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For Freedom and Justice

At the occasion of the 200th birthday of the workers'
bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler

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On 25th December 2011 we commemorated for the 200 time the birthday of Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811-1877), the workers' bishop. Pope Leo XIII who in 1891 had published the first social Encyclical *Rerum novarum* is said to have called him one of his greatest predecessors. This is written by generations of biographers of Ketteler and by catholic scientists.¹ Even if unfortunately none of them tells us when and where Pope Leo has exactly said this - thus the authenticity of the citation remains questionable - it is at least well invented. For it is a matter of fact that Ketteler is in a certain way the ancestor of Catholic Social Teaching. In the 19th century he was perhaps the most important pioneer of modern social-ethical thinking within the Church. That means that he was one of the first amongst people who recognized that the social problems accompanying the industrialization and modernization of the society cannot only be fought by the traditional means of Christian charity, but that they represent a political challenge.

"To be Christian means to be political" - such is the title of the recently published book by the Munich archbishop Reinhard Cardinal Marx in which he honours the life and the work of Ketteler. That what is and was new with the social-ethical perspective compared with the traditional individual ethical ethics of virtue within the moral theology is commented by Cardinal Marx with the parable of the charitable Samaritan (Lk 10, 25 - 37). Whilst the parable read under the aspects of ethical virtues is a call not to leave the person caught by the robbers at the border of the street but to help him, social ethics regard beyond the individual fate and the concrete situation: Their prime question is concerned with how the streets between Jericho and Jerusalem can be made safer and how in future raids of this kind can be avoided.

Of course both perspectives are internally linked insofar as charity is not only the motivation of individual help, but also the driving force of political engagement: "Active charity also aims at structural questions of justice which under the respective new conditions must be matter of new reflection of changes".² Insofar social teaching is not a turning away from the Church of its original characteristics, but "social-political diacony",³ thus realization of one of the three fundamental achievements of the services of the Church: liturgy, martyrdom (proclamation), diacony. For, thus

the significant justification by Ketteler: "The social question touches the depositum fidei".⁴

With the development of social teaching or social ethics linked with socio-scientific methods and analysis the Church and theologians have taken into account the circumstance that social inconveniences in the very complicated modern mass society are less due to the misconduct of individual persons, but rather to structural causes. Here the "learning object" was the question of workers as it came up in Europe and Northern America in the course of industrialization. The workers' misery in the early industrialized societies has its reason less in the malevolence of the entrepreneurs than rather in the circumstance that the early capitalism was operated in a space largely without law, had no ordering framework, as we would say today. In a modern society it therefore is much more important than at the time of the charitable samaritan to help the victims in the social situation, but by structuring this situation, and to take care that finally such victims will not exist. And Ketteler was not only within the Church one of the first who recognized and proclaimed this.

The political engagement of Ketteler was however not restricted to the social question or his engagement for social justice. The second of his "great vital subjects"⁵ was freedom. Pope Benedict XVI remembered this at his visit of Germany end September 2011. In his speech at the official welcome by the Federal President Christian Wulff in the Garden of Palais Bellevue he cited Ketteler with the words "such as religion need freedom, freedom need also religion".⁶

Catholic antimodernism and social anticlericalism

The sentence originates from the year 1848. Ketteler pronounced it in a spontaneous speech at the general assembly of the catholic associations, at the first German Catholic Conference. At the time this assembly had been created because catholicism had difficulties with the modernizing society, in the same manner the modern society felt provoked by catholicism. The European fanal of the beginning modern trend, the French revolution, violently shook the Church in its fundamentals. Within some years the Church lived a dramatic erosion of its during centuries grown political power and economic force.

But not only these solid circumstances resulted in a European catholicism characterized in the 19th century by antimodernism and integralism, thus in the tendency to retire in a spiritual and social catholic barricade of wagons. An anticlericalism largely usual in civil élites corresponded to the catholic antimodernism. For many enlightened spirits of the 19th century catholicism was a relict from the past dark periods, an irrational superstition. At the universities, in politics, in the corps of officers and in other elitist groups confessional catholics seldom had a chance of career.

Persons in this way excluded and marginalized in their efforts of self-affirmation insolently around the Church, their antimodernism was - translated in the terminology of Hegel - part of a "fight for recognition".⁷ Not only the vocations of priests and orders were enormously growing, it was also tried to organize in associations the catholic laymen. This was the hour of birth of catholicism in associations which during about hundred years should be cement of catholicism in Germany. Catholic associations were founded for all possible groups of persons and sectors of life. And as central annual meeting for these associations was created the general assembly, the first of them in the in 1848, the turbulent year of revolution.

