that he, in the blink of an eye by public confession, communicate [(es gilt . . . zu vertreten)] a demand [(Anliegen, request, concern)] of the Church itself, [for] perhaps peace between nations, because [(da)] the official representatives of the Church can for some reason no longer speak. The Catholic today sees himself opposed to an [(einer . . . gegenüber)] essentially finished form [(fertigen Gestaltung)] of the State that is borne/supported [(getragen)] by a sector/proportion [of the population] [(Schicht)] for the time being impervious/deaf to him. He feels himself [to be] for the time being walled into the new totalitarian State, which not only crushes the parties, but, more than this, has extended its claim to spheres which, hitherto, were reserved to the “people” as its native soil and counterweight [(? Widerlage)]. Also, this State can’t even allow the [various] culturo-political fronts to reappear [(wiederaufleben, come to life again, revive)] in altered form[s], for to do this would be to renounce its own life-principle. The singularity [(Verschiedenheit)] of the [present] historical moment notwithstanding, the Christian [of today] is in a situation similar to that of the first Christians with respect to the [(dem . . . gegenüber)] State: he is referred back to his innermost core. Immediately, almost unconsciously, starting from the smallest of circles, his power-of-faith must again renew the face of the earth. It may [even] be that Providence has permitted this visible overpowering of Catholics by the State because the heart-muscle of our love [(die Herzkraft unserer Liebe)] has for some time now no longer sufficed for holding [onto] from within the extremely well-articulated edifice [(den überreich gegliederten Bau)] of institutions we had created for the protection of the Church and the healing of the world. In this decisive hour of the world [(Weltstunde)], it may [well] become obvious that the Church can at last no longer rely upon the faithful hearts of individuals. For this/Therefore it stands on [(in)] that which determines [(ausmacht)] the essence of its earthly-supra-earthly **[64]** appearance, unflinching on this point, still more [(unerschüttert da, noch mehr)]: it arose freely out of [(ist frei geworden von)] an instrument of power [(Machtmittel)] that again and again threatened to become an end in itself. Less often now is a view of the Church itself [(Den Blick auf sie selber)] in its already almost defenceless, and yet increasingly quick-witted [(immer mehr geistesgegenwärtig werdenden, becoming more and more possessed of presence of mind/quick-witted)] form hindered by an [outward] husk/shell.

The Fulda conference of bishops marked [(bedeutete)] the belated ecclesiastical approval of the political decision that a majority of German Catholics had [already] dared [to make] with reference to their own responsibility-under-conscience [(auf eigene Gewissensverantwortung hin)]. With this, the fate of political Catholicism was already intellectually/spiritually [(geistig)] decided, [even] before the one-party state forced the Center and Bavarian popular parties [(Volkspartei)] into *de facto* self-dissolution. But if one holds out for [(Hält man sich aber an)] the autonomy of the political, then might this last bulwark of

Weimar democracy have to be destroyed [(hätte . . . untergehen müssen)] in a noble struggle. In this conflict [between] the interests of Church [on the one hand] and State [on the other] lay from the very beginning the problematic of [the] so-called worldview/ideological parties [(Weltanschauungsparteien)]. For the Church, it was the last chance to break in time [(noch rechtzeitig)] with a form of political representation that had become questionable. [And] though the great harm done to its reputation by the unfortunate [(von ihr geduldet, suffered by it)] association of its name with “its” party [(mit dem ‘ihrer’ Partei)] wasn’t by this decision made good, the ground was certainly for the time being kicked out from under the understandably [(begreiflichen)] anti-Catholic streams within the National Socialist Party. The Church had at first treated the Center [Party] as a means of forcing the rather ideologically [(weltanschaulich)] indifferent liberal State of the Weimar period, by [the] exploitation of a favorable constellation of political parties [(einer günstigen parteipolitischen Konstellation)], to make itself generally available to the Church for negotiations [(sich der Kirche zu Verhandlungen . . . überhaupt zu stellen)] over a Concordat. But the new “Christian national” state entered into direct negotiations with the Church after its generally culturo-political measures had already before this point [(schon vorher)] encountered conditional acceptance [(Anerkennung)] in ecclesiastical circles [(von seiten kirchlicher Kreise)]. (As the first measure on the basis of which the coming change in the meaning of the State [(des staatliches Inhaltes)] was to be recognized, the ban on godless communist associations [(der Gottlosenverbände)] by the Kommissarische Preußen-Regierung might be **[65]** cited.) The authoritarian State counts on a favor in return: Christianity and the Church, both of which [the authoritarian State] considers [(begreifen will)] conservative life forces [(Lebensmächte)] merely, should, on [its own] authority [(an Autorität)], still add to the power it gained via the [(eine)] “legal” revolution [accomplished] by [the] religious consecration of the existing order [(des Bestehenden)] what [(das . . . was)] may still be required if it is/they are to be anchored permanently in the nation/people. This State did indeed appear to offer the Church, at first through the increased plenitude of power [(die gesteigerte Machtfülle)] and the emphasis on the accountability [(Verantwortlichkeit)] of its leadership, a powerful guarantee of [(für)] the maintenance of a state of [mutual] understanding [(eines Vertragszustandes)], for as long, at least, as this was of mutual interest. Conversely, it sees itself over against a Church that can, in its [own] sphere, make decisions that are authoritative and publically valid, but is also an institution that, [because] founded on [the] strictest mental and spiritual discipline--[a discipline] that, for the believer, is only the clothing protective of its gracious [(gnadenhaften)] inner life--, can mount [(leisten)] the strongest opposition to its [(the State’s own)] activity [(Zugriff)]. (Already this its quietly time-biding self-assertion over against a totalitarian State may have opened the eyes of far-sighted Protestants to the essence of the Church. In order to turn the Protestant churches into a united and legally recognized organization [(Gebilde)] capable of conducting negotiations, the principle of authority [(das autoritäre Prinzip)] would [have to be] imposed upon them by the “Christian authority [(Obrigkeit)]”. With this, however, would come [(war . . . gegeben)] at the same time the end of the pseudo-ecclesiastical forms in which Protestantism has existed since the breakdown of *landesfürstlich* episcopate. What is today called [the] “imperial Church [(Reichskirche)]” is in truth merely an administrative body of the State, is the direct continuation [(gradlinige Fortsetzung)] of the state churchdom [(Staatskirchentums)] of the Old Prussian Union, except that the loss of religious substance is [in this case] even greater, because the confession, the theology, the dogma from which genuine ecclesiastical authority derives is completely obscured by the administrative and the organizational [(vom Verwaltungsmäßig-Organisatorischen)]. We Catholic Christians, who even now still feel ourselves in some way

