

**THE DEBATE ON AUSTRIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE  
FIRST REPUBLIC (1918-1938)**

**C. M. Peniston-Bird**

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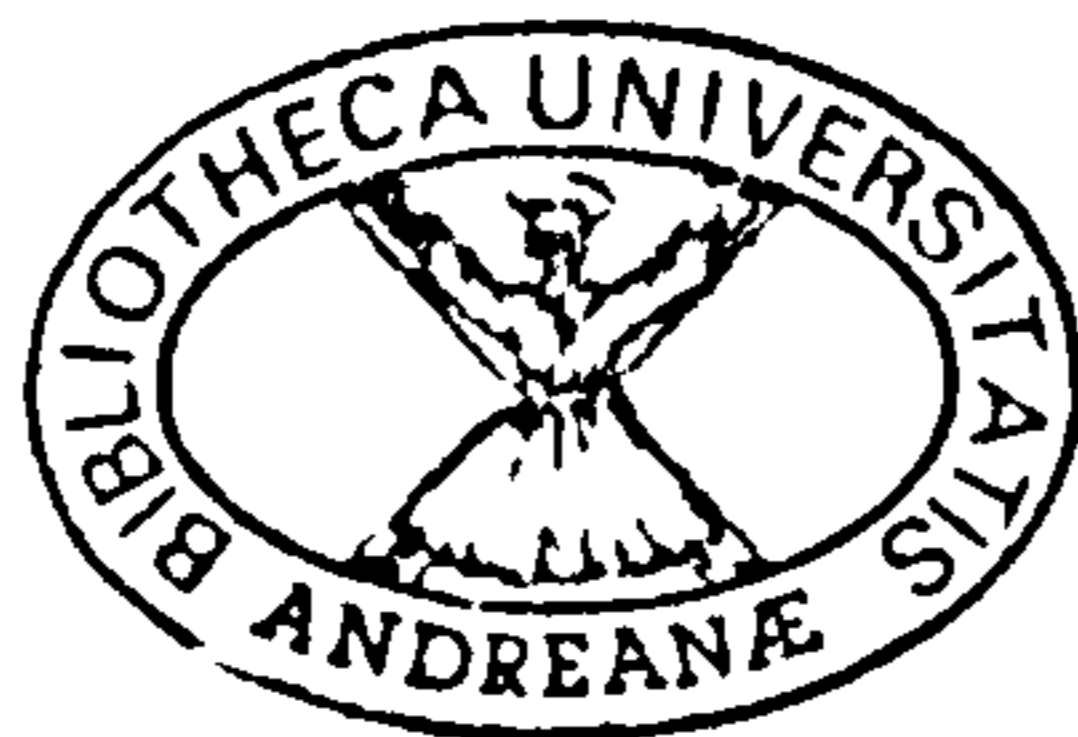
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THE DEBATE ON  
AUSTRIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY  
IN  
THE FIRST REPUBLIC  
(1918 - 1938)



C. M. Peniston-Bird M.A.  
Doctor of Philosophy  
St. Andrews  
September 1996

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### Abstract

This thesis examines the debate over Austrian national identity in the interwar period (1918-1938), and deconstructs key components of national identity. These components include economic, historical, linguistic and certain cultural factors, the concept of a nation's mission, and the "national individual". The final area examined is tourism. It is postulated that tourism permits exploration of the bonds between humans and the environment which they inhabit, and has significant implications for national cohesion.

Sources include contemporary and historical texts on the concept of nationhood and related areas; political, social and cultural histories pertaining to the First Republic; and primary source materials including parliamentary and cabinet minutes; the League of Nations' economic reports on Austria; newspapers, particularly those of pressure groups; individual monographs (of economists, teachers, politicians, theorists); as well as cultural output (literature, poetry, cinema, art, and satire).

The two sides of the debate can be grouped into arguments pertaining to Austria's relationship to Germany, and arguments placing Austria into a wider European context. The rôles of internal cohesion and the influence of the outside world on national identity are addressed. It is shown that the contribution of this period to the development of Austrian national identity has been underestimated: that the foundations for an independent Austria were laid in these years. The concept of national identity is explored and elucidated.

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Glossary of Terms retained in the Original

*Anschluß*: a political or economic union, especially the annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany.