Crucially catholic

Ketteler had been invited to this general assembly as deputy of the national assembly at the Paul Church at Frankfort, assembly charged to prepare the constitution of an unified Germany. Originally his planning of life had been quite different. As descendant of a family of an old westphalian nobel species he began to study law and entered the service of the Prussian State. But then came up an event which was something like the furious first act of the drama of Church fight in Germany and which also changed definitely the life of Ketteler: His employer, the Prussian State, removed in 1837 the archbishop of Cologne Clemens August zu Droste Vischering (1773-1845) from his office and arrested him. The reason of the arrest was a curious quarrel on the so-called "issue of mixed marriages", thus the juridical and clerical handling of marriages between partners with different confessions. The Cologne archbishop had instructed according to the orders of clerical law to support such marriages only if the engaged couple promises solemnly that the children proceeding from the marriage are

baptized under the catholic confession. On the contrary the Prussian government had fixed by decree that the children proceeding from mixed marriages shall in principle be educated in the confession of the father. Therefore the government interpreted the instruction of the archbishop as a public appeal to infringe the law and invited him to renounce to his office. As the intransigent man refused, the government removed him at short term and arrested him at Minden (North Rhine-Westphalia).

This was an arbitrary act motivated by politics. The Prussian administration had before the whole world done wrong which however did not retain many protestant conservatives and also many liberalists to applaud the authorities. Ketteler was confronted with a decision and left his services with the Prussian State. He went to Munich and joined a group formed around Joseph Görres (1776 - 1848), professor at the Munich University, the head of the catholic innovation movement. In Munich he decided to study theology and entered the priests' seminary.

From the peasants' pastor to the spokesman of the German bishops

Already at his first posts as chaplain at Beckum (1844-1846) and clergyman at Hopsten (1847 - 1849), a small community at the Northern border of the region of Tecklenberg, it became clear that Ketteler did not only feel himself responsible of the spiritual issues of the people entrusted to him but also of their social issues. At Beckum he initiated the building of a hospital and at Hopsten he worked till complete exhaustion in order to bring the farmers in his community through the winter of famine in 1846/47.

As in 1848 in Germany the revolution broke out fellow travellers urged him to be candidate of the National Assembly. His funeral speech for two murdered parliamentary colleagues and his speech – cited by Pope Benedict - at the first Catholic Conference made him in short time a national celebrity. Quite naturally superior tasks were awaiting for him. He was offered most important and the most difficult vicarage in the Prussian Kingdom: St. Hedwig in Berlin. Only after continuous urging from State and Church authorities he finally accepted the offer and thus he became provost of Berlin and principal episcopal delegate for the Mark Brandenburg and Pomerania.

But Berlin was for Ketteler not more than an intermediate station. He had also found attention in Rome and in 1850 Pope Pie IX nominated Ketteler bishop of Mayence. With this office he stood in the centre of the growing conflicts of ecclesiastical policy. He succeeded himself for a relatively long period, to maintain more or less good relations with his regional sovereign grand duke of Hessen-Darmstadt: But as suffragan of the Upper-Rhine Church Province he experienced already in 1853 how his metropolite , the very old Fribourg archbishop Hermann von Vicari (1773-1868) was placed under home-arrest during the ecclesiastical fight in Baden. In this conflict and in the again and again escalating discussions, since 1871 between the State and the Church during the so-called fight of culture, Ketteler was attributed quickly the role of one of the leading spokesmen of the Church. And this role did not remain limited to the area of ecclesialistical policy. Since the sixties of the 19th century, Ketteler made heard his eminent voice also in the area of social policy. Ketteler became the social conscience of the Church and people conferred to him the honourable title "workers' bishop".

"Ultramontan", but nevertheless obstinate

Also within the Church Ketteler did not fear the conflict. Many people were surprised that the in principle as "ultramontan" considered bishop became in the discussions on the dogmatization of the infallibility of the pope one the spokesmen of the minority of bishops at the First Vatican Council (1869/70) who were against the dogmatization. Politically he was led by considerations of opportunity. He did not intend to provoke a further escalation of the conflicts between the Church and the State. Under the theological aspect he did not as such reject infallibility, but for him it was important to exclude its absolutistic misunderstanding. In order not to vote against the majority he untimely left the Vatican Council. Nevertheless he recognized the dogma, but contrary to many an other theologian of his time he emphasised the essential linking of the infallibility of the Pontifex with the faith of the Church. Thus he provided a theological interpretation of the primacy of the pope which in his basic features is wholly situated on the line of the ecclesiology of the Second Vatican Council (1462 - 65).