responsible for the freedom of our [(ihrer)] Protestant fellow Christians, can hardly watch [(mitansehen)] such a rape/violation of conscience.)

[66] Italian fascism has already given to the attentive observer a concrete visual lesson [in] how differences of opinion between Church and fascist State are fought out *after* a concordat. According to this, the Church in this State system has no longer the option of opposing encroachments of the State by means of [the] winning of political power, by means of [the] political organization of the laity for defense. In the totalitarian state, which raises the claim to [the] total ordering and control of the nation's every sphere of life, there is no longer the broad zone of the domestic and [the] social, which the liberal state is obliged to leave free as "unpolitical". Every form of activity aimed [ultimately] at [the] public sphere [(Öffentlichkeit)] is fundamentally political. So, for example, this state can at any time declare that the discussion of domestic and social questions in the Catholic press and in the Catholic professional organizations [(Standesorganisationen)]--on the basis, for example, of *Quadragesimo anno*--is already political activity, political activity with implications for the State [(politische, staatspolitische Betätigung)], and therefore reserved to it alone. It therefore seeks to establish-- [but] on its side--precisely the comprehension [(Umfang)] of that which [(dessen, was)] "Catholic Action" in the sense of [an] ecclesiastical organization of the laity would have to stand for [(zu bedeuten habe)]. Despite this, the Church can never surrender its claim to place not only all temporal being and activity [(Sein und Geschehen)], [and] therefore also this State, under the cross (in this we are one with faithful Protestants), but beyond that also [its claim] to give positive advice on the formation of a domestic and social order that doesn't contradict the irreversible foundation of the order of creation, on the basis of which [(damit, lit. with which)] the order of redemption that the Church proclaims, too, can find a much easier [(um so leichter)] entrance into the hearts of men; for the eternal salvation of the immortal souls entrusted to her is her sole responsibility [(ihre einzige Sorge)]. Because the Church knows the power and cunning of the devil and his evil spirits, for her there is no tool [(Werkzeug)], no institution, no sphere [(Sachgebiet)] of the world to which she would not be considered *Durchheiligung*. Because anything can become an instrument [(Mittel)] of evil, she consecrates and blesses everything, calls down upon [(ruft . . . für . . . an)] men and things the protection of the holy angels, simply [(nur)] in order that [67] men might be preserved in grace. A definite demarkation-of-the-boundaries [(Abgrenzung)] between Church and world, between Church and State, such as Luther insisted upon [(vorgenommen)], would, for her, be a retreat before Satan. Rightly is the world for her an opponent that she can never lift off of itself [(? von sich aus aufheben kann)], but which she must serve in love, in order to protect it from the inbreaking of evil, until the Kingdom of God, the restoration of all things, comes. [Only] then will the two be one. Her first task, to which everything else is subordinated [(nachgeordnet)], is to reunite each individual with the inner-trinitarian stream of love. But the Christian, whose way leads from being a Christian potentially to being one actually [(vom potentiellen Christsein zum aktuellen)], a way that comes to an end [(zu Ende ist)] in the hour of special judgment--the Christian may, [indeed] must exercise his freedom, too, in relative independence from the spheres of culture [(Kultursachgebiete)]; for only on account of this his freedom is it [(? sie)] given to us. The counsels of the Church are only guides [(Wegweiser)]. [Whereas] he himself must do the work. Since the leadership of the totalitarian State stands no longer under the control of a political public [(Öffentlichkeit)], the present constitutional situation [(der bestehende Vertragszustand)] can be terminated one-sidedly by the State much more easily than in the democratic parliamentary system, where in any case [(außerdem)] one had a power factor [(Machtfaktor)] of one's own at one's disposal in [the] form of a confessional party. The self-contained, State-supporting stratum/class [(Die in sich geschlossene staattragende Schicht)]