*Gleichschaltung*: coordination, the bringing-into-line of organisations, institutions and ideologies with National Socialist doctrine and practice.

*Heimat*: the home area, province or country, denoting a strong sense of roots.

*Stamm* (pl. *Stämme*): There is no English equivalent with the same connotations. Literally, trunk of a tree, *Stamm* is used to denote a "tribal" relationship: it denotes a group of people united through language, culture, economic or other interests. In English one might speak of "common stock."



## Introduction

*'a mere remnant in the eyes of some,  
a European task in the vision of others'*"  
(Ernst Karl Winter of Austria in 1918)

This thesis examines the issue of Austrian national identity in the interwar period. Two areas are addressed: key components of national identity are analysed, and the interwar debate on Austria's future deconstructed. This debate took place at a vital juncture of Austrian history when the monarchy had dissolved, and the issue of Austrian national identity had become highly topical. This thesis places the First Republic (1918-1938) firmly into the framework of the development of Austrian national identity. In so doing, the concept of national identity is elucidated.

The development of Austrian national identity is marked by a dichotomy between the ideals of supra- or multi-nationalism and Austria's close ties with its German neighbour. These appeared to offer conflicting visions of Austrian identity and to determine different futures for the nation. It was in the inter-war exploration of these visions that the foundations for an Austrian national identity adapted to independent nationhood were laid. The components of the debate are discussed under the categories of economics, history, mission, culture and geography. Theoretical works on nations and nationhood, outlined briefly below, permit analysis of the debate over Austrian national identity in the inter-war period; conversely, the debate permits analysis of the adequacy of theoretical frameworks.

Because of its geographical location and the nature of its history, Austria has never been able to take its identity for granted.<sup>1</sup> Austrian national identity has been debated since the nineteenth century, and not merely by an elite. The debate has continued to the present day with the perceived need to come to terms with the past (*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*). Although Austria's belief in its nationhood is now well established, the question of its national identity can still provoke strong reactions, as was shown in 1988 when Jörg Haider, then chairman of the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*, called Austria an "ideological freak" (*ideologisches Mißgeburt*) in a television debate.<sup>2</sup>

In 1996, Austria is celebrating its millenium, tracing its existence back to 996, the date of the first documentary reference to "Ostarrichi".<sup>3</sup> The Austrian

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<sup>1</sup> A long-established nation which feels secure will not necessarily demonstrate its national identity overtly. As Ernest Barker argued, "nations can exist in unreflective silence". Ernest Barker: National Character and the Factors in its Formation, Methuen & Co. Ltd, London, 1927, p116.

<sup>2</sup> Interview on the Österreichische Rundfunk (ORF), 18 August 1988.

<sup>3</sup> In a document of 1 November 996 Otto III gave to the Hochstift Freising (a convent) a royal estate, Neuhofen, which is described as lying in the area known in the vernacular as Ostarrichi. A book on Austria commemorating its millenium refers to this document as Austria's "Geburtsurkunde" - its birth certificate". S. Sares: Vielgeliebtes Österreich. S'Print Kunstdruck GmbH, Vienna, 1993. Fifty years later the name "Austria" can be found. Both terms must obviously pre-date their first official mention. The territory covered by these descriptions is not that of Austria today - to give just one example, the Burgenland was allocated to Austria from Hungary after World War I.

humorist Hans Weigel, however, has pointed out how difficult it is to date the birth of this nation:

So, how old is Austria? Suggest any number between zero and one thousand, and it will have some justification. In September 1946 there were state celebrations with the motto "950 Years of Austria". In May 1955 Austria's tenth year of existence was celebrated, but there was also talk of Austria's "year zero."<sup>4</sup>

As William D Bowman contended, "'Austria' was for so long a monarchy of many nations and nationalities and had to create itself differently than other nation-states".<sup>5</sup> The birth of Austria's national identity has been ascribed to various dates in the last thousand years: 996, Rudolf IV's reign (1339 - 1365), and the disintegration of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806, are just three examples.<sup>6</sup> Tracing the Austrian nation as far back as any of these dates is problematic, however. First, it is inaccurate to equate Cis-Leithania with Austria, a point emphasised by Austrians to no avail in 1918.<sup>7</sup> Although, therefore,

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<sup>4</sup> Hans Weigel: O Du mein Österreich. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970, p13: *Wie alt is Österreich also? Sagen Sie irgendeine Zahl zwischen 0 and 1,000 und sie hat etwas für sich. Im September, 1946 gab es feierliche Staatsakte unter dem Motto, 950 Jahre Österreich. Im Mai 1955 feierte man Österreichs 10 Jahre bestand und sprach zugleich von Österreichs Jahr null.* (Hereafter cited as O Du ...)

