



Reverence Number: 2020/001/BSR-PPS

Catholicism and the Frankfurt School

RUDOLF J. SIEBERT and MICHAEL R. OTT

Domains: Behavioural studies, Society and Religion / Philosophy and Philosophy of Science.

IUC course/conference: Future of Religion, 2020

Date of publication: 3 December 2020

DOI:

ISSN:

Inter-University Centre for Advanced Studies (IUC)

E-mail: iuc@iuc.hr / web site: <https://www.iuc.hr/>

Don Frana Bulića 4, 20000 Dubrovnik, CROATIA

Tel: 00 385 (0)20 413 626

IUC Working Paper Series

The IUC Working Papers aim to generate interest for and debate on the ideas and research outcomes presented at IUC-activities. The IUC Working Papers is an inclusive platform for sharing the output of IUC courses, conferences and research meetings. The papers can vary along the whole range of disciplines and subjects addressed in these IUC-activities. Only participants in IUC-activities are eligible to submit and publish papers -or later versions of papers- that were presented during an IUC-activity.

Authors:

Rudolf J. Siebert, Professor Emeritus in Comparative Religion, studied philosophy, theology, history, philology, psychology and sociology at the Universities of Frankfurt, Mainz and Münster, and at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC. Siebert created the Critical Theory of Religion and Society, or Dialectical Religiology. Siebert has taught, lectured and published widely for 64 years in Western and Eastern Europe, the United States, Canada, Japan and Israel. He is the Director of the international course on the "Future of Religion" in the IUC, Dubrovnik, and the Director of the international course on "Religion in Civil Society," in Yalta. Siebert has authored over 30 books and over 500 articles.

Michael R. Ott, Michael R. Ott is a retired Ordained Minister of the United Church of Christ and an Associate Professor Emeritus of Sociology from Grand Valley State University in Allendale, Michigan, USA. At GVSU, he specialized in the study, teaching and academic advancement of the critical theory of religion and society of the "Frankfurt School" through his courses, his 3 published books and several articles and book chapters, as well as his public speaking and social action activities. He is also a Co-Director of the IUC's "Future of Religion" course, which has been held annually since 1977.

Authors' details: Rudolf J. Siebert, Western Michigan University, 630 Piccadilly Road, Kalamazoo, MI 49006, USA; rsieb3@aol.com

Michael R. Ott, Grand Valley State University, 1448 Mt. Mercy NW
Grand Rapids, Michigan 49504, USA; ottmi15@yahoo.com

Catholicism and the Frankfurt School

Rudolf J. Siebert and Michael R. Ott

Professor Emeritus of Comparative Religions Western Michigan University
Associate Professor Emeritus of Sociology Grand Valley State University

Abstract

The paper traces the development from the medieval, traditional union, through the modern disunion, toward a possible post-modern reunion of the sacred and the profane. It concentrates on the modern disunion and conflict between the religious and the secular, revelation and enlightenment, faith and autonomous reason in the Western world and beyond. It deals specifically with Christianity and the modern age, particularly liberalism, socialism and fascism of the 20th and the 21st centuries. The problematic inclination of Western Catholicism toward fascism, motivated by the fear of and hate against socialism and communism in the 20th century, and toward exclusive, authoritarian, and totalitarian populism and identitarianism in the 21st century, is analyzed, compared and critiqued. Solutions to the problem are suggested on the basis of the Critical Theory of Religion and Society, derived from the Critical Theory of Society of the Frankfurt School. The critical theory and praxis should help to reconcile the culture wars which are continually produced by the modern antagonism between the religious and the secular, and to prepare the way toward post-modern, alternative Future III - the freedom of All on the basis of the collective appropriation of collective surplus value. Distribution and recognition problems are equally taken seriously.

Keywords: Frankfurt School; Critical Theory of Religion and Society; Cultural Marxism; History of Religions; Political Theology.

1. A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing

The starting point of our discourse today is the *Eternal Word Television Network's (EWTN)* and Arcadia Films' made for TV docudrama entitled, *A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing*.¹ This film, which has been repeatedly aired by the EWTN, purports to tell the story of the 1960's American community organizer and social activist Saul D. Alinsky (1909-1972) and of his influence in the development of what is called "cultural Marxism." Specifically, the program deals with the supposed harm that socialism has done to Catholicism in the 19th and 20th and beginning 21st centuries: particularly, by *Gramsci* in Italy, the Fabians in England, and the Frankfurt School in Germany and in America.² It is this later issue upon which we focus.

The viewers of this movie are told that the Frankfurt School, the Institute for Social Research, had been founded by Vladimir Lenin, and that it was responsible for the crisis of Catholicism during and since the Second Vatican Council, particularly for thousands of priests and nuns who left their vocation, not to speak of many laypeople, who lost their faith and left the Church since the Council in the 1960's. It is also falsely stated that the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research "was brought to the U.S. from Europe after World War II, [and] developed 'critical theory' as a strategy to change, revolutionize, and bring down America by criticizing it."³ This is categorically false. The critical theorists of the first generation of the Frankfurt School, who at the invitation of Columbia University in New York City to re-establish their Institute at this Ivy League research university, first fled the ascendancy of fascism in Nazi, Germany by moving to Geneva, Switzerland in 1933 and then came to Columbia University in 1935.⁴ The Frankfurt School is further mendaciously and ideologically denounced in the film for supposedly developing "the 'sexual revolution, the search for pleasure,' as the 'Critical theory exploited the differences between the sexes to excite gender conflict. It exploited their commonalities to incite gender confusion."⁵ Again, a complete interest-driven fabrication.

The conservative, Franciscan EWTN presents usually apologetically, and rightly, the great achievements of the performative power of the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth in history: the creation of hospitals and of universities, and the great works of art, of forms of religion, and of philosophies, and the liberation of the Roman slaves. However, while EWTN was honest about reporting the clerical sex scandals, it often forgot to mention and to repent other deeds of Christianity which could hardly be justified by the performative, or propositional, energy of Jesus's teaching: cruel heresy trials, Anti-Semitism, Anti-Judaism, Crusades and many other religious wars, the Holy Inquisition, witch hunting and killing, alliance with counter-revolutionary fascism through the Lateran Treaty with Benito Mussolini and the Reichskonkordat with Adolf Hitler, and the hate against revolutionary socialism and communism, etc. According to the Critical Theory of Religion and Society, (CTRS), informed by the only functionalist teaching of Rabbi Jesus of Nazareth, there have been false prophets, lying teachers, on the religious as well as on the secular side:

