

THE AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

S.E.Area Day Conference at Rochester

Saturday, October 20, 1934

Lecturer: Dr. Karl Polanyi

Subject: The Alternatives - Fascism, Communism, Christianity

11.0 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.

Prayers

Purpose of Day Conference (10 minutes)

I The Alternatives *
Fascism, Communism, Christianity.

2.0 p.m. - 3.45 p.m.

II

The Inevitability of Change

A changing world; urgency of adaption;
new Nationalism and New Internationalism

4.45 p.m. - 5.45 p.m. /

The Auxiliary Movement, and the S.E.Area.
Parkgate Conference - Officers
Conference, 1934-35

5.45 p.m. - 6.30 p.m.

III

The Christian Way Culture and Politics.
Have we a culture to-day? What can
Education do? Creating in Reality.

THE AUXILIARY MOVEMENT

NAZI

Rochester, October 20th, 1934: Notes of Karl Polanyi's
lecture at day conference on "Fascism, Communism,
and Christianity"

Lecture 1. Fascism

Too simple to think that Fascism and Communism are direct opposites. Not only politics but also philosophy included in both.

In Germany Fascism is inveterately against Communism, against Socialism - also clashes with Christianity.

How to understand this? Answer: Fascism is against the individualist and is therefore against Socialism, also against Internationalism. F. does not accept nations and races in terms of Internationalism; it therefore denounces Socialism as extreme Individualism. F. must dig down to the roots of Socialism; at the roots finds the individual.

Fascist Philosophy. Profes Spann, Vienna, the early philosopher of F.: ~~said~~ stood for his ideas (1918-19) when democratic and socialist ideas prevailed. He regarded his ideas as for the next period to come; called them "Universalism" as opposed to Individualism. Spann's formula well-known - ~~Universalism~~ leads to Liberalism, Liberalism ~~not~~ leads to Democracy. Democracy leads to Capitalism, Capitalism leads to Bolshevism.

The main ideas held by the racialist man, Hitler. In his famous Dusseldorf speech he took the field definitely against Individualism, Socialism, Democracy, saying they led to Bolshevism and that Fascism had to fight them.

Atoms

Individualism, says Spann, leads to inadequate personality and absurd society, that is the isolated individual and his position. Spann asks Could an isolated spirit like this lead up to a society? He says No. *this is the idea "ausgeherrung"*

Our conviction is that the individual is starting point of all the values of our society.

Spann thinks of the Individualism of the 18th Century, i.e. atheist Individualism; we think of present Individualism which derives from God.

Atheist Individualism is represented by Nietzsche. He proclaimed "God is dead" and followed with the statement "Then I am God" and went on to derive his values out of the self.

This is the Individualism which Spann demolished. This is the only conception of Individualism Fascist philosophy knows. F. philosophy refuses it. F. philosophy mentions Hercules, Prometheus, the Titans, Thor but not Christian personality. Spann mentions the hermit (individual) but his idea of the individual is not Christian.

The Individualism at the root of Socialism is Christian Individualism. In this sense the organised Church and Socialism are hardly existent on the Continent.

Fascist ideas of society. Society is the only reality. Individual has only derivative existence. Only society existence counts. "The Italian nation is an organism, is a will." *Reich is first to the party*

Racialism (Fascist) starts from Karl Schmidt who says "The basis of group life, i.e. nation is antagonism of groups to each other. Enmity is the basis of groups. Groups exist because they fight. Hence Fascist sociology.

The Christian idea of the individual is that individual has social existence. Society is based on this fact. Men are sons of God, therefore brethren.

Cleavage results between Christian Individualism and the Fascist idea of Individualism.

Spann and Schmidt are consistent in ruling out the individual and saying only the group has real existence, the group counts.

.....

Marxian type of thought also little known. It means religious Individualism. Marxist regards these phases of society, (1) the relationship of human beings, (2) groups and classes in industrial development working towards self-estrangement of individuals towards indirect relationships in a market society.

In economic field (inevitably) relations are indirect and impersonal and Marxism says humanity will go on to a stage at which human relationships again are direct and personal (this is essentially the religious conception of the individual).

In this aspect

Socialism an aspect

"National Socialism"

embodying vlt. values.

Where does this join

up in question of Relis.

Politics?

Acceptance of Social

order

(of Vienna) we will do.

In Social Home Ref: to

Pravda Bulletin

Many to Democracy? See

Order of attack in Germany?

1) Communists

2) Socialists

3) Workers

Peasants

Democrats

Christians

4) Conservatives

They say Bolshevism is dead

Slaves of individualism

- is dead & many are trying to

find it in each

Person's inner life

2nd Nov. 1934.

The Auxiliary and Politics

notes by Dr. Karl Polanyi.

The Aux. ought not to go in for politics. But neither can it further stay "un-political." What is the solution of this conundrum?

From a more general point of view, religious and political work are not alternative to one another. Neither can do the work of the other.

It is a temptation to regard politics as the only field of concrete activity. The educational, cultural, communal activities to which religion opens up a direct access create just as much, and sometimes even more, "in reality", than institutional changes worked by the legislation. The personal field a sphere of essential and lasting change, not less than the impersonal sphere of political life.

It is a temptation also to conceive of the religious and personal field as the only sphere of creation in reality. Power and economic value are categories inherent in society. It is neither serious nor pious to believe that institutions ought to be altered by prayer. What prayer can do, is to help us to suffer bad institutions without feeling a wish to change them; or it can give us strength to sacrifice our life in the struggle to change them. But only those who ~~believe~~ pray for miracles can believe that prayers should serve instead of actions. You can't be outside the mechanism which sets up power.