<sup>5</sup> William D. Bowman: "Regional History and the Austrian Nation" in The Journal of Modern History 67, December, 1995.

<sup>6</sup> For example Winter identified Rudolf IV der Stifter as the originator of the Austrian notion of state (*Schöpfer einer österreichischen Staatsidee*). E. K. Winter: Rudolf IV von Österreich, Reinhold, Wien, 1934-6. See also Dr Rudolf Till, Pax austriaca: Sinn und Geschichte des österreichischen Staatsgedankens. Babenberg-Verlag, Wien, 1948. p23

<sup>7</sup> Fritz Fellner, for example, criticises Ernst Fischer for applying the term "Austria" to the totality of the Habsburg possessions as well as to the so-called hereditary lands (*Erbländer*) without differentiation, but using the term "Austrians" to refer

this thesis must be considered against the background of work on the Habsburg Empire, the choice of 1918 as a starting point is deliberate and significant, as explained below.<sup>8</sup> Second, the application of the concept of the nation much prior to the nineteenth century is anachronistic.<sup>9</sup> In the Holy Roman Empire the ideal of the Empire and of the state were synonymous. The application of the word "nation" to Austria can be found in the nineteenth century, but even then it was contested and often ambiguous.<sup>10</sup>

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only to German Austrians. See Fritz Fellner: "The Problem of the Austrian Nation after 1945" in Journal of Modern History, 60, June 1988.

8 For the Habsburg era see, for example, Robert Kann: The Multinational Empire. Nationalism and National Reform in the Hapsburg Monarchy. New York, 1964.

9 This is not to argue that the foundations of Austrian identity cannot be traced back well into the past. But these components are only "national" in retrospect and the historian must be wary of fallacious *post hoc ergo propter hoc* reasoning.

10 Viktor von Andrian-Werbung, for example declared with regret in 1843: *Österreich ist ein rein imaginärer Name, welcher kein in sich abgeschlossenes Volk, kein Land, keine Nation bedeutet - eine konventionelle Benennung für einen Komplex von unter sich scharf abgesonderten Nationalitäten. Es gibt Italiener, Deutsche, Slaven, Ungarn, welche zusammen den österreichischen Kaiserstaat konstituieren, aber ein Österreich, Österreicher, eine österreichische Nationalität gibt es nicht, und hat es nicht gegeben, wenn man eine Spanne Land um Wien herum ausnimmt.* Viktor von Andrian-Werbung cited in Herbert Matis; Anton Burghardt: Die Nation-Werdung Österreichs. Historische und soziologische Aspekte. Österreichische Gesellschaft für Wirtschaftssoziologie. Wien, Heft 13, 1976. p17 (Hereafter cited as Die Nation-Werdung). Bluhm finds an earlier reference to the Austrian nation (1814), but queries how the term is used. See William T. Bluhm: Building an Austrian Nation. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1973. p14 (Hereafter cited as Building an Austrian Nation.)

However, determining a single precise date for the birth of the nation is more relevant for symbolic celebrations than for the academic insights it proffers. The nation is the outcome of a gradual process.<sup>11</sup> A specific date only reflects a stage within this process: the French revolution of 1789, for example, signalled a shift from belief in the autonomy of the state to the idea of social contract, but it must be seen against a background of increased intellectual discussion of autonomy, unity and identity.<sup>12</sup> In the study of national identity, it is therefore more helpful to examine periods than single events.