Beware of false prophets who come to you disguised as sheep, but underneath are ravenous wolves. You will be able to tell them by their fruits. Can people pick grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles? In the same way, a sound tree produces good fruit but a rotten tree bad fruit. A sound tree cannot bear bad fruit, nor a rotten tree bear good fruit. Any tree that does not produce good fruit is cut down and thrown on the fire. I repeat, you will be able to tell them by their fruits.⁶

2. Critical Theory of Religion and Society

During the late 1940's and 1950's, we developed the Critical Theory of Religion and Society (CTRS), which moved between the Catholic Theological Faculty of the Johannes Gutenberg Universität in Mainz, on one hand, and Max Horkheimer's and Theodor W. Adorno's Institute for Social Research at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, in Frankfurt a.M., on the other. Both were mediated through the left, or critical, or reform Catholic editors, Walter Dirks and Eugen Kogon of the Frankfurter Hefte, Journal for Culture and Politics.⁷ The two pairs of dioscuri, the believers and the enlighteners, were friends, but the believers never converted into enlighteners, nor did the enlighteners ever become believers. However, the two pairs of intellectuals respected each other and cooperated with each other. We developed the Critical Theory of Religion and Society with the help of Dirks and Kogon out of the Critical Theory of Society of Horkheimer and Adorno, of the later so-called Frankfurt School. We must admit that all the critical theorists from Horkheimer and Adorno, through Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse, to Jürgen Habermas and Axel Honneth, were concerned with the emancipation of the secularized philosophy from religion up to the present of the post-metaphysical thinking in the post-secular society.⁸ Yet, we must also stress that they all reflected on the controversial nature and relevance of the religious faith, and were willing to rescue its progressive elements, from saving justice to rational freedom, in the constellation of revelation and autonomous reason.

History of Religions

Our CTRS, or Dialectical Religiology (DR), traced the history of religions from the relative Medieval union of the sacred and the profane, faith and reason, through their modern disunion, toward their possible reunion in the future.⁹ We concentrated on the modern antagonism between revelation and autonomous reason, with the intent to reconcile them in a new way. We were aware that this antagonism between the religious and the secular, which for the past 500 years had continually deepened in the West, also produced splits in the religious communities themselves between believers who stressed revelation and tradition and negated Modernity, on one hand, and believers who were also open for the modern enlightenment, on the other. Likewise, we noticed that the general modern antagonism between the sacred and the profane was also divided enlighteners into those who negated religion and wanted it to disappear as fast as possible, on one hand, and enlighteners who were still open for religion and

wanted to rescue some of its progressive values into Modernity and Post-Modernity, on the other.

Reform Catholics

We definitely sided with our CTRS on the side of Walter Dirks and Eugen Kogon, who were open, critical, reform Catholics, and at the same time participated in the bourgeois, and Marxian, and later Freudian enlightenment.¹⁰ Walter had to go to prison and into internal exile for his Christian faith and his consequent, very early opposition to National Socialism. As theologian and journalist, Walter suffered much from fascism, together with his wife Marianne and his four children. Kogon was an Austrian Jew, who had converted to Catholicism, and had followed Thomas Aquinas, and had also become a critical Catholic. He then suffered much for his faith, and his consequent critique of National Socialism, particularly for seven years in the concentration camp Buchenwald, near Weimar, Germany's cultural center, where Goethe's Faust was born.

Critical Theory of Society

Max Horkheimer, the founder of the Critical Theory of Society, came from an assimilated Jewish, bourgeois family, which still prayed Psalm 91, and ate kosher.¹¹ In his Critical Theory of Society, he combined the bourgeois, Marxian and Freudian enlightenment movements. In 1933, when Adolf Hitler came into power and his Frankfurt Institute was occupied by the SA, Horkheimer had to leave fascist Germany into American exile. Adorno had a Jewish father and a Catholic mother, and was baptized a Catholic, and was educated a Protestant, and then participated in the bourgeois, Marxian and Freudian enlightenment.¹² He stayed as long as possible in Germany and England, and then followed Horkheimer into exile, not in the socialist Russia, but rather in the liberal America. Horkheimer and Adorno were enlighteners, who tried to translate progressive, theological elements mainly from Judaism, the Religion of Sublimity, and from Christianity, the Religion of Freedom, into the secular discourse of the modern culture experts: e.g., the Mosaic image- and name- prohibition into bourgeois and socialist enlightenment. They tried to reconcile Moses and Jesus, on one hand, and Kant, the greatest enlightener, on the other. They defined religion *as longing for the totally Other than the horror and terror of nature and history; as longing for perfect justice, and as unconditional love, which could not be found in this world; and as the longing that the murderer ought not to triumph over the innocent victim.*

3. Human Suffering

Thus, the enlighteners Horkheimer and Adorno certainly did not do any harm to the believers Dirks and Kogon, nor to the faith of any other Jew or Christian, or any other positive religion, as charged by the EWTN. Also, the Frankfurt School was not founded by Lenin, as was stated

in an EWTN program. It was not Eastern Marxist but rather Western Marxist, if Marxist at all, as it was also deeply influenced by Kantian, Hegelian, Nietzschean, Kierkegaardian, and Freudian thought. It was in reality founded by the rich Jewish, German-Argentinian, cereal or grain merchant Hermann Weil, and his son Felix and his friends in Frankfurt. Father Weil became rich during World War I, shipping cereal and grain to blockaded, starved out Germany, and Europe. Weil was a businessman with a conscience, who wanted to explore the causes of human suffering under capitalism. For this purpose, Weil founded two institutes for social research, one in Frankfurt and one in Moscow. Because of his wealth, the donor Weil very much dictated what was to happen in both institutes. When Kogon, the author of *The SS State*, not Dirks, had any doubts concerning his faith late in his life, then the reason was that he did not like the cruel way how early Christian communism¹³ dealt with the fraud of Ananias and Sapphira;¹⁴ or that the Cardinal of Vienna did not help his large family during the seven years he was in the concentration camp Buchenwald; or that the Church did not fulfill the promises it had given during the Second Vatican Council, but rather betrayed them: particularly to open up the windows toward the modern world (Aggiornamento), and to enter into discourse with it, and to learn whatever good it may contain, as he and Dirks learned from and cooperated with Horkheimer and Adorno and their Frankfurt Institute. The writings of Horkheimer, Adorno, and Jürgen Habermas appeared in the *Frankfurter Hefte*. Dirks edited a book with Adorno in the Frankfurt Institute. During the last years of their ownership of the *Frankfurter Hefte*, before they sold them to the Social Democrats who named them *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*, Kogon wanted to make a whole issue on the theodicy problem, but Walter resisted. Walter did not want to talk about the theodicy. The theodicy was central to the Frankfurt School. However, it was not the Frankfurt School, but rather the theodicy problem that was shaking Kogon's faith at the end. Admittedly, the theodicy was a central issue also of the CTRS.