is at the same time the sole authority to which, in the case of conflict, one can appeal. In this special situation of the Church over against a totalitarian State, the Papacy was justified when it promulgated “Catholic Action” immediately after the seizure of power by Italian fascism. It was not an example of those [(Nicht die . . . stellen sie dar, It did not represent the)] organizations recognized by the State as purely ecclesiastical, as this may appear to the *kirchenmacht*politisch-focused eye [(dem kirchenmachtpolitisch eingestellten Blick)] of [those] many Catholics who can only conceive of the Church as existing on the basis of firmly established mass organizations [(aus festgefügteten Massenorganisationen)]. (This movement so internal to the Church can certainly not be guaranteed by any [(eine)] worldly power!) Rather, it was [(bilden)] only [(nur mehr, only just)] the shell of a kernel struggling to break free [(des allmählich freiwerdenden Kernes)]: the layman come of age, the faithful “individual”. Our overly active minds [(allzu aktiver Sinn)] still confuse the **[68]** inner preparation [(Bereitmachung)] of the Church—for martyrdom if necessary—with visible organizations. The latter can be destroyed at any time, the former offer the enemy unbreakable opposition.

Just as one divides the history of European social development up in accordance with its gradual differentiation into individual states of life [(Stände)], so the history of the Church, too, can be subdivided in accordance with the emergence of its individual states of life [(Stände)] and the salvation-historical tasks assigned thereto. As the Church, after its first period of suffering, became [(in . . . wurde)], as it were, an infinite act of love [for] the world [(einem endlichen Akt der Liebe gleichsam Welt)], in order to be near to men of the outgoing as well as men of the incoming age, Western monasticism arose, which, by its emphasis on the cloister [(durch seine Zellenform)] on the one hand, preserved an awareness of the difference between the spheres [of] Church and World, [but] as a model of Christian life on the other, had a renewing effect on the whole of Christendom, in which Church and World, distinguishable [only] with difficulty, were united. In order to escape secularization by complete subordination to the State, the Church lifted those priests to whom the care of souls in the world was entrusted out from among [(hob . . . aus . . . heraus)] those Christians living in the world and co-constituting it [(sie mitbildenden)]. Yet the mundane institutions [too] were by th[is] immediate influence of the Church brought into line with Christian values [(waren . . . christlich ausgerichtet)]. Today, however, [there] exists the fearful possibility that an Über-State that aspires to be Church, State, and Trust [all] in one, detaches itself as conscious “world” from [(auf)] all of the Church’s areas of life, in order to hedge it in on all sides. In this situation, the Church has nothing left to turn into the priest, i.e. the apostle, the witness to the truth, except everyone who in his soul is sealed with the sign of the cross and lives in the world. This, seen in the light of church history, is the meaning of “Catholic Action”. In this connection, the proclamation of the Feast of Christ the King, too, belongs to a time in which [a sense the] genuine authority and dignity [(Gewalt und Würde)] of the king has been lost, but certainly not the totalizing authoritarian State, which claims for itself more and more a consecration that is religious in the intra-mundane sense [(eine innerweltliche religiöse Weihe)]. For this reason the Church wishes **[69]** to remind us [that] Christ is King, Kyrios, Lord! To him alone is honor and worship [(Ehre und Anbetung)] due!

The just-concluded *Reichskonkordat*, too, poses a special danger to the inner life of the Church [(hat . . . einen besonderen innerkirchlichen Gefahrenpunkt)] that, out of jointly responsible concern for the Church, should be pointed out. To eliminate every misunderstanding, we, too, consider a concordat the only possible form in which Church and State can still encounter one another in this stage between [the] Middle Ages and [the] end-time. [But] this concordat was concluded on the one hand by a State which claims the right to complete and total control [(der einen totalen Herrschaftsanspruch . . . erhebt)] in the name of a ruling/master class [(herrschenden Schicht)] that explains itself over against the other citizens

