

Revolution, Work, Resistance: French Personalism's Connections with Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy

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Abstract

Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy's *Die Europäischen Revolutionen: Die Volkscharaktere und Staatenbildung* (1931) was enthusiastically reviewed at the time by Alexandre Marc (1904-2000), originator of pre-war French Personalism in the Ordre Nouveau group and of a radical wing of Europe's post-war federalist movement. This school of critical thought's concept of revolution found confirmation in Rosenstock-Huessy's 'favorite book', while its idea of a civilian work service had a counterpart in the volunteer work camps he set up in Silesia, as documented in his previous book, *Das Arbeitslager*, edited with Carl Dietrich von Trotha, one of his students among future leaders of the Kreisau Circle. As a pro-European activist, Trotha would later cross paths with Marc through another German Resistance network, the Red Orchestra, whose leader Harro Schulze-Boysen had been Ordre Nouveau's ally. Rosenstock-Huessy thus appears at the centre of a little-known web of interconnections between German and French 'Third-Way' currents, to be unravelled here.

Keywords:

Marc, Alexandre; Personalism; German Resistance; Revolution Theory; Rosenstock-Huessy, Eugen; Work and Labour

In his essay ‘Biblionomics or the Nine Lives of a Cat’ pondering the biographical context of his main writings, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy said of what he called his ‘favorite book’ *Die Europäischen Revolutionen: Die Volkscharaktere und Staatenbildung* that he ‘would not have felt free to write’ it ‘without the *sauf qui peut* of Hitler’s rise in 1931’, fifteen years after it was first conceived in the trenches of the First World War, and thirteen years after he became aware of such a peril.(Rosenstock-Huessy 1959: 21) Little did he know it seems that a French review essay on it would be the first open public manifestation of the related insights of Alexandre Marc (1904-2000), a pioneer and long-time dean of the movement for European unity, and like Rosenstock-Huessy, a wide-ranging, original existential thinker and prolific author¹, albeit overlooked or else overshadowed by figures he influenced, though he was more successful at institutionalizing his school of thought —first as Personalism, then as Integral Federalism.(Roemheld 1990)

This Jewish Russian émigré’s role as a key interwar mediator between German and French thought has most often been either neglected or grossly misrepresented. To complete and rectify the record, an examination of the French reception of Rosenstock-Huessy’s book in its initial German version (it would be rewritten as *Out of Revolution* for an American audience after its author’s emigration in 1933) by Marc’s *Ordre Nouveau* Personalist group will prove particularly helpful; especially as it ties in with a companion book of sorts published the same year, a collection of ‘reports from Silesia from workers, peasants, students’ about the volunteer work camps organized there by Rosenstock-Huessy, and co-edited by his assistant Carl Dietrich von Trotha. This was

¹ In addition to several projects for European and World constitutions and innumerable articles, Alexandre Marc wrote many books, such as *Jeune Europe* (1933), *Péguy présent* (1941), *Proudhon* (1945), *Avènement de la France ouvrière* (1945), *Principes du fédéralisme* (with Robert Aron, 1948), *À Hauteur d’homme, la Révolution fédéraliste* (1948), *Civilisation en sursis* (1955), *Europe, terre décisive* (1959), *Dialectique du déchaînement: Fondements philosophiques du Fédéralisme* (1961), *L’Europe dans le Monde* (1965), *De la Méthodologie à la Dialectique* (1970), *Péguy et le socialisme* (1973), *Révolution américaine, Révolution européenne* (1977), *El Porvenir de Europa y otros ensayos* (anthology in Spanish translation, 1994), *Europa e federalismo globale* (anthology in Italian translation, 1996), *Fondements du fédéralisme: Destin de l’homme à venir* (1997).

an account of what was no doubt Rosenstock's favourite public initiative, and one whose direct legacy can be traced to the Kreisau Circle of the German Resistance behind the attempted coup against Hitler on July 20, 1944. For it happens that among the handful of his students who perpetuated his teachings in scholarly careers, three of its leaders stand out.

'He himself names Carl Dietrich von Trotha, Horst von Einsiedel, and Helmut James Graf von Moltke in the foreword of his *Soziologie* as his friends since the days of the Silesian work camps; each of them, by staking his life in his own way outside the university, has carried on that which was awakened in them by a common endeavour with Rosenstock-Huessy.' (Kurt Ballerstedt, 'Biography of Rosenstock-Huessy', translated by Robert G. Heath, in Rosenstock-Huessy 1959: 38)

As it happens, Trotha's name provides a direct link with Marc by way of another branch of the German Resistance, namely the Red Orchestra, whose leader Harro Schulze-Boysen had been a close associate of Marc from the year 1931, in the attempt to give a joint revolutionary orientation to Franco-German rapprochement, based on the reorganisation of work in industrial society and the overcoming of national rivalries.(Coppi 1996) Rosenstock-Huessy thus occupies a central position in this web of interconnections between German and French 'non-conformist' revolutionary currents, which will be unravelled here with a view to their eventual confluence and underlying divergences.

Out of Revolution

Born in Odessa in 1904 and raised in Moscow, Aleksandr Markovich Lipiansky fled Russia with his parents in 1919 and went on to study first philosophy in Berlin and Freiburg, and then law at the *École libre des sciences politiques* in Paris. Whereas the experience of war prompted the older Rosenstock to reflect on revolutions and the transcending of nations, coming from a precocious experience of revolution, the younger Alexandre Marc (as he would abbreviate his name in public life) soon became

preoccupied with the imperative of creating a new post-national order for Europe, especially after a student exchange gave him the opportunity to witness a still unknown Adolf Hitler speaking in a Munich beer hall shortly before the 1923 coup attempt that made him famous. Not unlike Rosenstock, Marc immediately recognized that renewed international conflict was a very real prospect unless a far-reaching alternative was found without delay to existing social patterns. He came to see the creation of a new Personalistic social model as the only way to prevent the end of European civilisation and its spiritual heritage in a second world war.