The debate surrounding Austrian national identity is both contemporary and historical. The Austrian academic approach to the Austrian nation is marked by an attempt to analyse its chronological development. The initial goal of this thesis is to place the First Republic (1918-1938) firmly into that chronology. The periodisation underlying this thesis has an inherent logic: In 1918, Austria became a Republic rather than an element of an Empire, in 1938 Austria ceased to be a

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11 In "When is a nation", Walker Connor deplores the fact that, while much attention has been paid to the question "what is a nation", far less consideration has been given to the question "at what point in its development does a nation come into being". The crucial point here is that "nation-formation is a process, not an occurrence". See Connor in John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith: Nationalism. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 1994 (Hereafter cited as Nationalism.) p158

12 As in the writings of J. J. Rousseau. The example of 1789 is not arbitrary since the French revolution is often identified as the birthday of the political idea of the nation. See, for example, Eric Hobsbawm "Nationalism in Eastern Europe" in Nationalism. p178

Republic and became an element of the Third Reich. Under the Monarchy, and after the Anschluß, Austro-Germans were defined by who they were not: from 1918 to 1938 they had to find a way of determining who they were.<sup>13</sup>

Historians consistently deny that the First Republic was significant in the development of Austrian national identity.<sup>14</sup> A typical conclusion is found in Anton Pelinka's essay in the collection Austriaca - deux fois l'Autriche:

Only the experience of the practice of National Socialism helped, as it were retrospectively, to create, to a stronger and greater degree a first identification vis-a-vis the democratic Republic of Austria. Not the Austrian Republic but the negative experience under the German dictatorship provided the preconditions for a new, stable, democratic Republic of Austria.<sup>15</sup>

Burghardt and Matis similarly conclude that it was the period of occupation by National Socialist Germany which

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13 Weigel argues that modern day Austrians are still more certain of what they are not than of what they are. O Du ... p13: *so hat der heutige Österreicher bestenfalls schon Gewißheit darüber, was er nicht ist, kaum jedoch darüber, was er ist.*

14 For discussions on Austrian national identity see also Ernst Bruckmüller, Nation Österreich. Sozialhistorische Aspekte ihrer Entwicklung, Hermann Böhlau Nachf. Wien/Köln/Graz, 1984; Gerald Stourzh, Vom Reich zur Republik - Studien zum Österreichbewusstsein, Vienna, 1990; Georg Wagner: "Von der Staatsidee zum Nationalbewusstsein," in Georg Wagner (ed.), Österreich. Von der Staatsidee zum Nationalbewusstsein. PRO AUSTRIA, Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1982.

15 Austriaca - Deux fois l'Autriche. Université de Haute-Normandie, February 1979. p351: *Erst das Erlebnis der Praxis des Nationalsozialismus half, gleichsam rückwirkend, eine erste Identifikation in stärkeren und grösserem Ausmaß gegenüber der demokratischen Republik Österreich herzustellen. Nicht die österreichische Republik, sondern das Negativ-erlebnis mit der deutschen Diktatur stellte die Voraussetzung für eine neue, diesmal stabile, demokratische Republik Österreich her.*

made Austrians aware of their independent identity.<sup>16</sup> Aversion to the regime and the subsequent turning away from Greater German ideals led to an acceptance of Austrian nationhood. Occupation encouraged internal bonding across ideological divides so that after 1945 the majority of Austrians could identify with their country as a matter of course. Anschluß, resistance, and occupation are identified, therefore, as providing the foundations of an Austrian national identity.<sup>17</sup>

Where the First Republic is granted any influence, it is generally considered minor. Fritz Fellner draws attention to the period 1934 to 1938, but argues that the promotion of Austrian ideals in that period was aimed against National Socialism: it did not reflect a true belief in Austria's future. He further contends that Austria can only be termed a self-aware and autonomous state after 1955.<sup>18</sup> Felix Kreissler identifies the period from 12 February to 11 March 1938 as the first phase of national consciousness (*nationalen Bewußtwerdung*).<sup>19</sup> As for the First Republic, Kreissler

<sup>16</sup> The authors argue that although there was a national bank, a *Nationalrat*, a provisional "*Nationalversammlung*" and a national library, there was no nation. "Not until the time of the national socialist occupation and co-ordination were the majority of Austrians aware of their separate identity (*Eigensein*)." Die Nation-Werdung. p21

<sup>17</sup> See for example Felix Kreissler's article "*Der Beitrag des Exils zur Entwicklung eines österreichischen Nationalbewußtseins*" in H. Konrad; W. Neugebauer (eds.): Arbeiterbewegung-Faschismus-Nationalbewußtsein. Vienna, 1983.