Berlin Jew

Also, my friend Gregory Baum was not harmed in his faith by the Frankfurt School.¹⁵ Gregory was a Berlin Jew, who as a boy had escaped to England and Canada from fascist Germany in the last moment before the start of World War II. Here he converted first to the Baptist Church and then to the Catholic Church, and even became an Eremite-Augustinian monk and a priest. Gregory did not get into trouble with the Church because of the Frankfurt School. We talked much about the Frankfurt School up to the point where Pope Benedict XVI quoted affirmatively Horkheimer and Adorno in his last encyclical letter.¹⁶ Gregory was sympathetic to what I told him, but the dialectical writings of Horkheimer and Adorno were too complicated for him. Negative thinking was not his cup of tea. He was an optimist. Like Walter Dirks, Gregory did not like to talk about the theodicy problem in spite of the fact that theology was originally theodicy. Thus, Gregory did not really learn enough from the Frankfurters, or from Kant or Hegel, Schopenhauer or Nietzsche whom they followed, in order to be bothered by them in his faith. Gregory's difficulties with the Church were more of a practical kind. They started with his rejection of 5 rules on sexuality newly issued by the Vatican. Thus, he was no

longer allowed to hear confession. In consequence, he left his order and the priesthood, but continued to teach theology in Toronto. He was finally excommunicated not because of any doctrinal issue, but rather because he married without being laicized, after having waited for the Vatican's decision for a long period of time. All this had nothing to do with the Frankfurt School. Gregory and I were very different: he was a Jewish boy from Berlin, and I was an Aryan boy from Frankfurt, with very different, even opposite, experiences, theology, and ethics. Yet, a deep friendship bound us nevertheless together for many years. Up to his death, we often spoke and wrote to each other in German.

Ordination

In the 1950's, I did not let myself be ordained after a full theological education at the Universities of Mainz and Münster. However, this also had nothing to do with Horkheimer and Adorno, or the Frankfurt School, or any other member of it, but was rather due to the fact that the Church did not theologically reflect on the horrible, moral catastrophe of having allied itself with fascism through the Lateran Treaty with Benito Mussolini and the Reichskoncordat with Adolf Hitler, which is still valid today in the German Federal Republic, and through the treaties with other fascist states, e.g., Spain, Portugal and Croatia, because of its fear of and hate against socialism and communism.¹⁷ There was complete silence. There was no real repentance and remorse. Now, after the war, the former fascist clergy were promoted and rewarded, while the martyrs against fascism were forgotten: e.g., the fascist Catholic theologian and church historian Joseph Lortz, who could teach freely at the University of Münster and convert students to the NSDAP before and during the National Socialist period, on one hand, and the socialist, Jesuit Alfred Delp, on the other, who as member of the Kreisauer Kreis, was charged with high treason, in relation to the Staufenberg assassination attempt of 1944. Delp was found guilty by Roland Freisler, a convert from communism to Nazism, in his blood-court in Leipzig and was sentenced to death by hanging. He was executed in Berlin, Plötzensee, on February 2, 1945, being only 37 years old. Delp, a former student in the Dieburg college, in which I taught and got married, was committed to a personal socialism, based on a theonomous humanism, in spite of a Papal prohibition against Catholics becoming members of any form of socialism of 1931, which has not yet been rescinded up to the present, 2020. This happened two years before the Catholic Adolf Hitler came into power in January 1933, who, not like the brothers Strasser or Ernst Röhm, would protect the private ownership of the means of production, and thus the private appropriation of collective surplus labor, and would liquidate all forms of socialism and communism, which, if successful, would abolish all private property of the means of production, e.g., of Krupp, Thyssen, Bosch, Opel, etc., and would transform all private appropriation of collective surplus value into a collective one. Catholics, Protestants, fascists and liberals shared the hate and struggle against socialism and communism.

While the German prisoners of war were still coming home from the Eastern Front, the Soviet Union, it was completely forgotten that a little more than a decade earlier, four million baptized

Europeans had engaged in the crusade Barbarossa. Just as the Medieval Crusaders had marched to Novgorod, and Napoleon to Moscow with 800,000 men, so too the Barbarossa crusade of the fascist armies invaded the Soviet Union, and moved to Leningrad, Moscow and Kiev, where they killed 26 million Russians and 6 million Jews, and devastated every city, town and village. There were also thousands of army chaplains marching with them, who forgave their sins as they were committed. The Regens of the Priest Seminary of Mainz, Joseph, Maria Reuss, had been one of them. He wore the cross and the swastika on his uniform. He witnessed how thousands of Russian children were shot and slaughtered. On the back of a tank, he fought against atheistic communism so fanatically that he did not even notice how his feet were freezing off in the icy cold Russian winter. Later on, he had to be operated on without anaesthesia. Later, unable to be at the battle front, he served as chaplain in an SS prison in Paris, where he accompanied the prisoners daily to the gallows, or to the firing squad places, and when the executed were German soldiers, he wrote consoling letters to their relatives at home. After the war, Reuss still did not allow socialist students to enter his seminary. Constantinian Christianity continued under the Adenauer restauration. In August 1945, an American, Catholic, Army Chaplain of Polish origin blessed with holy water the first atomic bomb, which was dropped on Hiroshima, and, after having seen the horrendous damage, blessed the second bomb, which was dropped on Nagasaki; both bombs killing ten thousands of people, including also Catholic priests, and nuns, and their little disciples. When in this constellation, I was not able to let myself to be ordained, Constantinian Christianity, and not the Frankfurt School, was the reason.

Constantinian Christianity

Today, EWTN continues this Constantinian Christianity, including its anti-socialism and anti-communism, in America and elsewhere. It continually protests against Vatican attempts to have a treaty with Communist China. It imitates the anti-socialism of the conservative, populist Fox News, which has 3.68 million viewers, far more than its competitors, i.e., centre-oriented CNN, and the rather more left-wing MNSBC.¹⁸ Thirty-four percent of American adults chose the right-wing Fox News as their favourite news network in recent years. Right-wing EWTN even shares a contributor with right Fox News: Raymond Arroyo. During a Fox News Program on the Democratic National Convention on August 20, 2020, the traditional, Catholic Raymond Arroyo ridiculed a reformed Catholic nun for having taken off her Medieval habit following the Second Vatican Council, and for having dressed in modern clothing, and for continually travelling on a bus in order to help marginalized people. On the same day, EWTN celebrated the feast of the great Medieval saint Bernhard of Clairvaux, the son of a French feudal lord, and praised his writings on love, but forgot completely to critique his most powerful as well as most problematic propaganda for the second crusade, which cost the lives of innumerable Jews and Arabs. Today, in August 2020, Fox News is pure propaganda for the Trump Administration, surpassed only by the One American News Network, OANN, or by the right-wing, national web portal Breitbart News Network. With Fox News, EWTN