Marc's *Ordre Nouveau* group thus arose in late 1930 from the confluence around his civilizational concerns, straddling the spiritual and the temporal, the religious and the political, of a nucleus of people coming from the fledgling movement for European peace and unity (around Pan-Europe for instance) and Franco-German youth rapprochement initiatives on the one hand, and on the other hand, the attempt to renew Christendom by healing its sectarian rifts in an early, informal ecumenical discussion circle involving Protestants, Orthodox and Catholics. Of secular Jewish background and on his way to converting to the Roman Church in 1933, Marc was actually well-acquainted with the early XXth-century Russian flowering of 'religious philosophy' that lived on among émigrés he knew like Berdiaev, who published the essay 'Das Ende der Renaissance' in Rosenstock's ecumenical review *Die Kreatur* in 1930. (Rosenstock-Huessy 1968: 117n1) Along with Berdiaev, Marc would play a critical role in shaping French Personalism in the early stages of its articulation in Emmanuel Mounier's review *Esprit*, launched in 1932 (and still prominent today), which was to become so influential for generations of francophone Christians.

However, the first explicit and complete formulations of the politicized brand of existential philosophy known as French Personalism are to be traced to the movement *Ordre Nouveau* in 1931, well before it had its own review *L'Ordre Nouveau* from 1933 to 1938. From the outset, *Ordre Nouveau* gathered around Personalism, conceived as a new revolutionary doctrine, a motley crew of intellectuals of disparate backgrounds (from religious writers like the Protestant Denis de Rougemont and the Catholic Daniel-Rops to atheists close to Surrealism like mathematician Claude Chevalley, polymath Arnaud Dandieu and his co-author Robert Aron), who viewed the current economic

crisis as but one aspect of a larger and deeper spiritual crisis of modern civilization in the advanced industrial era.

The notion of Personalism was eventually to be adopted, adapted and widely diffused (especially in progressive Catholic circles) by *Esprit*, where it was qualified as 'communitarian Personalism' after Mounier's group distanced itself from the original formulation of 'revolutionary Personalism' at *Ordre Nouveau*, due in part to its Nietzschean overtones and the group's stubborn refusal to take sides between Right and Left. Such unwillingness to march in lock-step with these increasingly polarized political fronts as defined by mutual opposition was a key feature of the quest for a Third Way beyond that modern paradigm that obfuscated many underlying civilizational issues, according to the 'non-conformists of the 1930s', as intellectual groups such as the neo-royalist *Jeune Droite*, the left-leaning *Esprit* and the unclassifiable *Ordre Nouveau* have been categorized together in French historiography. (Loubet del Bayle 2001) They themselves were well aware of the common generational spirit they shared and often acted upon it, but none so keenly as *Ordre Nouveau*.

Marc's group had always positioned itself as the virtual centre around which that nebula and increasing numbers of the disaffected of current ideologies would eventually come to revolve, by virtue of the rigorous Personalist doctrine it professed and strove to embody as the key to any valid future revolution. It is in this context that the term 'Personalist' first makes its appearance in a recognizable modern French sense, in *Ordre Nouveau's* first manifesto, entitled *Appel*, dated March 31, where its founders describe themselves as:

'TRADITIONALISTES, mais NON CONSERVATEURS, RÉALISTES, mais NON OPPORTUNISTES, RÉVOLUTIONNAIRES, mais NON RÉVOLTÉS, CONSTRUCTEURS, mais NON DESTRUCTEURS, Ni BELLICISTES, Ni PACIFISTES, PATRIOTES, Mais NON NATIONALISTES, SOCIALISTES, Mais NON MATÉRIALISTES, PERSONNALISTES, Mais NON ANARCHISTES, HUMAINS, Mais NON HUMANITAIRES.' (Cited in Roy 1999: 46.)

Many of these subtle distinctions could easily have been endorsed by Rosenstock. This *Appeal's* 'Personalism' was actually a borrowing from German philosophical vocabulary, drawn most directly from the 'ethical Personalism' of Max Scheler, whom Marc had known and read avidly until the phenomenologist turned away from the Roman Church he had converted to with a view to intellectually reshaping her, something which many of his Catholic followers from Alexandre Marc to Karol Wojtyła would manage to do in his stead. However, Marc added to the French translation of this German philosophical term a revolutionary political content that owed a lot to his youthful philosophical revolt against the Marxism of his family of wealthy Jewish financiers of a progressive, Menshevik bent. Taking the opposite side in his native country's turn-of-the-century intellectual debates about the 'role of man in history' – that of a pawn of deterministic social forces or of a free personal agent of deliberate political change, Marc consistently championed the latter vision, from fighting the Bolshevik coup within the ranks of the rival Socialist Revolutionary Party, heir to Russia's native non-Marxist Populist tradition (*'SOCIALISTES, Mais NON MATÉRIALISTES, PERSONNALISTES, Mais NON ANARCHISTES'*), through the pre-war French Personalist movement and the earliest wartime Resistance, to the European stage of his post-war federalist activism, organizing the congresses that prodded governments to initiate continental integration (with a merely reformist agenda however).

Marc remained convinced it was up to a 'happy few' pioneers who consciously change their own lives to make history in an original Revolution whose terms they define, just as a handful of Leninists had dared in 1917, while denying the latter the kind of providential historical legitimacy that most intellectuals felt obliged to grant them: even Rosenstock, for whom Bolsheviks were justified in killing the SRs 'because these people loved the Russian village and would not have had the hardness of heart to sacrifice it to a united economy for all Russia', just as Jacobins had been in beheading the Girondins 'because Federalism would have dissolved the central power ... built up in royal Versailles'.(Rosenstock-Huessy 1993, 365, cited in Cristaudo 2012, 243). Marc and his friends would tend to make the same distinction about the French Revolution than about the Russian. Jacobins and Bolsheviks may have been better at conquering power and authority as revolutionary elites, but their victory was that of the wrong side

of their respective Revolutions: the side of the centralized State and the totalitarian logic of party politics, that nullified the gains of regime change for actual persons.

In terms of doctrine, *Ordre Nouveau* had a clear kinship with the losing side of France's Girondin Federalists, Russia's Socialist Revolutionaries, and even the Jeffersonian promise of the American Revolution, as opposed to its Hamiltonian legacy (a tension post-war federalists would transpose in those very terms to the movement for European unity). Yet the very success of their determined, well-organized, ideologically consistent opponents was for Marc proof of the role of man in history, in ironic contradiction to the Jacobins' Enlightenment discourse of evolutionary progress and to the deterministic historical materialism professed by their Communist heirs. True to his own revolutionary background, Marc conceived Personalism as the conscious expression of man's eternal challenge to the development of historical forces that threaten to engulf the person even as they free it from older conditionings, but that also provide it with a possible fulcrum to overcome them in the revolutionary act of a change of plane to a higher level of the spiral of history; the downward spiral of deterministic stasis is thus held in check by the invention of new institutions to better reflect the insuperable tension between the creative violence of the personal spirit and the impersonal drag of its social by-products.