<sup>18</sup> "The Problem of the Austrian Nation after 1945"

<sup>19</sup> Felix Kreissler: "*La prise de conscience de la nation Autrichienne*" translated as Kreissler, Felix, Der Österreicher und seine Nation. Ein Lernprozeß mit Hindernissen. Böhlau Verlag, Vienna, 1984

concludes that party political rifts and an ineffectual state inhibited the articulation of a positive Austrian identity.

Even this limited rôle of the First Republic in the development of an Austrian national identity has been challenged. William Bluhm argues, for example, that nation building in the First Republic was abortive and that no "Austrian nation" achieved "consensual definition either in political or cultural terms".<sup>20</sup> John Boyer points out that Austria's leaders failed to provide the electorate with an all-encompassing rationale to underpin either the state's legitimacy or their own authority: he argues that only after 1945 would the political elites of the state find some economic and cultural consensus.<sup>21</sup>

There was little consensus in the First Republic. It was a period marked by rifts - between left and right, between private armies, between province and capital, between rural and industrial areas, between tradition and modernity. This thesis does not deny that the state achieved little autonomy. It is also true that belief in Austrian viability was neither enthusiastic nor unanimous. The majority of the German-Austrian population of the monarchy had striven for autonomy and power within the Empire, not Anschluß or disintegration. As Ernst Bruckmueller argues "disintegration without a

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20 Building an Austrian Nation, p42

21 John W. Boyer: Culture and Political Crisis in Vienna; Christian Socialism in Power, 1897 - 1918. University of Chicago Press. Chicago/London, 1985. p459 (Hereafter cited as Culture and Political Crisis.)



certain desire for it apparently results not in an identity, but at best in a vacuum of identity".<sup>22</sup> The economic hardship which followed disintegration, the shock of ceasing to be a great Power, the loss of the war and the Empire, and dependence on foreign powers did not encourage positive identification with the Republic and independence. Nor does this thesis challenge the view that the period after 1938 was important in the development of Austrian national identity. Anschluß, resistance, and occupation inevitably had a profound effect upon Austrian national identity.<sup>23</sup> After the Moscow Declaration (1 November 1943) it was certainly expedient for Austria to distance itself from Germany, and to find some commitment to independence.<sup>24</sup>

However, the central argument of this thesis is that the contribution of the first twenty years of Austria's independent existence to the development of an Austrian national identity has been underestimated. These years saw monumental changes: the adjustment from Empire to diminutive Republic; three constitutional changes; repeated economic crises; the political shift from

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22 Bruckmüller, Ernst: Nation Österreich; Sozial-historische Aspekte ihrer Entwicklung. Hermann Böhlau Nachf. Wien, 1984: "Desintegration ohne ein gewisses Verlangen danach erzeugt offenkundig keine Identität, sondern höchstens ein Vakuum an Identität."

23 For critical assessment of Austrian resistance see Fred Carl Hornquist: Austrian national identity and the Dokumentationsarchive des österreichischen Widerstandes. U.M.I., Ann Arbor, 1990.

24 In which Austria was labelled the first victim of Hitlerite aggression, and the resurrection of an independent Austrian state was declared to be a war goal of the allies.

parliamentary democracy to authoritarian dictatorship; civil war; assassination; and, finally, occupation by German forces. This thesis establishes that the first decades of independent nationhood permitted the development of a distinct Austrian national identity. From 1918-1938, the components of Austrian national identity were debated, its inherent problems highlighted, and the dialectic established. Consequently, if and when the nation state ever came to be seen as a desirable goal, its theoretical framework was already in place. Austrian national identity after World War II was not, as John Boyer has described it, a "new Austrianness".<sup>25</sup>

Much of the disagreement with the conclusions on the First Republic reached above is based on the question of definition. Austria after the disintegration of the monarchy has been termed a state against its will, a state without a nation, a republic without republicans.<sup>26</sup> If it is this which provides the main evidence for the non-existence of an Austrian national identity, then the definition of what constitutes national identity assumes crucial importance.<sup>27</sup>

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25 Culture and Political Crisis, p459.

