

Church and State on the Continent.

Newark, April 3th, 1937.

Mr. Chairman,

The subject may seem almost a technical one. Associated with Disestablishment of the Churches, the Russian doctrine and so on. No. A much wider range of interest affected.

- a/ International affairs affected by the position of the Church in Spain, in Mexico, or, formerly in Russia, or Germany.
- b/ One of the greatest Crisis of Christendom has come. Will ^{now} Christianity survive? Will it be able to influence in a constructive sense the great struggles of our time? We are in for an ~~epoch~~ age of change. Both nationally and internationally, very great dangers are ahead. Will Christianity play its role in this crisis?
- c/ We need broad views of these question, broad views on the tasks of our age, and broad views of the ~~greatest~~ force that has shaped Western Europe in always renewed forms: Christianity.

Time: post War years.

Persons: Roman Catholic Church. Orthodox Churches of the East: National Protestant Churches.

The religious situation on the Continent.

Politics and the Churches

I. Russia.

- The Pravoslav Church (Russian Orthodox) { No Counterreformation. Non reformed.
- The complete separation of the Church and State in Russia.
- The end of all political influence of the Church.
- The Church was identical with the State. Zarism.
- Period of persecution. Tolerating the Church.
- Difference from Spain: In Russia there was an anti-God Movement. Atheism as a religion.

Religion had never belonged to the leading forces in intellectual life. Dostoevsky (the people's religion). Staretz Tolstoi (Christian anarchism, Conscientious objection).

Future of Christianity in Russia:

The Russian experiment strongly influenced by the Christian values which are at the root of Western civilisation; strongly indebted to the simple faith of the Russian people.

*no member of the
Killer of the new constitution.*

of the Continent.

Other countries apart from Russia on the Continent.

first general remark

Churches, whether Protestant or Catholic sided with the Princes against Constitutionalism and Democracy. While in England the Civil War was also a ~~struggle~~ ^{struggle} between Puritaniism and Paists on the Continent the Churches sided with feudalism, with the feudal aristocracy against the rising middle classes and working classes.

not being repeated on both sides

Cf. the peasant Wars of the XVth century in Germany (Luther) and the XVIIIth cty (French Revolution).

Democracy tended to become anti-clerical.
The working class movement tending to be atheist. XIXth cty (1. half)

II. Roman Catholic Church.

Italy closely cooperating with the State. (1929 Concordate) healing the breach between Vatican and Lateran.

"Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno." (40 years after the Encyclical Pius XIth. May 1931 "Rerum Novarum" Leo XIIIth 1891)

Mildly anti-capitalist, mildly anti-socialist, violently anti-Communist; for a Corporative order of industry, but on the basis of self-governement; not dictatorial. Politically ly for authoritarianism. Still not approving of a Fascist Party monopoly; opposed to state-bureaucracy. Extremely vague about the means of doing all this.

Guild idea

A highly tactical document. Allowing to cooperate with the Labour Parties unless they were Communist. To cooperate with the Fascist but without giving them a free hand; allowing to support all kinds of dictatorships, and still stand for some measure of democracy in industry; and so on.

Austria. This has been put into practice. Altho 1933 started, very little of it put into practice.

The difficulty in running modern industry on medieval principles a/ machinery makes for division of labour (soulless labour) b/ class division inherent in large scale production under private ownership.

guild idea

The Roman Catholic Church using Austria as a basis or bargaining counter, in trying to protect German Catholics from Hitlerism.

Vatican Foreign Policy. Keeping in with Fascists but not making herself dependent upon them. Anti-Polshvik crusade, but not allowing herself to be used.

Churches

In Germany-- the Catholic Church is in opposition (a minority) It was in fact a political force (Centre Party). One of the Republican Parties under the Weimar System.

Collision with Regime came to them together with Protestants.

III. Protestant Churches.

Hungary Protestant majority, Catholic country!! Leading Protestant statesmen *state* *with* *power*
No rivalry between denominations. *cartel? managed*

Austria Small Protestant Churches 30000 No persecution of Protestants. Nazism only political not religious
No religious persecution whatever.

Germany : Faced with New Paganism.

second general remark

IV. Fascism.

Continent & Anglo-Latin countries

Anti-Socialism also anti-democratic, because democracy tends to increase the influence of the socialist working class movement.

Fascism different in Italy small party, intensely nationalist, weak nation.

Austria not nationalist, less brutal, more catholic.

Germany *strong nation* the leading Fascist country. Religious mass movement. The only country where the fundamentals of democracy are attacked. i.e. Christianity.

Karl Barth quotation

V. National Socialism (German Fascism).

Original Programme for positive Christianity. Means institutional religion.