Being thus irreducible to the 'objective forces that put it in motion', 'any revolution is a "surpassing" [*dépassement*], and this surpassing is but one of the manifestations of the primacy of the spiritual as we understand it', as Marc wrote (under the signature of his old friend and ON comrade the historian René Dupuis, who let him use it as an alias) in an article entitled 'De la notion de propriété' published in February 1932 in no. 12 of *Plans*. (Dupuis 1932b) This stylish avant-garde review, launched in 1930 by Philippe Lamour and his mentor the architect Le Corbusier, was the crucible of Personalism in that, from July 1931 to late 1932, it hosted the *Ordre Nouveau* group, whose revolutionary doctrine it touted as a rallying point for a kind of non-conformist International of the newer generations' attempts to put industrial civilization at the service of man in a federalised Europe, in the same conviction as Rosenstock's that 'the nation has passed as the desirable unit of political organisation' in an era when 'the new sovereign will be the "bloc" or continent' (Rosenstock-Huessy 1993: 6, cited in Cristaudo

2012: 281); he too thus called for 'Europe [to] be organized economically as America and Russia are organized already'.(Rosenstock-Huessy 1993: 640, cited in Cristaudo 2012: 281) It is thus highly significant that the 'Primauté de la personne humaine' proclaimed on the cover of *Plans* on April 20 1932 is shown by Marc to proceed from the "'Prise de conscience" révolutionnaire' he had called for from his generation a month earlier, in the first article he signed with his own name; for it was actually a discussion of Eugen Rosenstock's book *Die Europäischen Revolutionen : Die Volkscharaktere und Staatenbildung*.

On the basis of this work, Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy is the only German thinker *Ordre Nouveau* fully approved of to have his own entry (B179.1) in Armin Mohler's classic handbook of the Conservative Revolution in Germany (1918-1932), as one of two 'special cases', particularly difficult to situate, among 'young-conservative' authors (Mohler & Weissmann 2005: 496). This in itself should suffice to put to rest the notion spread by some historians (in the footsteps of Communist Party intellectual Paul Nizan at the time) that the *Ordre Nouveau* group founded by Marc, because of its many contacts with German 'national-revolutionary' activists identified with the Conservative Revolution as an intellectual family, was a kind of conduit into France of 'thick foreign currents'(Nizan 1933) that smacked of Nazism to some.(Roy 2003) As a matter of fact, if *Ordre Nouveau* did spread its net widely in its search for 'Third-Way' dialogue partners beyond the Rhine, the catch it hauled in usually proved disappointing upon closer examination when it came to the likes of 'left-leaning' Nazi types such as the Strasser brothers or the circle around the review *Die Tat*, beholden as they were to the collective idols of the State and/or race, as came out in ON's own reports of these investigations. By contrast, what figure could be less typical of the Conservative Revolution, largely dominated by neo-pagan and/or antihumanist tendencies as well as historicist assumptions, than that of Rosenstock-Huessy, whose distaste for an Oswald Spengler is well-known?(Cristaudo 2012: 282)

One is left to wonder why this pioneer of Jewish-Christian dialogue was even included in the Conservative Revolution's canon of authors by Mohler, beyond the fact beyond the fact they shared a publisher. (E. Diederichs). A key criterion for Mohler was the cyclical sense of time implied in the idea of Revolution, which was crucial to

Rosenstock-Huessy, except that unlike the Eternal Return it entailed for most of these writers in contrast to linear Progress, it integrated the arrow of irreversible historical time introduced by Biblical Revelation, in a spiral pattern related to Marc's intuitions on the topic, which they may have helped shape. Then again, not unlike Marc, Rosenstock thought beyond easy oppositions of Left and Right and would not have thought of the term 'Conservative Revolution' as an oxymoron, viewing its two components more as moments more than as essences.(Rosenstock-Huessy 1968: 90)

Given all this, it may seem surprising that Marc did not seek out the ecumenical circle around Rosenstock at *Die Kreatur*. His contacts with Christian non-conformists in Germany remained limited, but ranged from the Christlich-Soziale Arbeiter- und Bauernpartei of the leftist Catholic Vitus Heller to the archconservative Fr. Friedrich Muckermann of the review *Der Graf*. The fact remains that, like other Jewish Russian émigrés such as Lev Shestov, Alexandre Kojève, Georges Gurvitch and Emmanuel Levinas, Alexandre Marc stands out among intellectuals in interwar France for his exceptional, often first-hand familiarity with contemporary German thought; and yet, the only actual influences he integrated were from its Judaeo-Christian elements. If much has been made of the fact that Alexandre Marc followed the courses of Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger at the University of Freiburg in 1923, it is not these best-known German thinkers that really marked him, but others identified with the Christian tradition, like the Catholics Romano Guardini, Erich Przywara (Rosenstock-Huessy's nemesis in the Roman Church!), Peter Wust (who would befriend Gabriel Marcel through Marc's introduction), and of course Max Scheler. We may also mention two figures whose impact is clear in Marc's article 'Primauté de la personne humaine': the Austrian writer Franz Werfel (like him a Jew attracted to Catholicism) who opposed concrete man to man in general —'the essential difference that remains between our Personalism and liberal individualism'(Marc 1932b), and the existential philosopher Karl Jaspers (contributor to the review *Wandlung* that succeeded *Die Kreatur* after the war —see Rosenstock-Huessy 1968: 116), whom he liked to contrast to Heidegger for his sense of transcendence, confirming his own definition of spirit as that part of man that 'always sticks out' of the given situation —however concrete, even the totality of Being, making the person inherently revolutionary.(Roy 1996)

Alexandre Marc was thus in tune with a Biblical metaphysics whose robust phenomenological formulation by Emmanuel Levinas would for a while meet with his approval at the end of his life. He was already unwittingly close to Rosenstock's dialogical thinking when he noted in his unpublished diary on August 16 1929 that 'to live fully is thus to live "outside" of oneself. But one only gets out of oneself through love. It is him, the divine eros, who grounds every genuine calling, knowledge or sympathy', so that, he continued on March 16 1930, 'love alone which encompasses freedom as it presupposes it can fill the chasm opened by the latter', in which the world had fallen in the darkness of evil.