26 See for example, Hellmut Andics: Der Staat, den keiner wollte: Österreich von der Gründung der Republik bis zur Moskauer Deklaration. Wilhelm Goldmann Verlag, Germany 1981. or Die Nation-Werdung. The phrase "Republik ohne Republikaner" was used in the Arbeiter Zeitung (24 November 1918).

27 It is important to emphasise that nationalism and national identity are not synonymous terms. Nationalism is frustrated national identity and involves a desire for change. National identity is to do with consciousness and identity. John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism" in Anthony D. Smith: Nationalism in the Twentieth Century. Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1979, p87. Theoretical works on

"The nation" is notoriously difficult to define. It is a concept, as Carlton Hayes describes, of "tantalizing ambiguity".<sup>28</sup> Constantly evolving, the nation has meant different things at different times to different peoples. Nevertheless, definitions fall into three broad categories.<sup>29</sup> First, the nation has been termed a political construct, representing the community of all those subject to a particular state, that is, all citizens (without reference to language and heritage) who live within certain borders.<sup>30</sup> In German this is termed the *Staatsnation*.

the nation tend to concentrate on nationalism, not national identity, thus their conclusions must be adopted with great care. The main exception is Anthony D. Smith: National Identity. Penguin Books, London, 1991

28 Carlton J. H. Hayes: Essays on Nationalism. New York, 1941, p3. His sentiment is echoed by Walker Connor who argues "the essence of a nation is intangible" - unlike that of the state. Walker Connor: "A Nation is a nation, is a State . . ." in Nationalism, p36

29 For a brief summary contrasting all three see Gottfried Salomon (ed.): Jahrbuch für Soziologie: Erster Ergänzungsverband: Nation und Nationalität, Verlag G. Braun in Karlsruhe, 1927, (Hereafter cited as Jahrbuch für Soziologie.), or Paul Edwards, (ed.): The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Volume 5. Macmillan Publishing Co. New York/London, 1967

30 This first definition was heavily influenced by the ideals of the French Revolution of 1789. Gellner defines the term "nationalism" as "primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent." - Ernst Gellner, Nations and Nationalism. Oxford, 1983, pl. (Hereafter cited as Nations and Nationalism) For further discussion on the close relationship between nationalism and the state see, for example, John Breuilly, Nationalism and the State, Manchester, 1982. George Malcome Stratton: Social Psychology and International Conduct New York, 1929; Carolyn M. Vogeler: The Nation State: The neglected dimension of class. Gower, England, 1985. For the problems of equating nation with state see articles by Max Weber, Walker Connor and Clifford Geertz in Nationalism. Kedourie points out that the world has

Second, the nation has been seen as a community recognisable by certain "objective" criteria (a shared language, race, culture, character), regardless of political borders. Here, the nation is the product of organic growth. Individuals are born into a nation.<sup>31</sup> This is termed the *Kulturnation* in German, which emphasises the rôle which a shared culture was perceived to play in bonding nationals. This was the definition predominant in Austria in the interwar period. The *Staatsnation* and the *Kulturnation* may be coterminous but will not necessarily be so.

Finally, there is the "subjective" definition, in which the nation is seen as a community of will, which reflects shared values.<sup>32</sup> "Objectivist" factors do not determine the nation; there must also be an active will on the part of individuals to constitute a nation.<sup>33</sup>

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seen states which were not nations, and nations without states. See Elie Kedourie, Nationalism, Hutchinson University Library, London, 1971.

31 This is most famously the view of German philosophers such as Herder or Fichte, who emphasised the rôle of language. These are discussed in Chapter Six. See also, for example, Stalin's definition: "A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." Joseph Stalin: "The Nation" in Nationalism, p20. What the citizenship is to the state, the *Volk* (folk or people) is to the culturally-defined nation.

32 E. Renan, "What is a nation": in G. William (ed.): Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Studies. Kennikat Press, London, 1970. See also the theoretical writings of Edmond Burke (Collected Works) or Hans Kohn: The Idea of Nationalism. Macmillan, New York, 1944. (Hereafter cited as The Idea of Nationalism.)

33 "The elements (territory, extraction, language, and so on) are all insufficient. They do not by themselves create a nationality ... they resemble

This definition introduces an element of choice: an individual may choose the nation to which s/he would like to belong. Hence the German terminology "*Willensnation*".<sup>34</sup> Under this definition, the nation is determined by the desire to constitute a nation.