[(Staatsbürgern)] as the true State; and [on the other hand] by the Church, in which, doubtless, the authoritarian and centralizing principle was in recent decades extended into extra-ecclesial spheres and emphasized, at a time when everything amounts, for the Church, to this, that men on their own initiative [(aus sich heraus) and] in Christian freedom are at work for her. This agreement was achieved without the extensive discussion that an opponent who reveals himself at first only gradually requires [(tiefergehende Auseinandersetzung mit dem sich erst allmählich enthüllenden Gegenüber)]. The co-responsible laity--in which, of course, [but] above all today, the Church must show itself worthy of faith in and before [(vor)] the world--could no longer take a position on this publicly, even if [it] is to be added [(wenn auch zuzugeben ist)] that in the totalitarian State narrow boundaries are drawn very closely around such an undertaking from the very beginning. There are Catholics who, under the buzzwords [(Stichworten)] authority, order, [and] tradition, endeavor to point out certain analogies between this state and the hierarchically constructed Church, carrying religious concepts over into the political and turning them inside out [(umgekehrt)] without authorization in the process. There are also movements [(Richtungen)] within the Church that, seduced by the suggestion that proceeds from the modern mass organizations, think [themselves (meinen)] obliged to encounter this world with precisely such a mass apparatus; [movements that] might indeed join [(mit . . . sich . . . teilen)] a strong state in the subjection [(Beherrschung, control, domination, mastery)] of men grown restless. They stand therefore in opposition to the Church itself, to which every de-individualization [(Vermassung)] of men is sinister, because this [sort of an] anonymous [and] **[70]** irresponsible thing [(Gebilde)] can only too easily serve the Devil. It [(Sie, the Church)] gives every man in baptism his everlasting name of son. Moreover, it grows up into a form in which it will need in full measure the freedom given to the Christian. Since, in the progress of humankind towards the Judgment, the Church is only gradually purified, there are in it, besides those who excite public scandal, also those who do not want to understand the signs of the times. So we cannot shake the feeling that many Catholics have no real insight into the new State and its basic motives [(daß der neue Staat in seinen Grundantrieben von vielen Katholiken nicht erkannt wird)].

Viewed from without, the "national" State appears to us to be above all a reaction to the growing entanglement of the European nations [(Völker)] in [(durch)] business and technology. Viewed from within, there stood behind the ideology of National Socialism, as [its] most powerful motive force for as long as it was still [a] struggling movement, the desperate will-to-life of the lower and middle classes [(der klein- und mittelbürgerlichen Schichten)], whose social consciousness sought in this way to defend itself against the economic fate of a [(der)] threatening proletarianization. Today, since it came to victory, the actual state of the economic and social discussions is concealed by the almost intoxicating [(rauschartigen)] mass phenomenon of a nationalism incessantly whipped up [(eingepeitscht)] and intensified by all of the means of the modern technology of propaganda [(mit allen Mitteln der modernen Propaganda-Technik)]. This, as every nationalism, is an outcome of an urban [(großstädtischen, metropolitan, big-city)] civilization. Precisely the over-emphasis on the value of the nationality [(Volkstums)] proves to those who know that the authentic popular [(volkhaft)] bonds have disappeared [(nicht mehr da sind)]. Only the restlessly detached [(freigesetzte)] man of the formless society bound together by the division of labor alone is amenable to the collective-experience [(Kollektiv-Erlebnis)] of the "nation". In this fiction [(Fiktion)]—to say myth would be to forget [(Mythos sagt man, ohne zu bedenken)] that since the entrance of Christianity into the world there is for the nations [(Völker)], too, no more history [(Geschichte)]--, the deracinated, nameless masses seek to represent their longing for a bond that [will] elevate their existence. In the final analysis, the unprecedented **[71]** success of National Socialism can be accounted for by

this alone, that (as was already the case with Socialism and Bolshevism) it is driven by secularized religious energies. Its unchecked impact [(Wirkung)] only the individual secure in his conscience can withstand.

When in all manifestos [(Kundgebungen)] and decrees the talk is again and again of the “people”, of the “nation”, then is only the State to be understood thereby [(darunter)]. The totalitarian, authoritarian State absorbs/eats up its natural opponent, its basis in life [(Lebensgrundlage)], the “nation” [(Volk)] itself. All forms in which the creative impetus [(Schöpferdrang)] of the nation [(Volkes)] could [once] be expressed are “forced into line”, i.e. centralized and bureaucratized, “made” from on high. In this [(Damit)] the National Socialist State draws only the ultimate conclusion from a state of affairs that had already [long since] developed in the much-resisted [(vielbekämpften)] “middle-class/bourgeois [(bürgerlichen)] welfare state”. The State exists for its own sake. It interferes in the natural order of creation and tries its hand at “human engineering [(Menschenplanung)]”. The sterilization laws are only the latest expression of this aspiration [(Streben)], which wants not just the elimination of the inferior, but the production of a new paradigm of the average German man [(einen neuen Normaltyp des deutschen Menschen)], a race of men that comes with all of the physical and mental characteristics [(Voraussetzungen, presuppositions)] that the new State requires of its subjects. It is under other circumstances the same experiment that Bolshevism carried out on the **much larger [(? viel lebensmächtigeren)]** body of the Russian people [(Volkes)]. Man is manipulated [(mit Beschlag belegt, laid hold of, monopolized)] right on into [(bis in . . . hinein)] the innermost sphere of the person. The Church fears that man, when he lacks that area of personal freedom in which he can decide freely for God, is abandoned to the influence of the demons, which seek to reach him today by way of the [(auf dem Wege der)] autonomous institutions [(institutions autonomous of natural law?)]. The appeal to the Christian natural law is only one weapon in this struggle.