Thus, though he refused to oppose Jerusalem to Athens, faith to reason, like his acquaintance Shestov, Marc was soon inclined to question the grip of Hellenic onto-theology on Western thought in general and Catholic doctrine in particular. This again brought him close to *Die Kreatur's* dialogical Personalism when, on May 12 1930, he wrote down in a note on 'Being and Man' that the 'metaphysics of the human person' (as he already called it on August 21 1929) is to be distinguished from classical metaphysics, where 'absolute being all too often seems to be identified with impersonal being.' 'And the "being of beings" (the essence of being) is identical with the being of things. But to this metaphysics of the object, a metaphysics of the subject constantly comes to oppose a powerful protest that rises from the very bottom of human consciousness' —understood as the 'cosmic tragedy in which we are deeply involved', since 'the universe tends towards "personalization" as its ultimate expression. Being is "subjective"', in the sense that 'the being of being is identical with the (objective !) being of the subject. We are thus not meant to turn away from what is most irreducibly individual in us', for 'it is through our very "states" and insofar as they are genuinely our own that the reality of being is revealed to the reality of consciousness[...].'(Roy 2001)

It is easy to recognize in this 'powerful protest that rises from the very bottom of human consciousness' Franz Rosenzweig's cry when confronted with his own mortality on a battlefield of the Great War, that he would articulate in *Der Stern der Erlösung*, his bold Judeo-Christian philosophico-religious elucidation of the respective roles of God and man in history. It resonates in a 'New Thinking' locating truth not in any set of abstract principles, but in the subjective experience of a concrete person, who therefore

cannot reconcile her/himself with being treated as a disposable, interchangeable piece of the war machine of general ideas fighting over the objective ground of historical becoming. This metaphysics of the subject had taken shape from the close dialogue with Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy that only came to a close with Rosenzweig's death in 1929, when Alexandre Marc was about to reach similar conclusions independently.

It is therefore fitting that Marc's first open proclamation of the 'Primacy of the human person' in *Plans* came on the heels of the illustration of its political implications through Rosenstock's book on Europe's revolutions, in an article on the 'revolutionary "self-awareness"' ("Prise de conscience" révolutionnaire') of youth, united as it was by 'a community of taste and aspiration'. For 'there currently exists throughout the white world a vast movement of the young, of which *Plans* has become one of the means of expression'. In this 'horizontal rift' between generations, 'it is not two physiological ages that oppose each other, but two situations, two different atmospheres, two opposite spiritual thrusts'. In order for what is still a 'vague community' to take shape and break through within youth, 'it must become aware of itself and of the irreducible conflict that opposes it to the established "order"' (an expression where the quotation marks anticipate that of 'established disorder' often attributed to Mounier, who actually borrowed it from Marc, though Rougemont used it even before meeting him). But this movement of the young, 'coming after the now historical events of 1917, is called to achieve a higher level of consciousness and clarity' than the men who led the Russian Revolution, the first to have 'always considered themselves revolutionaries'. 'For the necessity of becoming self-aware is a relatively new phenomenon in the history of revolutions' as Rosenstock interpreted it, where the gap is smaller for each one between the political realm of 'regime change, as the "man of rights" could still conceive it' in the Atlantic Revolutions, and the total existential commitment of the modern revolutionary, as Marc understood it from his Russian experience, and in which *Ordre Nouveau* Personalists likewise located the spiritual realm. For Marc favours the tendency in any revolution 'to recreate the face of the world and establish a new order', whether it be Cromwell's 'kingdom of God' or Marx's 'world of freedom'. (Marc 1932a)

In this text, Alexandre Marc sounds unusually close to a whole current of Romantic/mystical revolutionary millennialism in contemporary German-Jewish thought,

as illustrated by the likes of Martin Buber and Gustav Landauer, Gershom Scholem and Walter Benjamin.(Löwy 1988) He thus states that ‘this messianic and eschatological element of any revolution is only fruitful insofar as it fosters fanatical confidence in the possibility of establishing a “definitive” perfect order.’ And yet, in tune with the logic of Jewish messianism as it was understood in Mitteleuropa, Marc also seems well aware that a messiah who would claim to have come once and for all at a particular moment of history could only be a false one, since a hallmark of the real Messiah is that he remains forever ‘to-come’. Wary of all utopianism (he thus did not share Rosenstock’s enthusiasm for Joachim of Fiore), he feels that such a messianic type of thinking, though exposed to this disease of revolutions, is vaccinated against it by virtue of the ‘internal contradiction’ it implies, ‘that reveals the necessarily precarious and imperfect character of any established order and founds in this way the notion of permanent revolution’. This allows full scope to ‘the unexpressed sense, the ineffable hope, the ultimate value of any new order, whose fascinating image revolution casts before itself as that of ‘the birth of a new man [...]’. True to Rosenstock’s understanding of the Resurrection as the opportunity for death and rebirth,

‘Goethe’s “Die and become”[*Stirb und werde*] thus seems to express the law of any revolution. Man must die to himself so that, from his ashes, may be born a new Adam, a “free conscience” (the Reformation), a “citizen” (the French Revolution), a “conscious proletarian” (the Russian Revolution), an “overman” (Nietzsche)... And this observation allows us to tie, in a word, to its “natural” foundation an article of faith that is dear to us: our Personalism. Whereas the individualism we are fighting against is only the expression of a temporary state of affairs, issuing from the Renaissance and the French Revolution, Personalism expresses a necessary and eternal feature of any revolution [...].’ (Marc 1932a)

The revolutionary Personalist doctrine that Marc had tried to define in his article ‘L’Ordre’ had for him the ‘meaning of a message at once outside of time and at the heart of the most temporal actuality’(Dupuis 1932a); this is his way of alluding to the religious meaning it has for him, and which he would elaborate upon a year later in the pages of *Esprit* in the form of an account of the thought of the fictitious German theologian Otto

Neumann (O.N./New Man!), so he could freely indulge in the typically Ordre Nouveau revolutionary rhetoric that kept getting *Esprit* into trouble with the Catholic establishment. Mounier never saw through the hoax and was decisively influenced by this text's proclamation of an indissoluble union between Christianity and Personalist Revolution over against individualistic bourgeois-liberal reaction.(Marc 1933) Proof of Rosenstock's lasting influence on Marc, he cited *Die Europäischen Revolutionen* again in 1936 in *L'Ordre Nouveau* in an article on legal history, drawing on their common academic background to establish the closely related origins of party, State and nation—leading to their modern totalitarian conflation, in the Renaissance city-State as 'the first secularized body politic, in the modern sense, the first State' understood 'in the likeness of God' (a process highlighted about the early nation-state in Kantorowicz 1957).(Marc 1936: 42)