Although these three categories sum up the development of theories about nations, other definitions abound. The nation has been seen as the product of class tension, the result of economic development, or as a consequence of the human need for security.<sup>35</sup> As Benjamin Disraeli aptly put it, the nation is a work of art and a work of time.<sup>36</sup> It is the product of in- and out-group formation.<sup>37</sup> It is imposed from above, it is created from below; it is natural, it is invented.<sup>38</sup> It is imagined.<sup>39</sup>

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- inert matter which has the potentiality of life but has not yet been animated." Mancini quoted in Oscar K. Rabinowicz: Vladimir Jabotinsky's conception of a nation. The Beechurst Press, New York, 1946. p29.
- 34 A nation formed by the desire to form a nation. It can also be labelled "*Gefühlsnation*", a nation formed by emotional bonding. For German terminology see Jahrbuch für Soziologie., p23.
- 35 For example: "Nationalism, then, is a learned sentiment, a response to an individual's internal needs for security and social acceptance and to external stimuli for conformity and public service. It follows that the intensity as well as the nature of national feeling varies with the individual's tensions and with the social pressures bearing on him." Boyd C. Shafer: Nationalism: Interpretations and Interpreters. The American Historical Association, Third Edition, Baltimore 1966. p20
- 36 Benjamin Disraeli quoted in Nationalism and Social Communication, p22.
- 37 Karl Deutsch cites an old European definition of a nation in which the latter is defined as "a group of people united by a common error about their ancestry and a common dislike of their neighbours". Quoted in Nationalism, p328.
- 38 Edmond Burke: "The idea of a people is the idea of a corporation. It is wholly artificial, and made,

Any one of these definitions can be challenged. Tosca Purr asks whether culture is not always heterogenous and class specific.<sup>40</sup> Eric Hobsbawm questions whether it is not tautological to argue that a nation can be defined by its members' consciousness of it.<sup>41</sup> Friedrich Hertz, although subscribing to the subjectivist viewpoint, accepts that the concept of a "common will" is nebulous.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless there is broader agreement than the number of definitions would imply; different interpretations arise from variations in

like all other fiction, by common agreement ..." quoted in Nationalism and Social Communication. p21. E. Gellner: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist." Nations and Nationalism. E. Hobsbawm: "Moreover with Gellner I would stress the element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations". E. J. Hobsbawm, : Nations and Nationalism since 1780; Programme, myth, reality. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. p10 (Hereafter cited as Nations and Nationalism)

39 Benedikt Anderson: Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Verso, London, 1983. (Hereafter cited as Imagined Communities) p15: "In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion."

40 Purr, Tosca: Leserbriefe zum Thema "Österreichische Nation" in Wiener Printmedien. Wien 1989. p69

41 Nations and Nationalism, p8. Moreover, this definition "can lead the incautious into extremes of voluntarism which suggests that all that is needed to be or to create or recreate a nation is the will to be one; if enough inhabitants of the Isle of Wight wanted to be a Wightian nation, there would be one."

42 Friedrich Hertz: Nationality in History and Politics: A Study of the Psychology and Sociology of National Sentiment and Character. Kegan Paul, London, 1944. p12

emphasis rather than from fundamental disagreement.<sup>43</sup> Modern definitions tend to combine objective and subjective factors, so that the nation is seen as being composed of a material basis with a spiritual superstructure.<sup>44</sup> This thesis subscribes to this view.

The plethora of definitions and possible interpretations of the nation, however, need not be a hindrance to analysis of national identity. As Walter Bagehot wrote of the nation, "We know what it is when you do not ask us, but we cannot very quickly explain or define it".<sup>45</sup> This highlights the appealing diversity

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43 So, for example, Ernest Barker provides a carefully worded definition which underlines that, while specific criteria can be identified, no one factor is definitive: "A nation is a body of men, inhabiting a definite territory, who normally are drawn from different races, but possess a common stock of thoughts and feelings acquired and transmitted during the course of a common history; who on the whole and in the main, though more in the past than in the present, include in that common stock a common religious belief; who generally and as a rule use a common language as the vehicle of their thoughts and feelings; and who, besides common thoughts and feelings, also cherish a common will, and accordingly form, or tend to form, a separate State for the expression of that will." Ernest Barker: National Character and the Factors in its Formation Methuen & Co. Ltd, London, 1927. p32 (Hereafter cited as National Character.)