supports Trumpism, arguing like the Evangelical Right, e.g., Ryan Helfenbein from Liberty University, that, concerning the questionable, moral, authoritarian character of President Trump, God sometimes writes straight with crooked lines. From the Evangelical Right comes the news that the Chinese communists have produced and released the COVID-19 virus pandemic in order to destroy the free capitalist West; that strict measures against the pandemic undermine the American economy; that walls should be built around cities governed by the “dirty Democrats,” e.g., New York, in order to protect healthy America. Democrats are attacked and demonized, and Trump is defended and deified. Recently, one women’s program of EWTN glorified the enormous, economic accomplishments of President Trump, particularly for people of color, and the poor. For the upcoming Presidential elections of 2020, preachers of EWTN break the law as they support the Presbyterian candidate Trump and his Republican Party against the badly Catholic candidate Biden and his Democratic Party, supposedly because the former is against abortion and the latter is for it. EWTN is against abortion, but not against the death penalty, and not against war, e.g., the continual drone assassinations of foreign leaders in other, sovereign airspace, and not against fascism, but always against socialism and communism. Fox News and EWTN seem to follow Alex Jones’ far-right American conspiracy theory website, InfoWars, according to which the Deep State, meaning the Federal bureaucracy, uses the fear of the coronavirus in order to open the doors for the left’s New World Order, and Globalization, and to destroy America. No matter what happens, the right ecosystem, including Fox News and EWTN, insists on the conviction that the pandemic is a conspiracy against Trump, and therefore rejects the recommendations of the medical experts, at least to some extent, e.g., Anthony Fauci, a famous immunologist, as being servants of the Deep State. Also, EWTN follows the instincts of President Trump as the highest norm of the public sphere, situated between civil society and political state, rather than the Evangelium, the Sermon on the Mount.

4. Revolution and Counter-Revolution

In the view of the CTRS, for the past four months, three different groups of people have been present in the streets of American cities, including Kalamazoo, Michigan: two revolutionary, and one counter-revolutionary one. Members of the far-right Proud Boys group and counter-protesters, Antifa, violently clashed Saturday afternoon, August 15, 2020, at Arcrobinadia Creek Festival Place in downtown Kalamazoo, resulting in arrests. Assistant Chief Vernon Coakley of the Kalamazoo Department of Public Safety said a few people were arrested, but didn’t know exactly how many. The American civil war was the last bourgeois revolution. Thus, one present group or movement marching through the American cities today demands racial justice for all African American and people of color, and takes down both secular monuments of confederate officers and also religious monuments of missionaries, who were connected with the pre-bourgeois, feudal enslavement of the so-called American Indians, or

native people. Besides these people, who complete the bourgeois revolution, march another group, which initiates a democratic-socialist revolution, and which demands economic justice, or class equality, for all wage laborers, i.e., the collective appropriation of collective surplus value, the resolution of the final social contradiction between private and collective appropriation of collective surplus labor. A third group opposes both revolutionary movements on the American streets, a counter-revolutionary movement of authoritarian populists, of Trumpists, which include also members of the police and the army. Vice President Joseph Biden represents the New Deal, bourgeois, revolutionary group. Senator Bernie Sanders represents the social-democratic, revolutionary group. President Donald Trump leads the conservative revolutionary, or counter-revolutionary movement, opposing all forms of socialism inside and outside the country, with the help of Catholics and Evangelicals, Fox News and EWTN. At this moment, the bourgeois and democratic-socialist, revolutionary groups, are allied with each other against the counter-revolutionary, white-supremacist Trumpism. The Presidential election in November 2020 will decide the winning group for the immediate future, in one way or the other.

Theodicy

When Karl Heinz Haag left the Jesuit seminary St. Georgen near Frankfurt, and joined Horkheimer and Adorno in their Institute of Social Research, and was promoted and habilitated under them on a thesis that disproved and demolished the scholastic theodicy, his Jesuit teachers came to the occasion in great friendliness, only asking: *how can we say it better now?*¹⁹ Haag also did not let himself be ordained, but continued to teach and research as a Catholic philosopher and theologian.

Hope

Jürgen Moltmann did not lose his Lutheran faith when he became the student of the old Marxist Ernst Bloch, who was initially close to the Frankfurt School, and who influenced it greatly from the start, particularly in matters of religion.²⁰ Bloch enlightened young Moltmann about the utopian and revolutionary elements in Christianity. Moltmann's Christian theology of hope would never have come into existence without Bloch's Marxist philosophy of hope.

Political Theology

Johannes Baptist Metz did not lose his faith or his friendship with Karl Rahner when he began to learn from Bloch, as well as from Horkheimer and Adorno, and from Walter Benjamin and Jürgen Habermas.²¹ Without the Frankfurt School, Baptist would not have been able to develop his new political theology on the side of the working class, against the fascist, political theology of Carl Schmitt, Adolf Hitler's jurist and political theologian, and to contribute to the development of the Latin American liberation theology. Also, Baptist students, e.g., Helmut Peukert and Edmund Arens remained members of the Catholic Church, in spite of the Vatican's opposition to the new political theology and to liberation theology.

Liberal Theology

Also, Hans Küng's difficulties with the Church did not come about because of the Frankfurt School.²² In December 1978, Hans was forbidden by the Vatican to teach Catholic theology because of his attitude toward the Infallibility Dogma of Vatican I. This critical attitude Hans did not need to learn from the Frankfurters. For Hans, Horkheimer and Adorno and all the other critical theorists were simply atheists, or agnostics, with whom he could not make common cause. There was no cooperation between Küng's Ecumenical Institute in Tübingen and Horkheimer's Institute for Social Research. Karl Rahner criticized Küng and did not support him, not because he was influenced by the Frankfurt School, but rather because he was supposedly too close to Protestant liberalism. Hans was rather inclined toward a tamed capitalism rather than to the humanistic or democratic socialism of the Frankfurters, which however did not prevent him from talking with German Social Democratic politicians sometimes. Among his real friends, however, were the retired President of the German banking system, and the owners of Coca-Cola, as most generous donors for his Ecumenical Institute in Tübingen.