Marc's article also drew on Georges Gurvitch's *L'idée du droit social*, which had already appeared in the section devoted to law and history of Ordre Nouveau's brief 'revolutionary bibliography' in the third issue of its review, alongside medievalist Ferdinand Lot's *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen-âge* and 'ROSENSTÖCK [sic] (D^r EUGEN): *Les Révolutions européennes* (en allemand)'. The single paragraph that followed can serve as a summation of Ordre Nouveau's understanding of Revolution, the benchmark that allowed it to critically assess (by and large as *révolutions manquées* compared to the new French one it was concocting) current revolutionary regimes and fledgling 'non-conformist' movements throughout what Marc termed the *Jeune Europe* they formed in their break with the past.(Dupuis & Marc 1933) It is all the more interesting for showing how Marc relayed what he had found in Rosenstock to Ordre Nouveau comrades who lacked his direct access to German sources, in this case to Arnaud Dandieu, the group's chief theorist, as the likely author of these lines:

'Periods of decadence are characterized by a morbid reinforcement of State powers. The democratic mess ends up in tyrannical demagoguery. The true Revolution, the one that founds a new order, topples rigid systems, imperialisms, and dreams of world domination, in favour of a flexible system where the decentralisation of political power relies on the community of spiritual thrust (*élan*);

where finally the instruments of production, freed from the yoke of speculation, are put at the service of the human person.’ (Ordre Nouveau 1933: 4)

The blueprint for achieving the latter point was the main contribution of Dandieu’s book *La Révolution nécessaire*, on which he was then putting the finishing touches, in July 1933. It would be his testament, becoming Ordre Nouveau’s Bible of sorts, after his premature death at age 35, on August 6, 1933. Spelling out in a special chapter the group’s theory of Revolution, he singled out among the ‘many essays published on revolutions’ the most recent one by ‘Dr. Rosenstock’, as evidence of the new autonomy and dignity the term was finding among philosophers as among the masses, having long been synonymous with a wasteful breakdown of social order instead of its essential character as ‘*Novae res*’. He underlined that, after a long line of religious and political revolutions that were not always conceived as such, Revolution had started to become self-aware in France, for it was noteworthy that there, ‘revolutionary creation is indeed viewed as a spiritual totality implying in its very reality a new social morality and a new public law,’ exclusive of older ways.(Aron & Dandieu 1933: 172-3)

It is all the more remarkable that the rest of Dandieu’s book was devoted to translating this new ethos into the creation of a corresponding institution, the civilian service, that happens to be related to the kind of peace service Rosenstock-Huessy championed all his life. The overcoming of the sovereign nation-state and the reorganization of productive activity were intertwined in Ordre Nouveau’s idea of the new Revolution needed for the French nation to move beyond the decadence signalled by its idolatry of borders (Aron & Dandieu 1931), having lost sight of ‘the messianic tradition taken up by the Jacobins’ (Cristaudo 2012: 256) that allowed them to embrace as French citizens a foreigners like Anacharsis Cloots or Thomas Paine, in ‘a new community of Europe and of all civilized nations.’(Rosenstock-Huessy 1993: 6, cited in Cristaudo 2012: 258).

‘Thus, the social mechanisation that the XIXth century effected by transforming the “homeland” [*patrie*] into the ‘nation’ is one of the causes of the crisis shaking up today’s world, which is a crisis of misadaptation of society to the new forms of economic life. [...] The obvious conclusion of all these realizations is that any

established order that does not allow man to manifest his spiritual activity is condemned to ruin because it kills one of the elements constituting society, and destroys what it wants to preserve, that is, man.’ (Dupuis 1932a)

Likewise, ‘it matters little for Rosenstock-Huessy how venerable the institutions are that orthodoxies attach themselves to –they are spirited or they are not, they lift up or they do not, they enhance life or they destroy it’, and in the latter case, are doomed to become the target of ‘those who are struggling to bring down a hellish order and create a new one that is fit for people who wish to live fully.’(Cristaudo 2012: 253) As *Ordre Nouveau* often stated, ‘when order is no longer to be found in order, it must be found in Revolution.’

Work and Labour

Thus, among the ‘spiritual causes of our attitude’ outlined in ‘*Précisions sur “L’Ordre Nouveau”*’ in December 1931, such an ‘active and creative violence, resulting from man’s normal expansion’, appears as ‘humanity’s specific feature’, by which the ‘rational and abstract frameworks (national borders, banking system)’ of the ‘current social order’ must be broken in a ‘primarily psychological revolution’. (*Ordre Nouveau* liked to repeat after Dandieu that ‘revolutions are bloody insofar as they are not well-prepared’, where Rosenstock viewed them more conventionally as a ‘ferocious outbreak of revolt’ –Cristaudo 2012: 253). ‘This “Personalism” entails a break from the abstract individualism of liberals as well as with any doctrine putting the State, in whatever form, at the level of a superior value.’ Based on the perpetual surpassing of any existing order, it requires the mobilization by science of all material resources to free the person from stultifying chores and enable him/her to make new conquests, these being of a spiritual nature insofar as this implied consciously grappling with the obstacles coming up in the process in man and around him. When applied to the economic sphere, this aggressive conception of spirit called for the replacement of ‘a society that can only function by subordinating consumption to production, qualitative work that creates new values to quantitative, undifferentiated piecework, by a wholly different society’(*Ordre Nouveau* 1931): a leisure society in which the free time generated by labour-saving

innovations would become available to all by spreading equally over the citizenry whatever chores are not yet absorbed, on the model of military service, so that every person benefits from technical gains that are no longer automatically reinvested in the methodical pursuit of profit. This would abolish the proletarian condition by relieving any single class from dependence on repetitive, dehumanising labour best left to machines, thanks to a citizenship income allowing everyone not to have to rely for survival on a shrinking supply of full-time salaried employment. As a '*vital minimum guaranteed to all*', this was meant by Ordre Nouveau to 'radically dissociate the notion of retribution (or salary) from the notion of the satisfaction of basic needs'(Marc 1937: 543)² —a demand since then championed by social thinkers from a wide range of backgrounds, that seems to be making some headway in our own day (e.g. with a Swiss referendum on the idea), partly in response to globalization and automation.(See Hughes 2014)