The close relationship of Ketteler with Rome and especially his adoration

for Pope Pie IX were unbroken also after the Council. Therefore he was very much concerned to attend in the early summer of 1877 the festivities of the Golden episcopal jubilee of the Pope. He started the travel with a not completely cured infection, a travel which he should not survive. After the festivities he left Rome in a completely weakened condition and he died on his return on 13th July 1877 in the capucine monastery Burghausen near Altötting.

Freedom and the liberties of the Church

Within the discussions of the 19th century with the Catholic Church, for many liberals the end justified the means. This was not only made clear when the liberals of the Prussian regional parliament and of the parliament of the Reich adopted the Bismarck Law on the fight of cultures. In order to achieve the objectif to break the political and the social influence of the Church people were well prepared to throw away sublime principles of the classical liberalism, above all the ideal of the sovereignty of the law. It was the objectif of the classical liberalism to restrict and to submit the general rules the sovereign and constraint power of the State, whoever exercises this power. For the liberals of the 19th century it was especially important that the power was exercised by the right institution; for the national liberalists this was the civil elite, for the radical liberalists the majority of all people. But if one had succeeded to lay the power in the right hands, these new liberals did not intend to fasten such power so much. For also with this group the classical-liberal confidence in the advantages of a social development as free as possible has been replaced by the ideal of rational planning.

In his publications Ketteler succeeded very well to designate these weaknesses and inconsistencies of his liberal contemporaries. "The modern liberalism" - thus he writes in his book Freedom, Authority and the Church of 1862 - "is according to its most internal nature completely on the side of everything must be ruled by the government and is therefore the spiritual child and heir of the absolutistic monarchy and bureaucracy of the past centuries. It distinguishes from these only by the external form, only by words which seem to say the contrary, only by the committees which handle violence, whilst the original essence of liberalism which again and

again breaks through the appearance is lacking respect centralization omnipotence of the State at the expense of individual and corporate freedom".⁸

If Ketteler is defending here individual and corporate freedom against the "etatism" of his time he should not be hastily interpreted as being liberalist. It was the concern of Ketteler in his publications to defend the traditional liberties of the Church and not the individual freedom of the autonomous individual in the meaning of classical liberalism. It is a ruse of history that the catholics defending freedom and the right of self-administration of the Church against the infringements of a profiteering bureaucracy got a differentiated image of modernism. This development can be well verified in texts written by Ketteler. He takes up the - in principle rejected - liberal idea of law and order, in order to defend the Church against the hostilities and the infringements of the State: "If modern liberalism would be honest and consequent it should despite its erroneous principles nevertheless recognize the principles of self-administration and of self-determination and then one could peacefully live together in one State".⁹ The reference to the liberal notion of freedom thus remains formal and instrumental, to the liberalism as ideology Ketteler takes *expressis verbis* distance. Nevertheless the efforts to reconstruct the traditional liberties before the background of the modern liberal understanding of freedom must not be underestimated in its importance. In an epoch where numerous catholics in toto rejected the liberal thinking as being diabolic, Ketteler and a few other people entered a productive exchange of views with liberalism. And as one can await from a good controversy, it achieved progress of cognition. And in trying to understand the thinking of his opponent and to discover there contradictions or ideological prejudices he also sharpened his mind as regards the consistence of his own catholic ideology. The attacks on catholicism in the name of freedom forced the Church and theology to reconsider the own genuine Christian understanding of freedom. They recognized that Christian faith itself was incompatible with the traditional structures of authoritarian sovereign and spiritual tutelage from which the Church had *prima facie* profited for centuries. Against this background one can read with Ketteler surprising things, for instance on the issue of freedom of religion and of conscience: "The Church honours so much the

freedom of religion and of conscience that it rejects each external constraint on those who are not members of the Church as being immoral and completely impermissible."¹⁰

Property obliges

Already in his speech at the Catholic Conference of 1848 Ketteler had dealt with the social issue. In his opinion it was "the most difficult question not yet resolved despite all legal provisions, all form of State".¹¹ His speech had so much impressed the auditorium that he was invited to preach the traditional Advent sermons of that year in the cathedral of Mayence. In these sermons Ketteler took up again the social question. At this time he did not yet dispose of an analysis with real socio-ethically foundation or of a socio-political concept of solution. At that time he was still convinced that the issue of workers before the background of the modern liberal understanding of freedom had to be attributed less to socio-economic causes than to religious causes: "The turning away from Christianity is the reason of our ruin, without this knowledge we cannot be saved"¹², was his preach.