Writings of Rosenberg interpreted it as virile Christianity

anti-individualism and internationalism basically Christian concepts.

the nation has no room in them. The blood and soil idea is the reversal to the natural factors of human existence, as against the Christian one's (human equality, freedom, universal community).

Roman Church
Protestant Church

Concordate

Breach

Confessional Church

German Christians

German Faith Movement. This is the Cruz.

POLITICS AND CHURCHES ON THE CONTINENT;

Politics on the Continent consist in the battle between Fascism and Democracy. The Fascist fight Democracy because Democracy tends to lead towards Socialism. Thus you have Fascism on the one hand and Democracy and Socialism on the other.

Churches I mean both the Roman Church and the Protestant Churches. (whether Lutheran or Evangelical) or Calvinist or Reformed).

European Continent mostly Roman Catholic, but there is a liberal type of countries like Hungary, Italy, Austria, ~~and~~ Czechoslovakia. and an intolerant one like Spain, ~~and~~ pre-war Russia, where the ~~Communists~~ pre-war Russia, where the ~~Communists~~ pre-war Russia ruled.

I. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT.

The Churches on the Continent allies of feudalism and big landowners. Puritanism was a revolutionary

While in England/non-conformity was born out of the revolution ~~movement~~

on the Continent every kind of religious force was on the side of the Cavaliers. We have only a Church, we have no chapel

The Churches since 1891 recognised the Social Problem (unjust distribution of wealth, etc) but fought the Socialist working class Movement tooth and nail. THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT therefore atheist on the continent.

II. Russia.

The Orthodox Church was destroyed because she sided with the Zarist in civil war. To-day Russia is moving (slowly) towards being a democracy, and religious freedom is reinstated, (not the freedom of working undermining the state of course).

III. The Churches working for Fascism.

~~THE~~

A/ Austria.

Austria is a Catholic country, with a strong influence of the clergy allied with the aristocracy.

2.

a/ Counter-revolution in Austria was mainly supported by the clergy. Seipel, a prelate of the Church of Rome, was leader of the reaction. ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ He was the originator of the Heimwehr.
1927

b/ When Hitler, Germany tried to get hold of Austria, the Church established a Fascist regime of his own under Dollfuß and Schuschnigg. in 1934.

B/ Italy.

Italy had been a most liberal country with no influence of the Church on education etc. The Pope was regarded ~~himself~~ himself as a prisoner in the Vatican. (since 1870)

Mussolini made his peace with the Vatican in the so-called ~~Treaty of Lateran~~ Treaty of Lateran in 1926.

The main questions are: those of a Concordat. What is a Concordat?

- a/ Influence of the State with the Church; (Control)
- b/ Political activities of the clergy allowed or not?
- c/ Youth organisations of ~~confessional~~ confessional character to be allowed

C/ XI Anno . in 1931.

The Encyclical was more favorable to the liberty of trade unions than the Totalitarian state of the Fascist, but still it was definitely a Corporate State. (AUSTRIA)

D/ Germany.

The Nazi Programme said something about positive Christianity. The Nazi had the support of the Protestant Churches in Germany (against the Weimar Republic) & they had not the support of the Roman Church which is a minority in Germany and had a political party of its own. (Zentrum)

Still the Pope concluded at once a Concordat with Hitler (the first the Pope had ever concluded with Protestant Germany). But it was not kept.

- a/ The Confessional Synod of the German Evangelical Church: Niemöller, etc. Karl Barth (neo-Calvinist doctrines)
- b/ The German ~~Protestant~~ Christians (Müller) Hossenfelder. Now Kube.
- c/ German ~~Protestant~~ Faith which is not Christian but pagan (frankly) Hauer, Professor Barth, Prof. Günther, Alfred Rosenberg (the Mythos of the XX. Century). PROFESSOR Bagemann (Leipzig)

Racialist.

1. Principle of leadership in the Church

2/

Age-class (universalist structure)

The Churches and Fascism on the European Continent.

Is organized Christianity disappearing in Europe? - Christianity attacked by Bolshevism and Fascism. - The Roman Catholic Church fights and compromises. - In Italy fights first, then compromises with Fascism. - In Germany R.C. Church compromises then fights under unfavourable conditions. - R.C. Church in weak position against Fascism because R.C. Church had no social programme. In search of a programme: From the Encyclical "Rerum Novarum" (1891) to the Encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" (1931). - In "Quadragesimo Anno" the R.C. Church accepts Fascist Sociology, i.e. the Corporate Society, but at the same time rejects definitely the Fascist Philosophy of the State, the Fascist Party and its claim to sovereign power. - The interpretation of "Quadragesimo Anno" becoming more favorable to Fascism in 1934 than it was in 1931. - What is the R.C. Church in for in the setting up of a Catholic Corporate State in Austria? - Relative failure of Protestantism in Germany. - Protestantism being Nationalist, goes Nazi, refuses, however, to accept the organisational and doctrinal implications of this fact. - The notable stand of the Pastors Emergency League and of the "Confessional Church of Brethren" against Fascist Totalitarianism. - The historic importance of this struggle for the future.