We ought to object to the Communist when he insists that only politics can solve the problems which religion is setting to society.

We ought to object to a Christian attitude which proclaims that only religion can solve the problems the politicians set themselves.

Work done in this spirit is fruitless. In this spirit of unreality and lack of humility lies the explanation of the astounding failure of Christian efforts to achieve in the non-political field results in any way proportionate to the sacrifices entailed. The false idea that these activities could make an institutional change in society unnecessary, made them unconsciously into a political factor working against an institutional change. Such lack of realism could not be but punished by ineffectiveness. But it is also lacking of humility to imagine yourself as on the highroad to the salvation of mankind when in truth you are only creating in imagination.

The Aux. must do its work in the spirit of a social realism that accepts the necessity of politics and the duty to declare your position on the issues which are really the crossroads of history.

But it must go on doing its work. If it tried to enter party politics it would split, because religion is today not a moderating influence. Its members would go either to the extreme right or to the extreme left. It could not save its unity even in the wider sense of the term.

But it ought to accept the fundamental position that it does not regard its work as an alternative to politics. Municipal and local politics in a manner an exception. For these deal with questions much nearer to the personal, educational and cultural sphere of life.

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It is a temptation also to conceive of the Religious and Personal field as the only sphere of creation in Reality. Power and Economic Value are categories inherent in Society. It is neither serious nor pious to believe that institutions ought to be altered only by prayer. What prayer can do is to help me to suffer bad institutions only without feeling a wish to change them; it can give me strength to sacrifice my life in the struggle to change them. But only those who pray for miracles can believe that prayers should serve in stead of actions. And only those who have never understood the true meaning of a doctrine of Original Sin can think that political power and political institutions can be altered by anything but political efforts and activities.

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(24)

Auxiliary = a group of the Christian Left.

2nd Nov. 1934. (London)

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✓
Kultur
Race
Wille }
Haiser: "Our task is to smother the forces of critical intellectualism, To me a German, 'common racial understanding' means the mental 'style' of my group, or, in other words, the intellectual product of the pure Germanic race. Racial instinct must prevail. Knowledge and truth are peculiarities, originating in definite forms of consciousness, and hence attuned exclusively to the specific essence of their mother-consciousness"

State, ① ✓
Leader.
W. Stafel "Opposition is tantamount to Treason. Opposition has no longer any moral justification. The people do not know what they want, - they have only instinct. But the Leader knows what the people want: that is what makes him a Leader"

Not System ✓
or order
but warring
Groups.
② Kolnai
Commenting
upon
Moeller
Bruck
"Not classes but types divide humanity" - Kolnai:
"This means that History is swayed by the tragic and eternal irrationality of racial struggle; that the struggle can have no content of justice and progress Not a struggle for the interpretation and shaping of social order, but a turmoil of tribal life-forces, beyond discussion, beyond the possibility of solution"

↓ ③ ✓
Aurel
Kolnai
No humanity
"If men are taught and trained to consider their own nation as a sovereign deity, to disclaim any idea of spiritual community and moral order above and besides it, then all 'understanding' between the 'nations themselves' is doomed to futility and speciousness."

④ Kiennech
relig life
"The peace of the Gospel and peace in history, the peace of God and peace in the world, have nothing to do one with the other"

WAR. ✓
⑤
"Not a 'community of men of free will' but victorious war is the social ideal...it is in war that the State displays its true nature"
Professor E. Kaufmann

✓
"A universal organization in which there is no place for war-like preservation and destruction of human existence, would be neither a State nor an Empire: it would lose all political character"

Professor C. Schmitt

Klaugo: My + was

Nature, Sensualness (senses.) Heart.

My - was

Will, ad-: Logic, Idea, Gift, supreme being, Spirit

The sciences with Gift sees moral phenomena
in my one way — the expression of bad Mood.

Not the Holy Spirit — the Holy Blood.

"Think with same Mood."

Nation & Conflict.

Aurel Kolnai

"The Protestant theologian Althaus puts the problem in the following manner: 'We cannot think of our nationhood without thanking God. In the national division of mankind we recognize the abundance of His creative power. But neither can we speak of our nation and the nations without also thinking of antagonism in history, of struggle and death ... The formation of das Volk also demands wrathful separation from others..... Nobody in human history can stand faithful to his nation without also being obliged to conform to the stern, dark ruthless law 'Nation against nation'"

- ✓ (5) War means the highest intensification not of the material means only, but of all the spiritual energies of an age as well; it means the utmost effort of the folk's mental forces and the will of the state towards self preservation and power, spirit and action linked together. Indeed war provides the ground on which the human soul may manifest itself at its fullest height, in richer forms and surging from more profound wells than it might in any scientific or artistic exploit as such. War is a purifying bath of steel breeding new impulses, and an infallible test of fitness." Prof. E. Banze.

Plays Stenoch v. Erde.

Progress, Civilization, Capitalism - Various sides of one
direction of the will; in their bearings the Christian
people of Christendom. It stands for respect for
man as over against nature - Love is love of man
- & persecutes with deadly hatred the heathen
worship (or service) of nature.

The Xth idea

--- that over the "Seelen" rises "the spirit"
over the "Praxis" a gripping awareness ^{Xth} ^{from and over}
was the last & decisive "Shore" is a long
development --- the will pushed through ---
of power from outside the natural world entered.

Bewusstsein v. Leben

"Spirit recognizes & understands; existence only
is; only life lives"

The Concept of Qualities - by qualitative knowledge? Or on
fully personal - class - ^{from} ^{from}

{ Death
Freedom
Society. } New consciousness

Personality is the leveling this

Character, individuality to with living thing.