Despite an under socio-scientific aspects still insufficient analysis the Advent sermons are mentioned at right in each appreciation of the socio-ethical and social activity of Ketteler. The reason therefore is that here he remembers his contemporaries - essentially with reference to Thomas of Aquino (1225-1274) - of the traditional Christian conception of property which is closely related to the faith of creation. God as the creator of the world is the true and unique proprietor of all secular goods. To the contrary, the human right of property is restricted, for Ketteler it is not a comprehensive right of disposition, but solely a right of use, "at first the right of social welfare and administration,¹³ secondly the right of usufruct." And here the crucial point is : The human proprietor is only allowed to exclude his co-citizens from the social welfare and the administration of the goods, but never from the usufruct. The human being "shall never consider the fruits .as his property but as a common good of all human beings and therefore he shall be well prepared to help other people in need."¹⁴

Thus Ketteler defines the principle "property obliges" which later on was

introduced in article 14 of the (German) Fundamental Law, article concerning the right of property. For him it was important that this Christian understanding of property took decisive distance from the liberalism and the socialism of the epoch. He defended the right of property against the proclamation of the communist manifest (also published in 1848) abolishing private property. Against the "absolutism of property" of the liberalism he defended the social obligations of property. But for Ketteler this principle was *expressis verbis* not yet a juridical but a purely moral principle. At that time he did not want any intervention by the State in the property right, such as for example the financing of the social policy of the State. The social problems should rather be resolved by active charity of rich people as compared with poor people.

Workers' solidarity and social reform

Also as bishop Ketteler defended above all this opinion. Therefore for a long time he was not concerned with the discussions of social reforms and social policy of his epoch. As bishop he was rather concerned by the development of the structures of charity in his diocese. Here he used the support of different apostolic order communities which for some part he called exactly for this end in his episcopate and which created different institutions in order to help deceased people, invalid people, orphans or women without employment.

1863 the socio-political discussions in Germany were moving. At the beginning of that year the socio-liberal Prussian deputy Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch published two reports which he had presented to the Berlin association of workers. Alone the title of this paper "*Chapter of a German workers' catechism*" could be felt by catholics as a provocation. Here Schulze-Delitzsch proclaimed the idea of workers' self-help, close to the cooperative idea as it was already practised at that time in England. The socialist Ferdinand Lassalle also took up the idea of cooperatives and solicited productive cooperatives in the creation of which he saw the sole possibility to resolve the workers' issue. Both proposals excited the attention of the public. An appearance of Lassalle at Mayence on 20th May 1863 found big resonance also with the catholic workers. Some days later on was founded at Leipzig the *General German Workers' Association*, the

first social-democratic party in Germany. Catholic workers attended too.

Ketteler who for a long time was in principle convinced of the urgency of the workers' issue and moreover had a marked political instinct began to consider more closely the proposals as to social reforms which were presented by both camps of the ideological opponents. He began to study economic and socio-political publications of his epoch and presented already in 1864 a book with the title "*The workers' issue and Christianity*". With this publication Ketteler said farewell to the idea that the workers' issue could be resolved essentially by the means of social charity. The book reveals a clear understanding of the most important contexts of national economy. Ketteler thoroughly justifies that he as bishop and the clerical community could not remain uninterested given the importance of the social issue. The misery of many workers and of their families touches the human dignity of the persons concerned. Christians who believe that God Himself has become human being in order to give back to them their human dignity could not admit that they lose this dignity, due to a social situation produced by human beings. As model of a solution Ketteler - such as his contemporaries Lassalle and Schulze-Delitzsch - believed in "the wonderful idea"¹⁵ of the cooperatives. Like Lassalle he here focussed the productive cooperatives, but contrary to the social democrats he rejected their financing by the State.