I. Community and society.

The ridiculous situation in Germany.

Community is the personal relationship of individuals.

Society is the impersonal ~~relationship~~ relationship of man,

the way in which i.e. institutions, organisations, customs.

There necessarily is a gap between the two.

The Christian approach is ~~to~~ to bridge this gap. The institutions of society should be such that the personal relationship of individuals ~~is~~ be not obstructed by

but helped ~~to~~ furthered, *by the institutions of society.*

The present crisis ~~is a crisis of our~~ society.

~~is~~ Its political and its economic institutions are mutually incompatible. Democracy and Capitalism do not go together any more.

Now, it is democracy, and not capitalism, ~~in~~ which ~~is~~ the Christian element in our society. It is the extension of democracy to the whole of society which is the solution. (Socialist economics).

Concluded the
in the third field)

They evade the issue and

The tendency to oppose this solution is Fascism. To scrap democracy and retain capitalism, consistently pursued, this leads to a basic attack upon Christian values.

esp. on
individualism

because democracy cannot be ~~maintained~~ otherwise, eliminated

The same is true, internationally. Unless an extension of community is brought about by the setting up of a world commonwealth of nations, war must destroy our civilisation. In this respect again, the first step must be to establish real national communities which alone can ~~proceed~~ proceed to the economic sacrifices involved in an international ~~society~~ society. In this respect also, Fascism represents, ~~not~~ an attempt to evade the issue, by making the nations into fighting units, combating one another. Here again, the idea of internationalism must be relinquished, in order to eliminate (Internationalism).

internationalism

the concept of mankind

Two ideas are rejected by Fascism: the individual as the unit of community and the idea of internationalism. They are co-relatives. We will see that the religious situation is mainly concerned with the conflict between the Christian and the anti-Christian concept.

The religious situation in Germany (cont.)

II. Birds eye view of the German Church position.

one side a/ The Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches
the other b/ the German Christians; and the German Faith Movement and
the National Socialist religion.

- a/ The Roman Church. The main feature of the Roman line was
 - aa/ a very early attempt at a compromise. The first Concordat ever signed between Protestant Prussia or Germany and the Pope, in 1933.
 - bb/ the failure of this compromise, pretty much on the same issues as ~~was~~ threatened to break it up in Italy: youth organisation, propaganda (Catholic action).
 - cc/ a state of conflict between the Third Reich and the Holy See. Diplomatic relationships precarious. Gobbels: "It ~~is~~ gives food for thought that the Pope still keeps diplomatic relationships with the Valencia government". Implications: The Pope not quite reliable from the point of view of "old views".
 - dd/ moving towards a cooperation with the Protestant Churches in Germany.
 - ee/ the persecution of the Catholic Church took particularly heinous forms in the immorality drives and foreign exchange smuggling affairs. Cardinal Paulhaber has shown real eminence although.
 - ff/ the Nazi religion in this respect playing also on prejudices of the masses. Anti-Romanism? In spite of or rather on account of the Democratic and Republican attitude of the Church in politics in Germany.

b/ The Protestant Church in Germany was much more nationalistic (the Romans were under the suspicion of ultramontanism i.e. of internationalism, in fact). And reactionary. Lutheranism altogether favorable to the State and without the ~~unlutheran~~ typical Free Church spirit of independence. Lutheranism influenced the Reformed Churches also. The Evangelical Church Nazi altogether. Deutschnational, at the best. But anti-republican, reactionary, anti-Socialist.

- aa/ ~~After 1933 ceased to be State Churches, government departments.~~
- bb/ ~~Under the Nazi regime to exhibit~~

3. The religious situation in Germany. (cont.)

b/ Protestant Churches (cont).

aa/ After 1919 they ceased to be State Churches, /but without
in theory: diseestablishment.
without any real change in their financial status.
This was left ~~MMN~~ to further arrangements, when the
educational system would be rearranged etc.

Weimar 135. Art. "There is no State Church." Right
to raise taxes on the official state lists. Religious
instruction is part of the regular curriculum of public
schools; with the exception of non-confessional
secular schools. The state has the right of super-
vision. (Liberty of the Church and sovereignty of the
state combined). A certain collaboration and co-
ordination between Church and State (Kirchenhoheit).
THIS STILL VALID. (

Provincial

bb/ 23 former State Churches united in one German National Church.
(Leichschaltung, or rather Unification).

cc/ July 1933 New Church Constitution
German Evangelical Church a corporation of public right.