Post-Metaphysical Thinking

There are many more examples showing that the Frankfurt School had no destructive effect on religion in general, and on Christianity in particular. The Critical Theory of Society rather empowers the believer to become self-critical, and precisely thereby helps the faithful to be honest, and thus, to become a better, more prophetic and hope-filled believer in the midst of the post-secular world, who when seeing injustice being done even becomes a disturbing factor – a practitioner of “good trouble, necessary trouble”²³ – in order to resist becoming locked up completely in this world’s finite systems of immanence.²⁴ In his last masterpiece on faith and reason, *Also a History of Philosophy: The Occidental Constellation of Faith and Knowledge, and Rational Freedom: Traces of the Discourse about Faith and Knowledge*, post-metaphysical thinker, Jürgen Habermas, has summed up the open, secular, enlightenment position of the Critical Theory of Religion and of the Frankfurt School toward religion from its very start in Horkheimer’s work, *L'île heureuse* [“The Isle of Happiness] to the present. The critical Catholic theologian Edmund Arens, a former student of both the Catholic critical political theologian Metz and of the critical theorist Habermas, has affirmatively summarized Habermas’s two-volume work.²⁵ According to Habermas, secular Modernity has turned away from religion and theology with good reasons. However, reason would itself waste away and become emotionally and intellectually stunted with the disappearance of every thought that transcends what is in the world in its totality. The defense and protection against this entropy was a point of contact between the Critical Theory of Society and post-metaphysical thinking in general, on one hand, and the religious consciousness, on the other, as long as the latter incarnated itself in the liturgical praxis of a community, and as long as it thereby asserted itself as a present form of the objective spirit. Why not the absolute Spirit, the CTRS must ask?²⁶ Why this reduction?

Nevertheless, in the critical theorist Habermas's view, the religious rite claims to establish the connection with a Power that broke out of the Transcendence and into the finite world. As long as the religious experience can still lean on and base itself on this liturgical praxis of representing a strong Transcendence, it remains a thorn in the flesh of a Modernity, or even Post-Modernity, which has succumbed to the suction, the vortex, the maelstrom toward a being entirely without Transcendence. For Habermas, and the CTRS, so long as the religious experience keeps open for secular reason the question of whether there still exists unsatisfied, semantic contents of such Transcendence, which wait to be translated from the sacred into the profane dimension, religion will remain a vitally relevant and needed discourse partner in the historical and eschatological struggle to create a more humane, reconciled, virtuous and peace-filled future society of freedom in solidarity with all.²⁷

References

¹ The Libertarian Catholic. *A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing Review*. 2016.
<https://theliberiancatholic.com/a-wolf-in-sheeps-clothing-review/>

² Gumnior, Helmut/Rudolf Ringguth. *Max Horkheimer*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Verlag. 1988.
Scheible, Harmut. *Theodor W. Adorno*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg. 1989.

Schwan, Gesine. "Ein Aufruf. Für einen Europäischen Patriotismus" in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020. Vol. 67: 12-16.

Deschner, Karl Heinz. *Abermals krähte der Hahn. Eine kritische Kirchengeschichte von den Anfängen bis zu Pius XII*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books. 1964.

_____. *Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag. 1998

_____. *God and the Fascists. The Vatican Alliance with Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, and Pavelic*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books. 2013.

Gibbons Gibbon, Edward. *The History of Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. London. 1787.

³ Johnson, Michelle Laque. [EWTN Communications Director]. "This Year's Must See Film: EWTN's 'A Wolf In Sheep's Clothing.'" *Inside EWTN*. September 30, 2016.
<https://insideewtn.com/2016/09/30/this-years-must-see-film-ewtns-a-wolf-in-sheeps-clothing/>

⁴ Wiggerhaus, Rolf. *The Frankfurt School: Its History, Theories and Political Significance*. Michael Robertson [ed.]. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 1994: 143ff.

Jay, Martin. *The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research 1923-1950*. Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company. 1973

Wheatland, Thomas. *The Frankfurt School in Exile*. Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press. 2009.

Mednieta, Eduardo. *The Frankfurt School on Religion: Key Writings by the Major Thinkers*. New York & London: Routledge.

⁵ Johnson, Michelle Laque. op. cit.

⁶ Matthew 5-7; 7:15-20; Philemon 1-25.

⁷ Siebert, Rudolf J. *The Future of Religion: Creator. Exodus. Son of Man. Kingdom*. New Delhi: Sanbun Publisher. 2015.

_____. *The Evolution of the Critical Theory of Religion and Society: Union, Disunion, Reunion. (1946-2020)*. New Delhi: Sanbun. 2020.

⁸ Habermas, Jürgen. "Gespräch mit Jürgen Habermas. 'Das eigentliche Ziel ist die Transnationalisierung der Demokratie'" in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 2014/ 4/61.

_____. "Vom Funken der Wahrheit" in *Die Zeit* vom 9.4.2015

_____. *Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie. Band 1. Die okzidentale Konstellation von Glauben und Wissen*; Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag. 2019a.

_____. *Auch eine Geschichte der Philosophie. Band 2. Vernünftige Freiheit. Spuren des Diskurses über Glauben und Wissen*. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag. 2019b.

Habermas, Jürgen and Dieter Henrich. 1974. *Zwei Reden. Aus Anlass des Hegel-Preises*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1974.

Habermas, Jürgen and Niklas Luhmann. *Theorie der Gesellschaft oder Sozialtechnologie*. Frankfurt a.M.; Suhrkamp Verlag. 1975.

Habermas, Jürgen and Joseph Ratzinger. 2006. *The Dialectics of Secularization: On Reason and Religion*, ed. by Florian Schuller, trans. by Brian McNeil. San Francisco: Ignatius Press.

Habermas, Jürgen and Walter Steinmeier. “Integration oder Devolution? Über die Zukunft der Europäischen Union” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 2008/3.

⁹ Siebert, Rudolf. *The Critical Theory of Religion: The Frankfurt School*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press. 2001.

_____. *From Critical Theory to Political Theology: Personal Autonomy and Universal Solidarity*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 2002.

_____. “The Future of Religion: The Rescue of Religious Motives and Motivations through their Inversion into Secular Discourse,” in *Traditional Religion and Culture in a New Era*. Reimon Bachika [ed.]. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers. 2002.

_____. “The Open Dialectic of Jewish, Christian and Islamic Monotheism and Radical Enlightenment: Toward a Global Ethos of Autonomy and Solidarity,” in *Religion in Civil Society, Materials of the III International Seminar*, November in Yalta, Tatyana A. Senyushkina [ed.]. Simferopol:Tauria. 2002.

¹⁰ Dirks, Walter. “Die Entchristlichung der Arbeitswelt. Dokumentation zu Abschluss des Apostolats der französischen ‘Arbeiterpriester,’” in *Frankfurter Hefte*. 14 Jahrgang. Heft12. December 1959.

_____. “Erwartungen” in *Frankfurter Hefte*. XVII/10/. 1962.

_____. “Urteile” in *Frankfurter Hefte* XVIII/1/. 1963.

_____. “Zwischen den Zeiten. Brief an Eugen Kogon,” in *Frankfurter Hefte*. 18 Jahrgang. Heft 2. Februar. 1963.

_____. *Das schmutzige Geschäft? Die Politik und die Verantwortung der Christen*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books. 1967.