Turning to social policy

Ketteler dealt with the idea of social reform in his book of 1864, without wishing as ever a social policy by the State. Already one year after the publication of his book Ketteler revised his position in a speech with the Mayence journeymen's union 1865. Now he was convinced that the issue of workers could not be resolved without the State. His turn was so clear and for a catholic bishop so disallowed that the speech of Ketteler was printed in the newspaper *Social Democrat* of the German General Workers' Association.

Now Ketteler had reached a point of view which in its fundamental features is in accordance with catholic social teaching and therefore Ketteler can at right be qualified as the pioneer of this teaching. His way thereto can be described in keywords as follows: From the charity welfare

via the idea of social reform to social policy. He wrote his two important socio-political texts in 1869. These two speeches were largely distributed in printed form. The first speech was presented in the framework of a devotion with 10.000 workers at the "Liebfrauheide" near Offenbach (Hessen). It is considered to be the "Magna Charta of the Christian Workers' Movement".¹⁶ The second text was generated as a report with the Fulda Episcopal Conference by which Ketteler convinced his co-brothers in the bishop office of his socio-political concern. That this succeeded was in no way self-evident. As we have seen, Ketteler has favoured some years ago the concept of care by charity. During centuries charity for the poor had been an area of the Church. That now, on the zenith of the ecclesiastic political discussions the catholic bishops were prepared to cooperate in this area, testifies of the force of persuasion and the vision of Ketteler.

Social policy of the State signified for Ketteler at first and above all a legislation on the protection of workers, for example a legal limitation of the working time, the realization of the Sunday without work or the defence of childrens' work. Measured by a modern conception of social policy this of course is not sufficient, but Ketteler stood at the beginning of the new idea. For most of his contemporaries existed only the alternative to be pro or contra the capitalism. The protagonists in the ideological quarrel between these two antagonistical positions were liberalists and socialists. Ketteler, on the contrary, recognized very soon besides of the dark aspects also the advantages of the market economy for the national economy. His concept of solution was therefore the socio-governmental taming of the capitalism. "As the whole system cannot be reversed", he declared with the Episcopal Conference, "it is important to soften the system to search the relevant remedies for the different heavy consequences and also to let participate the workers as far as possible in the good aspects of the system and its grace".¹⁷ That is finally the middle-way between laissez-faire-capitalism and socialistic utopia as it was realized after the Second World War in the European model of the social market economy. On this way the workers, separated and marginalized by the prospering civil mercantile society, became earnings citizens, the capitalistic class society became a society of earnings citizens.

Remaining model

Without any doubt Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler was a remarkable historic figure deserving commemoration of his 200th birthday. But can Ketteler still tell us something beyond this? Reinhard Cardinal Marx answers to this question by a clear Yes: "On the zenith of the socio-scientific discussions of this epoch Ketteler has participated as Christian and as bishop in the political debates of the workers' issue. He (. . . pursued) the end to realize the idea of the Christian charity in view of the concrete social challenges. In this context he still remained attentive and docile. And with this attitude he can be a model for the Christians of today".¹⁸

But not only in his fundamental attitude, also for the substance the message of Ketteler is completely significant as regards the actual socio-political debates. Those who in principle have doubts in the moral qualification of the modern social State and recommend the reduction of the State to a pure guarantee of the socio-cultural minimum of life must be opposed: They proclaim a true step back behind the civilization's achievements concerning the core of the European model of the social market economy. Not only in the biography of Ketteler, also in the complete development of the socio-political thinking from the beginning in the 19th century one can see a progress starting from a pure model of care of the poor and ending in a comprehensive system of social security. In this system does not only exist material alimentation, important is the comprehensive social integration of those who need help.

Social policy in the meaning of social market economy - thus was the formulation of Norbert Blüm - is more than "a sanitary wagon which drives behind the economic development and gathers wounded people".¹⁹ First of all care must be taken in order to avoid injuries. Social policy thus also includes to protect within asymmetric mercantile relationships the weaker party against the possibility that the stronger contractual partner uses his economic power or advance of informative in an unfair manner. In a social market economy are therefore provided specific rights of protection by labour law, location law and consumers' law.

It must be the central objective of social policy to operate against social marginalization and exclusion. This problem continues to be actual, even if

today it appears in other forms than in the 19th century. Especially human beings without or with only minor professional qualification have considerable difficulties to integrate themselves in a community which as ever is largely structured as a community of earnings. Continuous involuntary unemployment implies against this background not only considerable material restriction for the people concerned, but also the large exclusion from the central social life segments and nets of communication.