But already in the book *Arbeitsdienst — Heeresdienst* (Rosenstock 1932), about the direct connection he always insisted on between military service and peacetime work service, Rosenstock made the case that only the latter could be up to the challenges of increasing automation in the society of the future. He would later acknowledge that the 'very clever text' on the universal civilian service as a solution to the social question (Popper-Lynkeus 1912) by 'a radical spirit', visionary polymath Josef Popper-Lynkeus (1838-1921), went much further in addressing these issues, even though he himself (unlike Martin Buber among distinguished admirers such as Freud and Einstein) did not 'believe in this proposal' 'that all young people should serve 10 years for the production of the goods necessary for the life of the entire people. They would thereafter be free to do whatever they wanted'(Rosenstock-Huessy 1965: 52-3), much as in Ordre Nouveau's own resort to an increasingly short civilian service aimed mostly at a planned sector of the economy providing basic goods, which a guaranteed income would make available to all independently of wage labour, as a springboard for

² In an unpublished letter of March 19 1935, the great neo-Thomist philosopher Jacques Maritain, responding to one from Marc of March 10 about his own article 'L'idéal historique d'une nouvelle chrétienté' in the Dominican review *La Vie intellectuelle*, vol. XXXIII, no. 1, January 25 1935, pp. 181-232, drew his attention to p. 218 for a parallel with *Ordre Nouveau's* idea of a basic income (*minimum vital*), that was soon to be vulgarised for a Catholic audience by the young writer and future Church historian Henri Daniel-Rops, one of the group's founders and its most efficient spokesman, in his book *Ce qui meurt et ce qui naît*, excerpted on this topic in *La Vie intellectuelle*, vol. XLVII, no. 2, January 31 1937, pp. 207-221, and reviewed by Christian Ducasse in vol. XLIV, no. 3, May 15 1937, pp. 467-473.

freely chosen personal callings. This was but an application of Dandieu's 'dichotomic method' for reaping the fruits of progress: 'first the spiritual, then the economic; labour-saving through the machine, liberation of creative power through leisure.'(Aron & Dandieu 1993, 242)³ Since the 'fragmented labour' fostered by 'Scientific Management' is, 'as far as possible, *depersonalised*, separated from the worker as an individual'(Aron & Dandieu 1993: 231), it is necessary to distinguish between labour-as-chore and work-as-creation.(Aron & Dandieu 1993: 225) For not only does the former 'dehumanise man', it also deprives matter of any quality, by reducing it entirely to the undifferentiated stuff of rational calculations. 'Thus the spirit, as it loses any complete contact with matter, can no longer be human, nor free: and matter itself, separated from the spirit in this way, falls into the realm of unreal abstractions.'(Aron & Dandieu 1993: 231)

Rosenstock-Huessy too was reluctant to find spiritual meaning in just any kind of work. At the Akademie für Arbeit of the University of Frankfurt he first led from 1921 to 1923, Rosenstock-Huessy thus set up *Freizeiten* ('free times'), civilian service sessions in which intellectuals, technicians and workers could meet to experience together new forms of creative work. This attitude brought him into conflict with Ernst Michel, a Catholic colleague who believed in the redemptive qualities of work, as did the Flemish theorist of 'ethical socialism' Hendrik De Man.(Keller 2001) Intrigued by De Man's ideas on the bi-zonal planned economy, Alexandre Marc visited him in Frankfurt in 1932 during one of his German tours. He conceived serious misgivings about De Man's increasingly popular ideas after days of intense discussions with him.

For Ordre Nouveau, it made no sense in the industrial era to talk of labour in itself as a 'spiritualization of matter', and a 'contingent form of man's first vocation' of

³ Such a vision of progress was already to be found in the text containing the earliest occurrence of the word 'Personalism', namely Friedrich Schleiermacher's *Über die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern* (1799): 'Jetzt seufzen Millionen von Menschen beider Geschlechter aller Stände unter dem Druck mechanischer und unwürdiger Arbeiten... Das hoffen wir von der Vollendung der Wissenschaften und Künste, daß sie uns diese toten Kräfte werden dienstbar machen, daß sie die körperliche Welt, und alles von der geistigen, was sich regieren läßt, in einen Feenpalast verwandeln, wo der Gott der Erde nur ein Zauberwort auszusprechen, nur eine Feder zu drücken braucht, wenn geschehen soll was er gebet. Dann erst wird jeder Mensch ein Freigeborener sein, dann ist jedes Leben praktisch und beschaulich zugleich, über keinen hebt sich der Stecken des Treibers und jeder hat Ruhe und Muße in sich die Welt zu betrachten.' (Cited in Joachim Matthes. *Religion und Gesellschaft. Einführung in die Religionssoziologie I*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt's deutsche Enzyklopädie, Ernesto Grassi (ed.), 1967, pp. 84-85.)

contemplation, as Mounier did in his first editorial for *Esprit*, claiming that, as ‘the law of embodied spirit’, ‘labour in nature can no longer be thought of, as did Descartes, as a material tyranny; it is at once a conversation and a moral conquest’, giving to all labour a new dignity.(Mounier 1961 I: 163-4) This is precisely what Dandieu expressly denies by insisting on the dichotomy between creation and labour as spiritually opposite functions. The defining feature of man understood as *homo agens*, creation ‘does not come from so-called manual labour, which has always been more or less automatic since ancient times, but from contact with natural resistances and feelings of risk and choice,’ grasped by the person from within the immanent totality of a work.(Aron & Dandieu 1993: 234) ‘Labour by contrast, and generally any occupation submitted to material constraint, is degrading because, being less free, it is less actual and therefore less joyful.’(Aron & Dandieu 1993: 224)

This distinction between work and labour anticipated by decades that made by Hannah Arendt in *The Human Condition* (with pointed references to the kind of ‘theology of labour’ promoted by Mounier and other Catholic thinkers close to *Esprit*) (Arendt 1958: 316-325), but it already belonged to the earliest Personalist tradition, as it had been spelled out in the same terms by Max Scheler at the turn of the XXth century in his first published writing after his dissertation, an essay on ‘Labour and Ethics’ where he squarely put the question of Technique as that of the obscuring of meaningful ends by material means, to be overcome only through their sharp distinction within the personality.(Scheler 1899: 163-195)⁴