The new state is founded upon the radical friend-enemy distinction that, according to Carl Schmitt, should be the essence of the political. The “nation” in the true sense is represented by the variously-structured and many-layered [(vielfach gegliederte und gestufte)] mass of its adherents [(Anhänger)]. **[72]** The “others” are, if not enemies, then certainly objects of rule with inferior rights [(Herrschaftsobjekte minderen Rechts)]. As a consequence [(Damit)], the principle of the strategy of annihilation, which, since Napoleon I, [has] governed the conduct of modern warfare, has essentially been applied to the area of the domestic struggle for power. In this way, everyone considered an enemy of this state can basically be referred also to [(auch auf . . . gerichtet)] the area of the domestic/economic [(Wirtschaftlichen)], a mode of combat [(Kämpfesart)] that would still have been unthinkable only a [very] short time ago. The State can today exert an enormous [amount of] pressure upon the individual. If to this pre-prepared form a consciously anti-Christian spirit [(Geist)] were [to be] added [(hineinführe)], the individual would be as good as [(bereits)] delivered up to martyrdom. The mass psychoses which flow through the German people [(Volk)] from time to time—in them evil spirits often conceal themselves—are already enough to create the Christian [(machen dem Christen schon genug zu schaffen)].<sup>67</sup>

All of this we propose for the consideration of those Catholics and church circles [(kirchlichen Kreisen)] who perhaps believe that through the re-erection of an inflexible [(unerbittlichen)] autonomy of the state over the chaos of society and the economy/domestic sphere [(der Wirtschaft)] peace and order would again descend upon Europe, [and] especially if the Church were to give its blessing [(die Weihe)] to such a [re-]commencement and the state

---

<sup>67</sup>Is this a reference to the baptism of blood?

were to lend the Church [(ihr)] for this its strong arm. If the Church has a mission to [(gegenüber)] this our modern world, [a mission] given to it for [(zu)] the first and most important [thing], the sanctification of the individual man, then [(so)] it is that of offering itself up in its members for the winning of an ordination of the nation “on the strength of hope” [(für die Gewinnung einer Volksordnung ‘auf Hoffnung hin’)] through a new European *Arbeitsordnung* [(statement of [the] conditions of employment)] for [(in)] the atomized society. The public necessity that arises out of a public fall-into-sin calls for a fundamental conversion and re-formation [(Umkehr und Neugestaltung)]. The living vehicle [(Träger)] of this mission, too, is the layman, the individual. The time when the Church, thanks to its union [(Verbindung)] with the State, could exert pressure on the conscience of the individual, is irrevocably gone. The secularization--or more accurately the re-paganization--of the European state is so far advanced, that the Church must keep its distance in even those cases in which it acts [(er sich . . . gibt)] conservatively and authoritatively in seeming antithesis. **[73]** It may not be that in the totalitarian state the voice of the laity must fall silent because the “nation” has to be silent; for in that state of emergency which can at any time set in, when such a state in any [(irgendeinem)] area of cultural policy [(Kulturpolitik)] decides that it will no longer share the power [(Macht)] over souls with any other authority [(Macht)], in that state of emergency the Church has at its disposal over against the state only the laity, which consists of individuals.

#### IV

Not yet this far advanced is the situation of the Church in Austria, that German land which was so profoundly [(am innigsten)] gripped by th[at] sacramental power of the Church through which faithful individuals [are] to renew even the face of entire nations [(hindurch auch noch das Antlitz ganzer Völker zu erneuern)] susceptible to grace [(wenn deren Natur für Gnade empfänglich ist)], insofar as [such a gripping (dies)] was still possible after the Reformation, which left its mark on our people [(Volk)] forever. It wasn't just within the Church that the German race [(Art)], appropriating for itself the unchanging deposit [(Gut)] of the faith, was set back by this, the greatest apostacy in its history (we German Catholics get to feel this fact again and again when[ever] we must defend ourselves against [the] extremes of formalistic Roman [ways of] thinking); but the natural unity of the German people [(Volkes)] itself suffered much more seriously as a consequence [(darunter)] than one commonly admits. With the Reformation, an unhealthy process of differentiation [(Entmischungprozeß)] was introduced. The tendency of the North German branches towards Protestantism was pushed too far. By contrast, in the German south and southeast above all--which, as [the] old Roman cultural soil, was as it were pre-stamped for the Church by the [(der als alter römischer Kulturboden für die Kirche gleichsam vorgeprägt, durch die)] great Catholic Restoration, insofar as it was [a] Counter-Reformation executed by the State alone--, the healthy Protestant element was pushed back [along] with the heretical. In both cases [there] arose out of the [(a potentially?)] fruitful tension a rigid opposition. From that point on, unitive pan-Germanism [(das verbindende Gesamtdeutsche)] was to be represented with still greater difficulty culturally and politically. [74] And yet, the Catholic part of the German people is still today more vital and culturally creative [(lebensmächtiger, kulturschöpferisch lebendiger)] than the Protestant.