In the last years has brown the disillusioning insight that the traditional structures of the welfare State, aiming above all at redistribution and material compensation, did not fight with sufficient efficiency these mechanisms of exclusion, for some part have even strengthened them. In search of a way out of this misery the socio-political model of Ketteler cannot give any concrete answer, but perhaps indicates the direction in which it could be advantageous to search for answers. During all his life Ketteler has stressed the aspect of self-help and he understood social policy as help for self-help. His model was the model of the subsidiary social State. That means that it is not important to administer dependency in the sense of a want of social chances of realization and to balance them financially, but to open chances and thus to make possible social participation.²⁰

In an extremely complicated community of science as Germany this means to operate as early as possible against mechanisms of exclusion. Especially family and educational policy must be conceived today much more than in the past as care-taking social policy. In this sense it is especially important that by appropriate instruments of family and educational policy possibilities are opened to children from socially weak families to participate in the cultural, social and material richness of our community and thus to protect them against the fate depending for all their life upon alimentionation by the State.

The present crisis of State indebtedness shows that the absolutely insolvent public finances have reached the limit of their force of performance. In the next years this without any doubt this will bring up a fundamental debate of the future possibilities and of the limits of social policy. Concerned are

the living conditions of human beings and the welfare of the community as a whole. For Ketteler that would have been a reason to participate lively in this debate. And also today the Christians should intervene.

Annotations:

¹ This citation is for example to found with Fritz Vigener, Ketteler, Ein deutsches Bischofsleben des 19. Jahrhunderts (A life of a German bishop in the 19th century), Munich/Berlin 1924, 742. Besides of many others the citation is also used by the senior of the Catholic Social Sciences of the 20th century Oswald von Nell-Breuning, Kirche und Arbeiterschaft (Church and Workers). On the dispute of the paper presented to the Synode under the same names. Stimmen der Zeit (Voices of the Time 193 (1975), 339-352. here 348.

² Reinhard Cardinal Marx, Christ sein heißt politisch sein. Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler für heute gelesen (To be Christian means to be political, Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler read for today), Freiburg Breisgau a.o. 2011,12.

³ Ursula Noelle-Wildfeuer, Gesellschaftlich-politische Diakonie der Kirche. Grundfunktion oder Zerrbild von kirchlicher Seelsorge? (Socio-political diacony of the Church. Basic function or caricature of ecclesiastical care of souls?) In: Müller, Philipp/Windisch, Hubert (ed.) care of souls in the force of the Holy Spirit) Jubilee edition for suffragan Paul Wehrle, Freiburg a.o. 2005, 141-160.

⁴ Wilhelm E. v. Ketteler, Schriften, Aufsätze und Reden (Publications , articles and speeches), 1849 - 1870 (All publications and letters, vol/ 1/2), Mayence 1978, 435.

⁵ Marx (Ann. 2) 44.

⁶ Wilhelm E. v. Ketteler, Schriften, Aufsätze und Reden (Publications, articles and letters) 1848 - 1866. (All publications and letters, vol. I/1), Mayence 1977, 18.

⁷ S. in this context Axel Honneth, Kampf, Kampf um Anerkennung. Zur moralischen Grammatik sozialer Konflikte (Fight, fight for recognition. On the moral grammar of social conflicts). Francfort/M.1992.

⁸ Ketteler (Ann. 6).280.

⁹ Ibidem, 282.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 303 sq.

¹¹ Ibidem, 18.

¹² Ibidem, 40.

¹³ Ibidem, 29.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 30.

¹⁵ Ibidem, 449.

¹⁶ Erwin Iserloh, Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler 1811- 1877(Texts of sources on the history of catholicism), Paderborn a.o. 1990, 117.

¹⁷ Ketteler (Ann. 4), 438

¹⁸ Marx (Ann. 2), 39 sq.

¹⁹ The citation originates from an article by Blüm in the journal FOCUS of 1998. This article is as ever available online under:

http://www.focus.de/politik/deutschland/standpunkt-sozialpolitik-ist-mehr-alsein-lazarettwagen_aid_169601.html (download 4th Nov. 2011)

²⁰ S. in this context (Society with fair chances. Model for a liberal order). (The German Commission of Bishops for Social Questions, no.34), Bonn 2011.

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