_____. *Die Antwort der Mönche: Zukunftsentwürfe aus Kritischer Zeit von Benedikt, Franziskus, Dominikus und Ignatius. Geschichtsauftrag der Ordensstifter*. Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau. Walter Verlag. 1968.

_____. *Der singende Stotterer* Autobiographische Texte. München: Kossel Verlag. 1983.

_____. *War ich ein linker Spinner? Republikanische Texte – von Weimar bis Bonn*. Mit einem Vorwort von Fritz Boll. München: Kösel Verlag. 1983.

_____. *Die Samariter und der Mann aus Samaria. Vom Umgang mit der Barmherzigkeit*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Lambertus Verlag. 1985.

_____. Discourse with Walter Dirks in his home in the Black Forest. May. 1, 1987.

_____. Discourse with Walter Dirks in his home in the Black Forest. May. 1988.

Dirks, Walter and Eberhard Stammer (eds). *Warum bleibe ich in der Kirche?* München: Mainz Verlag 1971.

Kogon, Eugen. *Der SS–Staat. Das System der Deutschen Konzentrationslager*. Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlag. 1965.

_____. “Revolution und Theologie–Das Neue in unserem Zeitalter. Ein Symposium,” in *Frankfurter Hefte*, Sept. 22 (9). 1967.

_____. *Der SS–Staat. Das System der Deutschen Konzentrationslager*. München: Wilhelm Heyne Verlag. 1995.

_____. *Der SS Staat*. Frankfurt a. M.: Europäische Verlag. 2002.

Kogon, Michael. 2003a. “Bilanz des Eugen–Kogon–Jahres 2003” in *Neue Gesellschaft / Frankfurter Hefte*, 50 (3). 2003a.

_____. “Kurze Geschichte der Erinnerung an meinen Vater” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*, 50 (3)2003b.:59–63.

Kojeve, Alexander. *Introduction a la Lecture de Hegel*. Paris: Gallimard. 1947.

_____. *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the Phenomenology of Spirit*. New York: Basic Books. 1969.

¹¹ Psalm 91.

Gumnior/ Ringguth, ob cit.

Horkheimer, Max. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bd.18. Frankfurt .1996.

_____. *Nachträge, Verzeichnisse und Register*. Frankfurt a. M.: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag. 1996.

_____. *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung*. München: Kösel. 1970.

Ott, Michael R. *Max Horkheimer's Critical Theory of Religion: The Meaning of Religion in the Struggle for Human Emancipation*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 2001.

_____. “Max Horkheimer’s Negative Theology of the Totally Other” in *The Future of Religion: Toward a Reconciled Society*. Michael R. Ott [ed.]. Leiden: Brill. 2006.

_____. “The Notion of the totally 'Other' and its Consequence in the Critical Theory of Religion and the Rational Choice Theory of Religion” in Warren Goldstein (ed). *Marx, Critical Theory and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice*. Leiben:Brill. 2006.

_____. “Psalm 91.” Translated by Michael R. Ott in Warren S. Goldstein, [ed.] *Marx, Critical Theory, and Religion: A Critique of Rational Choice*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 2006.

¹² Scheible, op cit.

_____. *Ob nach Auschwitz noch sich leben lasse: Ein philosophisches Lesebuch*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1997.

Adorno, Th. W. Kierkegaard. *Konstruktion des Ästetischen*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1962.

_____. *Drei Studien zu Hegel*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1963.

_____. *Negative Dialektik*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1966.

_____. *Dialektik der Aufklärung*. Philosophische Fragmente. Frankfurt a.M.: S. Fischer Verlag. 1969.

_____. *Drei Studien zu Hegel. Aspekte. Erfahrungsgehalt. Skoteinos oder Wie zu lesen sei*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1969.

_____. “Vernunft und Offenbarung,” in *Stichworte, Kritische Modelle* 2. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1969.

_____. *Stichworte*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1969.

_____. *Der Positivismusstreit in der deutschen Soziologie*, Neuwied and Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag. 1970.

_____. *Über Walter Benjamin*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1970.

Adorno, Theodor W. and Eugen Kogon. 1958a. “Offenbarung oder autonome Vernunft,” in *Frankfurter Hefte: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik*, 13/ (Juni 6) 1958:392–402.

_____. 1958b “Offenbarung oder autonome Vernunft” in *Frankfurter Hefte: Zeitschrift für Kultur und Politik*, 13 (Juni 7) 1958b:484-498.

Adorno, Theodor W. and Walter Dirks [eds.] 1974. *Sociologica I. Aufsätze. Max Horkheimer zum Sechzigsten Geburtstag gewidmet*. Frankfurt a.M.: Europäischer Verlag.

¹³ E.g., Acts 2:43-45; Acts 4:32-35

¹⁴ Acts 5:1-11.

¹⁵ Baum, Gregory. "Western Islam According to Tariq Ramadan" in *The Ecumenist: A Journal of Theology, Culture and Society*. 2004

_____. *Amazing Church: A Catholic Theologian Remembers a Half-Century of Change*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books. 2005

_____. *Reading the Signs: Religious Pluralism and Economic Injustice*. Ottawa, Canada: Novalis. 2007

_____. *The Theology of Tariq Ramada: A Catholic Perspective*. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: Novalis Publishing Inc. 2009

_____. *Catholic Theology in French Quebec*. Toronto: Regis College. 2014.

_____. *The Oil Has Not Run Dry, The Story of my Theological Pathway*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2017.

_____. Baum, Gregory [ed.]. *The Twentieth Century: A Theological Overview*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books. 1999.

¹⁶ Pope Benedict XVI. *Encyclical Letter: Deus caritas est*. Vatican. Dec. 25. [www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/index_en.htm] 2005.

_____. *Faith, Reason and the University: Memories and Reflections*. Vatican. Sept. [www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_university-regensburg_en.htm] 2006.

_____. *Encyclical Letter: Spe Salvi*. Vatican, Nov. 30. 2007. [www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/index_en.htm].

_____. *Saved in Hope...Spe Salvi*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2007.

_____. *Jesus of Nazareth, From the Baptism to the Transfiguration*, New York: Doubleday. 2007.

_____. *Caritas in Veritate*. Rome. At Saint Peter's on 29 June, See: [www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict-xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf-ben-xvi-enc-20090629-carit]. 2009.

_____. *Jesus Nazareth. Holy Week. From the Entrance into Jerusalem to the Resurrection*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press. 2011.