[It was] in Austria especially [(Gerade) that] the Church interwove the whole texture of [the] life [(Lebensgefüge)] of the people especially deeply with the blessing power of its sacramentals. Still today the best of [the] living culture that we Austrians have to contribute to the German people is, despite all secularization, partaken of from its source. Ultimately, it is to the Church we owe that spirit of *Maßhaftigkeit* whose basic element is the [sense of] humor

that stems again from the knowledge (become flesh and blood, as it were) that man is a creature. And yet in this [(unserem)] Catholic country [(Lande)], too, those Catholics who are bound sacramentally to the life of the Church are already a minority. In our case, too, the general secularization of European forms of thought and life becomes visible. Only, it encounters here another [set of] historical presuppositions. Whereas the Catholics of imperial Germany [(die reichsdeutschen Katholiken)] had always in Protestantism an opponent that spurred them constantly on, indeed stood even for a time over against a State bent on cultural war [(einem kulturkämpferischen Staate)], church life in Austria, even in the worst periods of the liberalism of that [(der)] “Catholicism” abstracted from the living manifestation of the Church [and] yet regarded as [a] “principle conducive to the well-being of the State”, went slack [(wurde . . . erschlaffte, grew weary)] in the midst of the relative security which our much-vaunted Baroque culture guaranteed. This inner-ecclesiastical secularization inner-ecclesiastical renewal movements sought always [(seit je)] to confront. Thanks to them the Church became once again [a] living [force] in the hearts of the faithful. It fulfilled the mission of the Church to be to the world, to Catholics, even, in total self-giving, a salutary [source of] dis-ease. Thanks precisely to the relative self-contained-ness and [counter]balanced-ness [(Geschlossenheit und Ausgeglichenheit)] of the spheres of Church and State, which will only [(erst, first)] attain [(aufgehen)] to unity when the Kingdom of God has finally come, came it to a [sense of the] alienness of the Church [(Kirchenfremdheit)], which could then change suddenly—mysterium iniquitatis—into open hatred of the Church [(Kirchenfeindschaft)]. (One of the many prerequisites to the rise of such **[75]** mass movements is a certain anti-Catholic affect that one encounters frequently among the intellectuals of Catholic lands. It may be traced back to this primarily, that it is only with great difficulty that men like this can discern behind the power of State and society that the Church, too, represents, its sacramental character. Indeed, they virtually [(geradezu)] deny it.) Since everything from the family on up to the State is managed [(durchformt)] by the Church, the devil must attack it in every sphere of life, [must] transform all political struggles into religious [ones]. Indeed [(damit)], it is because the Church is also [and quite] straightforwardly [an] earthly power always vulnerable to misuse that he *can* attack it everywhere.

Only if one holds fast to this fundamental fact can one also grasp what is special about Austrian political Catholicism. The Christian Social Party was the first to represent [(stellte zunächst . . . dar)] the political mobilization of Catholics deeply loyal to the Church [(der mit der Kirche lebendig verbundenen)] within an essentially Catholic country. It was an [(der)] attempt to maintain the historical relation [(Bezogenheit)] of the Austrian state to the Church even in the age of parliamentary democracy. The inner difficulties associated with so-called “world-view” parties came, however, much more sharply to light in this one than in the Center [Party], [and] in its existing relation to social democracy especially. Through its [(die)] in fact one-sided representation of the interests of the middle class [(des Bürgertums)] it greatly encouraged the attempts of the Social Democrats to make the Church itself responsible for all of the mistakes of the Christian Social Party. The struggle against the anti-ecclesiastical [(antikirchliche)] cultural policy of the opposition could, again [(hinwieder, on the other hand)], thanks to the inseparable interpenetration [(bei dem ungeschiedenen Ineinander)] of the many [conflicting] interests that the parties had to serve, to work itself out in the end into [(sich als . . . auswirken)] a strengthening of the anti-working class front. Thus individual Catholics, to whom it therefore fell [(es . . . ging)] to obtain everywhere a hearing for the word of the Church, had to risk the attempt to break through the false fronts. While they as Catholics acknowledged publicly what was justified in the socialist demands, they hoped to facilitate within social democracy a movement that could oppose the openly anti-ecclesiastical course of party **[76]** leadership. But

without tangible success! Not even within the Christian Social Party could these “unpolitical” Catholics find a notable following.

In the new authoritarian (but still far from totalitarian) Austrian state, which seemed to offer [(böte, iAS3S?)] the possibility of forming anew just in time everything in [the] political and cultural tradition that appear[ed] (scheint) to [have] been shattered [(erledigt)] in the Third Reich, the Christian Social Party became [(geworden)] the core of the state-bearing class. Even this state led by Catholics aspires to make the Church itself [(sich die Kirche)] useful as a people-preserving power, especially since our entire culture was co-formed by it. Thereby the Church runs again the risk that its unmistakable/distinctive form is no longer perceived by the opponent who basically sees everything only [(nur mehr, only just)] politically. Precisely because the Austrian form of the authoritarian one-party state, too, is an instrument that can inflict great harm upon the Church, if it is, as it were, taken up/wielded in [the service of the Church’s] task [(wenn es gleichsam in ihrem Auftrag gebraucht wird)], Catholics who have the whole of its situation in view, must warn against the self-evidence with which the interests of the two spheres are conflated. The more indirectly the Church in Austria works, the more visible will it become to the hearts of men.\*

## V

How, in this situation of the Church, should Catholics behave politically? To this [question] no concrete [(positive)], generally binding answer can today be any longer given. Everyone who feels himself responsible for church, people, and state must find the solution himself as [an] “individual”.