New Church Constitution put into force by the State
To settle her relationship with the State on her own.
dd/ No State Church. But Gleichschaltung of the Church.
(Like the Aeneas problem, Like Danzig, Like
the rest of the Constitution; Still valid on paper
but put out of practice by Gleichschaltung from
within.)

ee/ Lutheran Reichsbishop.
Church ministry affiliated.
National Synod collaborates in Church government and legis-
lation.

ff/ The Church conflict developed as a struggle within this
Constitution; it is not settled; the present situation
chaotic; essentially: a new synod to be elected.
but the methods of election not agreed. February 15th 37
February 24th Five conditions: NO PROGRESS since.

e/ The German Christians.

The German Christians are the official group within the
Evangelical Church. That is the counter party to the
confessional Church. They accept the Dictatorship
principle in the church and the Aryan clause. While
the Confessional Church i.e. the organization of the
~~MMN~~ body of actual believers in the Church do not
accept them. (while being good Nazi for the rest i.e.
they do not repudiate the same principle in the State
at all.) No theology emerged. A failure. faded out.

The religious situation in Germany. (cont 2).

4.

d/ The German Faith Movement.

This is a religious movement on its own. In its extreme forms it receives ~~no~~ ~~rather~~ ~~no~~ ~~rather~~ ~~official~~ ~~recognition~~ from the State no rather official recognition. This was connected with the names of Baumler, of Haue and of Count Reventlow. This is not Christian it is avowedly anti-Christian. Teutonic and pagan. More aesthetic and romantic and sentimental character. Mysticism of Eckehardt used etc. Cf. Baumler's 25 Points. "Friends of Europe" pamphlets.

Handwritten: Lindendort

c/ ~~THE~~ National Socialism. The real opponent. The state religion. A myth and a philosophy. An outlook in its society, and history. Not officially a state religion, not even consciously a religion, but in effect the directive power behind the Church policy of the State. The actual reason of the Church conflict, since formally the constitution not in question and the German Christians hardly count. The trouble is that the State is imbued with a philosophy which is deeply anti-Christian and which ~~it~~ wishes to force upon the Church.

- aa/. The programme : positives Christitum Art 24. What does it mean? Continued phrase
- bb/. Rosenberg's visible Christianity. The negative Kty of the Churches.
- cc/. The Mythos of the 20th century. Hitler belief. Commissar for Weltanschauung in the Party: Rosenberg.
- dd/. Hitler: Main Kampf.: Dietrich Eckhart. (Not to be confused with the Mystic Eckehardt). Rosenberg's favorite.
- ee/. The rejection of universalism: ~~What is that~~ ^{of} ~~ALL~~ ideas that presuppose the validity of the concept of mankind: Liberalism, Democracy, Catholic Christianity, ~~HEBRY~~ ~~Archism~~, Socialism Internationalism. Every the fountain head of Christianity individual.

The corrective idea of the ~~UNIVERSALISM~~ as unequal Rosenberg's thesis: That Universalism and Individualism are correlatives. That the nation (or race) the reality. The naturalist position is the pagan element in it. Race not blood, but still the symbol of nature only.

III

The religious situation (cont).
in Germany.

5.

ff/. Democracy and internationalism cannot be finally eliminated unless the very consciousness of man is changed. Community required on a lower level. Not through higher and fuller responsibility of the individual but by his reversal to an animal level. This does not solve the problem but puts it off, and does not succeed in putting it off permanently. The increase of the hostile forces, of the enmity.

Inconclusion:

Theologically the Confessional Church (Karl Barth, Aemussen, Niemöller), accept

- a/ The critical nature of the present world situation.
- b/ the religious nature of this crisis.
- c/ their weakness appears to be that they do not include in their witness a definite understanding of the Christian force in history. if they stood for democracy and for internationalism (peace), they would ~~be~~ be the leaders of the world back to a reawakened Christianity.

Still, if ever men deserved the admiration of sincere Christians, they do.

Soviet Russia
1917--1937

Break-down of Imperial Russia, 1916:

Two Revolutions in 1917.

Bolshevik revolution under Lenin and Trotsky molded New Russia.

Four Periods:

1. 1917-22: Revolution, Civil-War, Invasions, Famine, Lowest Level.
Lenin introduces New Economic Policy.
- 2a. Recovery slow: 1922-27; Preparation for Five Year Plan
 - b. General facts about U. S. S. R.
 - c. Ideas and purposes.
3. 1928-32. First Five Year Plan.
Purposes:
 - a. Give Soviet Union heavy industry.
 - b. Collective agriculture
 - c. Carry out great enterprises
4. Second Five Year Plan---to increase volume of "consumer's goods."
5. Soviet Russia's Foreign Policy, 1927-37: Successful and effective.