_____. "Die Ökologie des Menschen" in *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 23. Das Dokument. 2011.

_____. *Apostolic Letter: Porta Fidei*. Rome, October 11, 2012.

_____. *Homily*. Rome. October 7, 2012.

¹⁷ Siebert, Rudolf, J. *Die Anthropologie Michael Heldings, eines Humanisten und Theologen im Umkreis der Geistigen Neuordnung des 16. Jahrhunderts (1506-1561)*. Sigmaringen: Hohenzollernsche Jahreshefte. 1965.

_____. "A German Experience," in *At the Cross Road*, 5 (2 and 3):12-14. 1966.

_____. "Horkheimer's Sociology of Religion," in *Telos*, Number 30; Winter 1976.

_____. "Fromm's Theory of Religion," in *Telos*. Number 34. Winter 1977-1978.

_____. "Communication without Domination," in G. Baum und A. Greeley [eds.] *Communication in the Church*. New York: The Seabury Press (Concilium. Religion in the Seventies). 1978.

_____. *From Critical Theory of Society to Theology of Communicative Praxis*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America. 1979.

_____. *Hegel's Concept of Marriage and Family: The Origin of Subjective Freedom*. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America. 1979.

_____. *Hegel's Philosophy of History: Theological, Humanistic and Scientific Elements*. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America. 1979.

_____. *Horkheimer's Critical Sociology of Religion: The Relative and the Transcendent*. Washington, D. C.: University Press of America. 1979.

_____. “The Future of Marriage and Family: Withering Away or Restructuring” in A. Greeley [ed.] *The Family in Crisis or Transition. A Sociological and Theological Perspective*. New York: The Seabury Press. (Concilium: Religion in the Seventies). 1979.

_____. “Parson’s Analytical Theory of Religion as Ultimate Reality,” in Gregory Baum [ed.], *Sociology and Human Destiny*. New York: Seabury Press. 1980.

_____. 1983. “Adorno’s Theory of Religion.” in *Telos*. Number 58. Winter 1983.

_____. *Critical Theory of Religion: The Frankfurt School – From Universal Pragmatic to Political Theology*. Berlin: Mouton Publishers. 1985.

_____. “Marriage and Eucharist and Socialism,” in *Cross Currents*, (39) 4.1986:442–457.

_____. *From Critical Theory of Society to Theology of Communicative Praxis*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 1987

_____. *Hegel’s Philosophy of History: Theological, Humanistic and Scientific Elements*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 1987.

_____. *Hegel’s Concept of Marriage and Family: The Origin of Subjective Freedom*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 1987.

_____. *Horkheimer’s Critical Sociology of Religion: The Relative and the Transcendent*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press. 1987.

_____. From Critical Theory to Communicative Political Theology: Universal Solidarity. New York: Peter Lang Publishing. 1989.

_____. *Recht, Macht und Liebe: Georg W. Rudolphi’s Prophetische Politische Theologie*. Frankfurt a. M.: Haag and Herchen. 1993.

_____. *Critical Reflections on the Dialectical Relationship between Theology and Religiology, and other Human and Social Sciences*. New Brunswick, Canada: St. Thomas University Press. 1993.

_____. “Frankfurt to Dubrovnik: An Interview with Rudolf Siebert” by Stewart Donovan. *The Nashwaak Review*, Vol. 1 (Fall) 1994b:69–90.

Haunhorst, Benno.” Eine Erinnerung an den Jesuiten Alfred Delp,” in *Neue Gesellschaft/ Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67. 75-77.

Lortz, Joseph. *Katholischer Zugang zum Nationalsozialismus*. Second edition. 1934.

_____. *Die Reformation in Deutschland. Band I. Voraussetzungen. Aufbruch. Erste Entscheidungen*. Freiburg: Herder.1962.

_____. *Die Reformation in Deutschland. Band II. Ausbau der Fronten. Unionsversuche. Ergebnis*. Freiburg: Herder.1962.

_____. *Geschichte der Kirche*. Münster:Verlag. Aschendorff. 1964.

Deschner, Karl Heinz. *Abermals krähte der Hahn. Eine kritische Kirchengeschichte von den Anfängen bis zu Pius XII*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books. 1964.

_____. *Kriminalgeschichte des Christentums*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg:Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag. 1998.

_____. *God and the Fascists. The Vatican Alliance with Mussolini, Franco, Hitler, and Pavelic*. Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books. 2013.

¹⁸ Hincheman, Leo. “Kritische Diskussion oder Anbiederei? Die rechte Medienlandschaft in den USA” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67: 31-34.

Fitzi, Gregor. “Zum 100 Todestag von Max Weber” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67: 46-49.

Kesting, Hanjo. “Vor 150 Jahren starb Charles Dickens,” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67: 49-53.

Hamann, Frauke. “Robert Misik’s Analyse des Populären” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67: 57-61.

Baron, Ulrich. “Neue Bücher über die USA” in *Neue Gesellschaft/Frankfurter Hefte*. 6/2020 / 67: 67-70.

Siebert, Rudolf. *The World Religions in the Global Public Sphere: Towards Concrete Freedom and Material Democracy*. New Delhi: Sanbun. 2013.

¹⁹ Haag, Karl-Heinz. Discourse with Professor Dr. Haag at his home in Frankfurt a. M.-Höchst in April. 1981.

_____. Discourse with Professor Dr. Haag at his home in Frankfurt a. M-Höchst in April. 1982.

_____. *Der Fortschritt in der Philosophie*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1983.

_____. *Metaphysik als Forderung rationaler Weltanschauung*. Frankfurt a.M.: Humanities On-Line. 2005.

²⁰ Bloch, Ernst. *Thomas Müntzer als Theologe der Revolution*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1921.

Moltmann, Jürgen. *Theologie der Hoffnung. Untersuchungen zur Begründung und zu den Konsequenzen einer christlichen Eschatologie*, München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag. 1968.

_____. “Die Endzeit hat begonnen. Warum viele Amerikaner die Bibel als verschlüsselten Fahrplan der Weltgeschichte lesen,” in *Die Zeit*, Nr. 51 12. 2002.

_____. *Wissenschaft und Weisheit. Zum Gespräch zwischen Naturwissenschaft und Theologie*, Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus 2002.