In any case, it is Arnaud Dandieu’s conceptual framework, also opposing creation to labour, that allowed Marc to repeatedly denounce the sophistry of the idea of ‘Joy at Work’, underpinning Hendrik De Man’s inquiry into the psychological experience of industrial labour.(De Man 1927) In the rift that appeared publicly between the two wings of the Personalist movement in the spring of 1934, Mounier’s review had even counterpoised to *La Révolution nécessaire* the De Man Labour Plan, soon to be adopted by the Van Zeeland government in Belgium. Rather than looking at foreign

⁴ See the first page on Technique, and the ‘proto-Personalist’ conclusion: ‘Nur wenn eine scharfe Scheidung des Subjektiven und des Objektiven in der Persönlichkeit eintritt, fallen wir nicht in den Fehler des Liberalismus zurück, in der bloßen subjektiven Tätigkeit selbst schon eine Mitwirkung an objektiv guten und vernünftigen Zuständen zu sehen.’(p. 193)

attempts to kickstart the flailing productivist industrial model along Keynesian lines, Ordre Nouveau preferred to organize a test-run of its civilian service as a first step beyond it. In the second half of July 1935 in paper and car plants in Paris, and in the first half of August in brush and carpet factories of Beauvais, 40 volunteers took the place, but not the pay, of as many unskilled workers, allowing some of them to take the first vacation in their entire working life. This experiment found a wide and positive echo in the media, even though its planned expansion the next year was nipped in the bud by the newly elected Popular Front's creation of paid holidays.(Roy 2013)

Ordre Nouveau's civilian service ideas and experiment were followed with great interest and sympathy by its close German ally Harro Schulze-Boysen of the *Gegner* group (see entry B212.1 in Mohler 1972: 524), whose mediating role explains the somewhat surprising prevalence of likeminded national-revolutionaries among the French Personalists' actual contacts beyond the Rhine. From Schulze-Boysen's perspective, according to his correspondence with his parents between 1930 and 1932, such a capacity for personal asceticism in service to the community could alone confer upon those who would lead it the necessary authority to constitute genuine national unity, for which all would be ready to make the greatest sacrifices and to share their last piece of bread with a neighbour without feeling exploited, being committed in body and soul to the total solidarity it called for.(Coppi & Andresen 2002) This is why he felt the *Arbeitsdienstpflicht* was the political task of his generation, and organized an academic debate on this theme for the Jungdeutscher Orden, an untypically Francophile and anti-Nazi nationalist league in which he was long active before increasingly turning towards the Left and the East. The idea of such community work was very popular in young activist circles of all stripes, and Schulze-Boysen avidly followed a number of experiments they organized, often referring in *Gegner* to discussions about them —e.g. in Rosenstock's books on the topic (Rosenstock & Trotha 1931; more are listed in Cristaudo 2012: 285), discussing the work camps he had organized between 1926 and 1932 in a volunteer form, before the Nazis made it compulsory as a regimented *Arbeitsdienstpflicht*. As Schulze-Boysen explained in his review in July 1932, the volunteer work service was a splendid tool in the service of socialist Revolution, which

allowed it to break through the old order separating classes.(Schulze-Boysen 1932: 8-10)

Towards Resistance

The *Arbeitsdienstpflicht* would therefore be one of the few features of actually existing National-Socialism that Schulze-Boysen approved of (his wife Libertas was actively involved in it), allowing him to play a double game as an Air Ministry official who emphasized the socialist, anti-Western, virtually pro-Soviet elements of Nazi discourse in political seminars he gave to junior staff, as well as in Karl Otto Paetel's review *Wille zum Reich* as a covert rallying point for national-revolutionaries. Down that path of dissidence and opposition, after meeting the Communist economist Arvid Harnack (nephew of the great liberal Protestant theologian Adolf von Harnack), Schulze-Boysen would lead with him the so-called Red Orchestra Resistance network that relayed military intelligence to the USSR in order to hasten Germany's defeat and her anticipated integration in the worldwide common front of oppressed and colonial peoples against Western capitalist imperialism. For his part, his old friend Alexandre Marc was among the first members of the Catholic resistance to the German occupation of France, in the *Témoignage chrétien* group, so that, by the end of 1942, he and his family were under imminent threat and barely managed to escape to Switzerland. This was just about when Harro Schulze-Boysen was executed with his wife and other comrades in Plötzensee on December 22, 1942.

A decade later, while in Berlin promoting federalist schemes for European unity, Marc was able to briefly talk with the president and co-founder of the local chapter of Europa-Union, Carl Dietrich von Trotha, who, knowing Harnack as a colleague and Schulze-Boysen from law school, had served as the Red Orchestra's contact within the Kreisau Circle of the German Resistance, and had even met him on the eve of his arrest on 31 August 1942. Although Trotha could not elaborate before leaving on a trip to America, where he would die in a car accident, he assured Marc that Schulze-Boysen shared his European ideals to the end and only relied on the Soviet Union for his Resistance activities because the Western powers were in no position to help as yet.

That may have been what Schulze-Boysen told potential allies to allay their suspicions about his network's Communist ties, and what Alexandre Marc needed to believe to keep on assuming his old comrade never strayed from the Personalistic ideals they had seemed to share for a while in the early 1930s. However, Schulze-Boysen's discursive and strategic rapprochement with Marxism was consistent with a national-revolutionary position he had staked early on. His Hegelian sense of historical necessity and the vocation of the State had brought him to a pro-Soviet position as a German nationalist, in much the same way that so many Third World nationalist revolutionaries of even non-aligned countries a few years later would. Similar historicist reasoning also guided the political options of the left wing of Christian Personalists in post-war France around Emmanuel Mounier's review *Esprit*, that came to shun as a ploy of American imperialism the European federalism promoted by Ordre Nouveau veterans like Marc, Rougemont and Aron.(Roy 2012)

It is all the more ironic that the ecumenical circle of dialogical Personalists around Eugen Rosenstock apparently remained unknown to Ordre Nouveau all this time, since it inspired another branch of the German Resistance to Hitler that had a lot more in common with Marc's Personalist ideals. Among Rosenstock-Huessy's assistants in the volunteer labour camps he launched in 1926 were the future Kreisau Circle's leader Helmuth James von Moltke and its two economists, Horst von Einsiedel and Moltke's own cousin Carl Dietrich von Trotha, who had actually grown up on the Kreisau estate before his foreign trips as a scout soon made him an ardent promoter of European integration. Shocked by the working conditions of Silesian miners, they set up in Löwenberg a labour camp that brought together workers, peasants and students, and in which were represented ideological positions ranging from nationalism to socialism, including Christian groups and the Youth Movement. Similar camps soon sprang up in 14 other areas of Germany. Rosenstock-Huessy (1963: 85) saw the Kreisau Circle around Moltke and Einsiedel as the finest fruit of his work service, which had been designed to create concrete bonds between members of all groups and classes of society as a basis for dialogue and community through the shared sacrifice of their time. They were thus closer to Schulze-Boysen's concerns than to those of Dandieu, who

meant to desacralize the 'Christian' work ethic underlying both productivism and consumer society through a civilian service that was only meant to share equally the burden of labour until technology could liberate individuals from this necessary evil in which he found no redeeming quality; he would therefore have balked at any suggestion of building community on this inherently alienating basis, or on ascetic sacrifice for its own sake. For him, the work service was only a debt free citizens owed society, just as it owed them an unconditional basic income.