With a [sense of] self-evidence [(Selbstverständlichkeit)] that exposes [(aussetzte)] many loyal centrist [(zentrumstreuen, loyal to the center)] Catholics above all to a difficult test of fidelity [(Vertrauensprobe)], the Church in both the Reich and in Austria has placed itself [(sich . . . gestellt)] on the ground of the new political [(staatlichen)] reality. Catholics **[77]** must, with the faithful [(gläubigen)] realism of the Church, put the starting point internal to the [(innerhalb des)] new state--the [starting point that] allows it (if not to form then) to influence it--to the test. The Christian may first quit the battlefield of the world when the Lord comes. Until then he must do everything [he can] to shape this world in a Christian fashion [(christlich)]. Activity like this is no end-in-itself. All Christian culture, which is always essentially superadded [(hinzugegeben)], has only th[is] single point: to facilitate the home-turning of as many souls as possible into the Father's house, into the Church. For the Church is [the] Church of the masses [(“Massen”-Kirche), and] considers itself fundamentally responsible for every man, right up to his death and beyond. The commission of its divine founder directed it to the whole of mankind. It is the provision of the Kingdom of God, by [(in)] which the whole of mankind is to be taken up into the river of love that is the triune God [(in den Liebesstrom des dreieinigen Gottes)].

So far all is clear. Questionable become first the ideological attempts of leading Catholic intellectuals to produce a deeper, a religious relation between the Church and this state, in order to make entry and participation [(Mitarbeit)] possible again for German Catholics as a body. Here belongs the widespread effort on behalf of [(um)] a “theology of the Reich/Kingdom [(Theologie des Reiches)]” that culminates in the proposition [that] the “Reich” is the Christianly ordered [(christlich zugeordnete)] political form of the redeemed united in the corpus Christi

---

\*The Austrian bishops' conference has, in the meantime, decided to withdraw [all] ecclesiastical representatives [(geistliche Mandatäre)] from the political front.

mysticum. How is the idea of the “Reich” related to its various, [and] always/ever weaker, historical concretions? Does there not exist the danger that via such an ideology the sober reality [(Tatbestand)] of the secularized [and] totalitarian [(totalen)] nation state is for Catholics obscured? As little as parliamentary democracy and the politics of the center associated therewith can be proved to be *the* Christian, *the* Catholic, so little can the deductions of the new Reich theologians satisfy us. They come in this way with their striving, right in itself, to make the German Catholic conscious of the [(den)] concrete historical position of his people, in the same ahistorical unreality and ineffectiveness as their predecessors with their grounds in mere natural law [and] philosophy for the [(mit ihren bloß naturrechtlichphilosophischen Begründungen des)] givens of that time [(des seinerzeit Gegebenen)]. Where [78], then, do we stop [(Wo halten wir denn)]? Surely in th[is] twentieth-century of post-Christian mankind, for the characterization of which the single fact that it has produced the thoroughly mechanized material war [(den durchtechnisierten Materialkrieg)], should suffice! Such [a] pseudo-theology, which, through the aura [(Weihe, consecration)] with which it surrounds the present [(das Bestehende)], leads only to a further secularization of the Christian itself [(des Christlichen selber)], is vastly different from that Christian way of looking at things that traces all political events back to the conceptions of the state lying at their base, and these, again, to fundamental theological points of view that trace the secularization of the idea of the state back to the dogmatic archetype, just as Theodor Haecker attempted to do in his [own] way in the last issue [(Folge)] of *Brenner*. One need only reach for the *Symbolik* of the still-relevant [(unveralteten)] Joh. Adam Möhler to find in this comparative dogmatics on [(aus`)] the difference between the Catholic and the Lutheran doctrines of the essence of the state, which, again, goes back to the[ir] different doctrines of original sin, a key to [(für)] the political events affecting us all. The more we pass judgment on the [(jene)] sort of attempt to gain historical perspective [(jene Art historischer Perspektivierung)] that tends [(möchte)] in the course of historical events to deny the point of the free decision that pertains really [(im eigentlichen Sinne)] to [(für . . . gilt)] the individual man alone, the less [(So sehr, . . . so . . . nicht)] we can close ourselves off from the frightening logical consistency with which the history of the German people unrolls, [and] since the Reformation [especially] with nearly unstoppable [(kaum mehr aufzuhaltender)] speed and power. There is a specifically German hubris that can still turn into disaster for us. And yet, before the final salvation-historical insight into [(der letzte heilsgeschichtliche Blick durch)] profane history is made available to us, we Christians can't know with certainty that [(ob)] our people's last hour of grace has already come and gone.