²¹ “The Catholic theologians Karl Rahner and Johann Baptist Metz and the Protestant theologian Jürgen Moltmann – perhaps the most important protagonists of Political Theology in the Federal Republic – engage intensively with the Critical Theory of Horkheimer and Adorno: this is particularly true of Metz and Moltmann. Unmistakably, the predominantly positive reception of Horkheimer’s later writings was connected with the Second Vatican Council of 1962-65 and the ‘Dialogue between Christianity and Marxism’ resulting from it between 1965 and 1975. ... The relationship of Political Theory with political action, like that of Critical Theory, should be ‘only indirect ... In this context, and with direct reference to Horkheimer, Adorno and Walter Benjamin, Metz develops the concept of ‘faith as remembrance’ and speaks of the ‘dangerous kind of remembrance that call our present into question because we remember an unendured future.’” Eitler, Pascal. “Max Horkheimer’s Supposed ‘Conversion’” (pp. 26 & 27]) in *The Early Frankfurt School and Religion*. Margarete Kohlenbach and Raymond Geuss [eds.]. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Metz, Johann Baptist. “The Future in the Memory of Suffering,” in *Concilium: Religion in the Seventies: New Questions on God*. Johannes B. Metz [ed.] New York: Herder and Herder.

_____. *Theology of the World*. William Glen-Doeppel [Tr.] New York: Seabury Press. 1973.

_____. *Faith in History & Society: Toward a Practical Fundamental Theology*. David Smith [Tr.] New York: The Seabury Press.

_____. *A Passion for God: The Mystical-Political Dimension of Christianity*. J. Matthew Ashley [Tr.]. New York, Mahwah, N.J.: Paulist Press. 1998.

Siebert, Rudolf J. *Manifesto of the Critical Theory of Society and Religion: The Wholly Other, Liberation Happiness, and the Rescue of the Hopeless*. Volumes 1-3. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2010.

Ott, Michael R. “Fomenting the Constellations of Revolutionary ‘Now-Time:’ Walter Benjamin’s Dialectical Theory of Religion, Society and History” in *The Critique of Religion and Religion’s Critique: On Dialectical Religiology*.” Dustin J. Byrd [ed.]. Leiden, Boston: Brill. 2020.

Garaudy, Roger. *From Anathema to Dialogue. A Marxist Challenge to the Christian Churches*. (esp. pp. 60-61). Luke O’Neill [Tr.] New York: Vintage Books.

Hewitt, Marsha Aileen. “Memory, Revolution, and Redemption: Walter Benjamin and Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza” in *Critical Theory of Religion: A Feminist Analysis*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: Fortress Press. 1995.

Colombo, J.A. *An Essay on Theology and History: Studies in Pannenberg, Metz, and the Frankfurt School*. AAR Studies in Religion. Atlanta: Scholars, 1990.

Prevot, Andrew. “Apocalyptic Witness: Johann Baptist Metz. (1928-2019). The Political Theology Network. December 14, 2019. <https://politicaltheology.com/apocalyptic-witness-johann-baptist-metz-1928-2019/>

²² Küng, Hans. 1965. *The Council, Reform, and Reunion with an Introduction*. Garden City, NY: Image Books.

_____. *Menschwerdung Gottes: Eine Einführung in Hegel's Theologisches Denken als Prolegomena zu einer künftigen Christologie*. Freiburg: Herder Verlag. 1970.

_____. *Freiheit des Christen*. Hamburg: Siebenstern Taschenbuch Verlag. 1972.

_____. *Christ Sein*. München: R. Piper and Co. Verlag. 1974.

_____. *The Church*. Garden City, NY: Double Day and Co. 1976.

_____. *Existiert Gott? Antwort auf die Gottesfrage der Neuzeit*. München: R. Piper Verlag. 1978.

_____. *Wegzeichen in die Zukunft. Programmatisches für eine christlichere Kirche*. Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag. 1980.

²³ Statement made by the late John Lewis – who was an ordained Baptist minister, who received many Honorary Doctorates of Law, and was a 33 year Congressman from Georgia - on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama on March 1, 2020 during a march that commemorated the March 1, 1965 “Bloody Sunday” march of peaceful protestors who were beaten by police for crossing the bridge. See: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/how-we-rise/2020/07/23/five-things-john-lewis-taught-us-about-getting-in-good-trouble/>.

²⁴ Habermas 2019a-b, op cit.; Siebert 2020a op. cit.

²⁵ Ibid.

Horkheimer, Max. *Aus der Pubertät: Novellen und Tagebuchblätter 1914–1918*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Verlag. 1988.

_____. *Nachgelassene Schriften 1914-1931*. Frankfurt a. M.:Fischer - Taschenbuch Verlag 1987: 289-328

Arens, Edmund, “Von der rettenden Gerechtigkeit zur Vernünftigen Freiheit: Jürgen Habermas rekonstruiert Konstellationen von Glauben und Wissen.” In *Online Journal: “Ethik und Gesellschaft.”* July 2020.

²⁶ Hegel, Georg W.F. “De orbitis planetarum.” David Healan [Tr.]. System of Science-Hegel. net. October 24, 2007. [www.hegel.net/en/v2133healan.htm.1801.

_____. *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*. London. 1896.

_____. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. Leipzig: Philosophische Bibliothek Band 124, 1921.

_____. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Geschichte*. In *Sämtliche Werke*, herausgegeben von H. Glockner. Stuttgart. Band 11. 1949.

_____. *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Hamburg: Verlag Felix Meiner. 1952.

_____. *Wissenschaft der Logik*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag. 1964.

_____. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*. Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt Friedrich Frommann Verlag.1965.

_____. *The Phenomenology of Mind*. New York: Harper and Row. 1967.

_____. *Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1969.

_____. *Jenaer Schriften*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag. 1972.

_____. *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1976.

_____. *System of Ethical Life (1802 and 3) and First Philosophy of Spirit (Part II of the System of Speculative Philosophy 1803 and 4)*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1979.

_____. *Frühe Schriften*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1986.

_____. *Jenaer Schriften 1801–1807*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1986.

_____. *Phänomenologie des Geistes*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1986.

Jamme, Christoph/Helmut Schneider. >Hegel's ältestes Systemprogramm< des deutschen Idealismus. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1984.

Taylor, Charles. 1989. Sources of the Self. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1989.

_____. *Hegel*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 1993.

_____. *A Secular Age*. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag. 2007.

_____. *The Ethics of Authenticity*. New York: Harvard University Press. 2019.

²⁷ Jay, Martin. op. cit.

_____. *Marxism & Totality. The Adventures of a Concept from Lukacs to Habermas*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1984.

Habermas 2019a-b: 809, op.cit; Siebert 2020, op cit.

Horkheimer, Max. *Aus der Pubertät: Novellen und Tagebuchblätter 1914–1918*. op. cit.

_____. *Nachgelassene Schriften 1914-1931*. Frankfurt a.M: Fischer - Taschenbuch Verlag. 1987: 289-328.

_____. “Die Sehnsucht nach dem ganz Anderen: Gespräch mit Helmut Gumnior [1970],” in Max Horkheimer, *Gesammelte Schriften Band 7: Vorträge und Aufzeichnungen 1949-1973*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbook Verlag. 1985.