Given Rosenstock-Huessy's influence, in view of the latter's unconscious affinities with French Personalism, it is probably no coincidence that Moltke independently came to defend within the Kreisau Circle positions that were reminiscent of those of Ordre Nouveau. Critical of the Hegelian philosophy of history and of centralised State power, in his memorandum *Die kleinen Gemeinschaften*, Moltke advocated a federation of small-scale communities that stood beyond the much-touted opposition between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* articulated by Schulze-Boysen's great-uncle the sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies, in that free personal involvement in local community affairs was inseparable from responsible citizenship in the wider society, on a national, continental and global scale. (Illian 1996) By and large, the Kreisauers based their vision of Europe as a third force between East and West on a Personalist philosophy as a middle position beyond collectivism and individualism, much as Alexandre Marc always had. But the kind of Personalism they had in mind, to which Schulze-Boysen might have been alluding as increasingly influential in a remarkable August 1935 letter to Ordre Nouveau's Claude Chevalley, written in French in a Geneva café far from the Gestapo's prying eyes, had specifically German roots, antedating the French version. One strand was of it was the 'religious socialism' of Paul Tillich, who had been its main exponent in the *Neue Blätter für den Sozialismus* at the time of this review's ties to Schulze-Boysen and Marc. Religious socialism was relayed to the Kreisauer Kreis by two key shapers of its program, especially in foreign policy: Adam von Trott zu Solz, who was executed in 1944 after the failed July 20 coup attempt, and Otto Heinrich von der Gablentz, who had always sought to reconcile it with the aspirations of German nationalists, surviving the war to teach political science. The other strand was of course the dialogical Personalism

of Rosenstock's ecumenical circles and work camps, whose legacy would live on in emigration well after the war.

After Moltke's murder by the Nazis in 1945, his widow Freya would eventually make a new life in the United States with Rosenstock-Huessy himself, who had found his way there in 1933. As a professor at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire, he obtained President Roosevelt's blessing to organise a cadre school for the New Deal's Civilian Conservation Corps. Set up in nearby Sharon, Vermont, from 1939 to 1941, Camp William James provided an inspiration for President Kennedy's Peace Corps (Moltke, Huessy & Stahmer 1996). It differed from the existing CCC however in that it avoided singling out the unemployed for humiliating concern, by including high school student volunteers in equal proportions, in the spirit of its German prototypes. By their deliberate inclusiveness, Rosenstock-Huessy's work initiatives always approached the kind of anonymous civic universality of *Ordre Nouveau's* civilian service and basic income, designed to avoid any hint of stigma on vulnerable groups by giving all equal dignity in the face of otherwise menial labour. For he realized that 'doing good is dangerous when the rich man comes to the poor man.' (Rosenstock-Huessy 1965: 56)

As for Alexandre Marc, he had parted ways with fellow-travelling *Esprit* Personalists in remaining true to the non-conformist roots of *Ordre Nouveau*, with his focus on the institutional recasting of a united but decentralised Europe as a model for the world to emulate. After the Liberation, Marc took part in the foundation of the *Fédération* movement, then in 1946 became for a year the secretary general of the European Union of Federalists, and later played played a leading role within the European Federalist Movement created in 1953. He tried to recover the revolutionary momentum of European federalism in 1955, by launching a grassroots campaign for a Congress of the European People in the form of a series of local referenda that went over the head of national authorities, but after initial successes, the movement petered out within a couple of years. Thereafter, he would concentrate on increasingly neutral educational activities aimed at European integration. Always very active as a teacher and lecturer, he set up the European Institute of the University of Turin, and in 1954, became the first director of the *Institut européen des hautes études internationales* (I.E.H.E.I.) and the

Centre international de formation européenne (C.I.F.E.), soon based in Nice, where he launched the review *L'Europe en formation*. Almost until his death, he taught every summer at the Collège universitaire d'études fédéralistes he created in the early 1960s in Aoste, a francophone city in the Italian Alps. In all these forums, Marc always insisted that Europe was not an end in itself, but a means to foster a truly human civilisation based on the primacy of the person in living communities, freed of the instrumentalisation of binary oppositions in clashes between political blocs, social classes or civilisations, which he thought the modern nation-state promoted.

Such a Third-Way, post-national, communalist revolution to save Western civilisation from itself perhaps had more of a future in the long-run than the coming internationalist revolution of socialist states that became more of an inspiration for Marc's German partner Harro Schulze-Boysen. In many ways, Rosenstock-Huessy would have been a more natural match for Marc and his friends. In hindsight, it is possible to find a virtual indirect acknowledgment of this missed meeting of minds in Rosenstock-Huessy's own admission that Josef Popper-Lynkeus' idea of civilian service, so close to *Ordre Nouveau's*, 'perhaps has a future again', now that 'the bankruptcy of the pure war economy of Communism is manifest'. He mentioned it at the end of his life to show that it belonged alongside his own work service experiments among 'the sprouts that are being trampled today in the opposition between Capital and Labour, between so-called capitalist and Communist countries, an artificially exaggerated opposition.' To the post-war youth organizations that, thinking of Nazi regimentation, reacted to such suggestions by the cry: 'anything, but no work service!', Rosenstock-Huessy replied that 'what has been abused must be purified, it must be renewed; but it is not refuted because it has been misused.' 'Only failure does put our earnestness to the test' of long-term patience; it is not in itself an argument against an idea. (Rosenstock-Huessy 1965: 53-4) When it came to the one on which he had staked the most, Rosenstock-Huessy seemed more willing to admit with Marc that history's apparent losers could be right after all, in the long run of mankind's spiritual advances, over the arc of Europe's revolutions towards a more perfect planetary union.

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