In general, though [(Ganz allgemein aber)], we German Catholics succumb all too often to the apologetically motivated [(aus apologetischen Gründen)] attempt, to gather, in a manner far too direct, the historical merits of the Church about [(um . . . heranzuziehen)] the German people, in order to derive therefrom a special “mission” of the Church, and therefore of German Catholics, to [(für)] the whole German people, a mission that then for many falls without a second thought into step with that of the [German] people as a whole. Here the concept of “mission” is used in a predominately political sense, yet has at the same time a religious tinge [(Tönung)], [a religious tinge] that, again, is reinforced by the “Reichstheologie” [I've] already characterized. One must remain always conscious of the likeness-to-analogy [(Analogiehaften)] of this way of speaking. Only a single people of the world has [ever] possessed, *qua* people [(als solche)], an immediate divine commission [(Auftrag)]: Old Testament Judaism [(Judentum)]. It constituted [(vollzog)] holy history [quite] immediately, in that it fulfilled [(erfüllte)] its political history as people in obedience to the commands of God revealed by the prophets and in expectation of that which was promised to it as *the* meaning of its history. But because the Jews in their tragic blindness did not recognize the Messiah, Jesus Christ, but insisted upon

understanding [(begreifen wollte)] their mission—which consisted in this precisely, to introduce Him in His human being [(Ihn in seinem menschlichen Sein hervorzubringen)]—[in] a merely earthly [or] “national” fashion [(nur irdisch-“national”)], the new supra-national Church became the new people of God, [the new supra-national Church] was tied in its existence [(Bestand)] to the ultimate in-breaking of the Kingdom [(Reich)] of God. Since, therefore, one can speak only any more in a derivative [(übertragenen)] sense of the religious mission of a people, the meaning of its history can only be brought into relation with the meaning of salvation history that has been already revealed and has yet to be revealed in a mediate fashion. As a consequence [(Seitdem)], the individual peoples have any longer in the framework of salvation history only temporally limited partial missions [(Teil-Sendungen)], for which no immediate commission any longer exists, missions which could at any time be revoked. All natural communities, from the people to the family, were, as immediate instruments [(Organe)] of religious mission, depreciated by the saving work [(Erlösungstat)] of Christ. Only for the individual at whom the Gospel is directed [(an dem sich das Evangelium wendet)], provided that [(damit)] he is converted, is there an immediate mission. Only he, the individual, has been redeemed, [but] no people [(Volk)] as such. Thus, one can speak of even a mission of the Church to the German people in this sense only, that the more individuals stand in the reality of faith, hope, and love, to that extent [(drein-) **80**] is given the healing and sanctification of the natural whole [(die Heilung und Heiligung der natürlichen Ganzheit)] to which they belong. The meanings [(Inhalte)] to be read out of [(aus . . . abzulesenden)] the history of a people, [the meanings] that we, in our high-handedness [(Eigenmächtigkeit)] and our drive for self-assertion, might all too readily condense [(verdichten)] into a religio-political mission sketched out already beforehand in the divine plan for the world, must again and again be, by our faithful abandonment [(Hingabe)] to the needs of the hour [(an die Not der Zeit)], transformed into [a] *weiterwirkende* history. Always anew arises for us each [(eine)] situation, as if we must lose [(verlieren)] every good heritage and to [(in)] an uncertain future abandon [ourselves (hineinopfern)]. Only to those with hindsight may the continuity of ongoingly effective [(fortwirkenden)] ideas and powers become visible. But overhastily assembled, historically justified speculation holds out to us a mission over which we are doomed to miss [(überhören drohen, doomed not to hear)] the pressing needs of the moment—the concrete calls/warnings of God!

## VI

What, then [(also)] , should we German Catholics do in this situation of the Church and our people?

We shall have to strive—in a time in which the Church in the German part of Central Europe has lost a husk [(Hülle)] that had hidden from many the face of its love—to protect its henceforth purer form from a new intrusiveness of the political. Perhaps it must be precisely the laity [which], and within [(unter)] that, again, determined “individuals” who with courage and exclusivity—necessary in a time in which being a Christian is once again dangerous—represent the substance [(Sache, as distinguished from Hülle?)] of the Church.

We German Catholics must prevent the Catholics of *one* people from being alienated from [those of] another by political conflict. The mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church, bleeds already profusely from the many wounds that the Catholics of nations [(Völker)] of Europe hostile to one another have inflicted upon it, and inflict upon it again and again anew.

[And] finally, we German Catholics must, as Catholic Germans, not, in this “Holy Year of the Germans,”<sup>68</sup> merely recover that act **[81]** of humility and repentance which our people has, since the end of the Great War, remained always still guilty before its Creator of; we must pray constantly and fervently for our people, that it be not rejected by God for its proud will-to-self-assertion [(Sich-selbst-behaupten-wollens)].

THIS EXTREMELY AMATEURISH, PRELIMINARY, AND ROUGH DRAFT  
OF A TRANSLATION © STEVE PERISHO, OCTOBER 2010

---

<sup>68</sup>Das heilige Jahr der Deutschen. Cf. [http://malingesellschaft.at/pdf/Behal%20-%20Weiter%20ua%201930-1965\\_Diss%202009.pdf](http://malingesellschaft.at/pdf/Behal%20-%20Weiter%20ua%201930-1965_Diss%202009.pdf).