44 National Character, p2. Clifford Geertz argues that the sovereign state is intended as "a positive instrument for the realization of collective aims", but that certain attachments must be seen also as the product of natural, even spiritual, affinity rather than social interaction. See his essay "Primordial and civic ties" in Nationalism. Hans Kohn identifies two forms of nationalism: political (rational) and cultural (mystical). The Idea of Nationalism.

45 Walter Bagehot (1887), quoted in E. H. Hobsbawm: Nations and Nationalism since 1780; Programme, myth, reality. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. p2.

and complexity of a concept for which no single definition will be entirely adequate.

The question of definition is important, however, when analysing any individual's view of the nation. Of primary importance when analysing national identity in a given country is the understanding of the concept in that time and place. In the First Republic, the most broadly accepted view held that the nation was a cultural construct. The debate over Austrian national identity in the First Republic must be understood against this "objectivist" definition. It is also for this reason that this thesis does not emphasise the rôle of the state; such analysis inevitably places the emphasis on nationhood as a political construct. In the secondary sources outlined above, it is the imposition of this anachronistic definition which has determined the conclusions reached. If the nation is understood as a political construct it is legitimate to argue that there was little Austrian national identity in the interwar period, because the state attained little legitimacy or popular support. If, however, the nation is understood as a cultural construct, as was the case at the time, then inter-war Austria took great strides towards identifying and constructing its national identity.

This thesis shows that in the First Republic there were strong ideas of what being Austrian meant. These ideas were often antagonistic, and Bluhm's conclusion that there was no consensual definition of the Austrian nation has some justification. However, there are two



points which must be made here. First, there was often more consensus of opinion than protagonists themselves necessarily realised. Second, it must be questioned to what extent a nation's ideas on its national identity are ever based on consensus. It is feasible that while nationals may feel they constitute a nation, the reasons for their doing so differ from person to person or group to group; the common conclusion, however, masks this underlying disagreement.<sup>46</sup> It is only when the nation is going through a particularly dramatic stage of development and must make choices over its future that a lack of consensus becomes significant. In Austria the same component parts of Austrian national identity were recognised, for the most part, but analyses of their significance reached different conclusions.

This thesis emphasises that it was possible for a sense of Austrian identity to co-exist with a lack of belief in the Austrian state. The former was not dependent on the latter: under the "objectivist" definition of the nation, a nation exists whether coterminous with the state's borders or not, indeed, whether it has a state or not.<sup>47</sup> It must be remembered

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46 The English have never been through agonies of self-analysis comparable to the Austrians. However that which is considered English by a Lincolnshire tanner or by a bank manager in London is likely to be different.

47 Walker Connor points out that of the 132 entities generally considered to be states as of 1971, only 12 states (9.1%) can be justifiably described as nation-states. Twenty-five states (18.9%) contained a nation, or potential nation accounting for more than 90% of the state's total population, but also contained an important minority. In the largest category (consisting of 39 states - 29.5%) the

that in the interwar period the practice that nations should exist as nation states was a relatively new phenomenon, particularly in Central Europe. The Austrian nation state was an issue because the Austrian definition of nationhood was different from that held by other European states. (The Succession States, for example, presented independent statehood as the apotheosis of nationalist demands; Austria met independence with no such claims.) As so often with Austrian history, it is not clear whether this was because Austria had fallen behind or was decades ahead of its time.<sup>48</sup>

This thesis is based on an inter-disciplinary methodology. Light has been shed on national identity in many fields: art history, economics, geography, history, international relations, literature studies, philosophy, politics, psychology, social anthropology, socio-linguistics, and sociology to name but some. National identity is by its very nature inter-disciplinary, a fact which affected the structure and source materials used in this thesis.

Three types of source material are employed. First, as discussed above, contemporary and historical texts on

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largest nation accounts for less than half of the population. According to James Mayall the world contains c. 8,000 different cultures but only 159 independent states. See both authors in Nationalism.

48 Napoleon I said of Austria "*L'Autriche est toujours une année, une armée et une idée en arrière.*" (Austria is always a year, an army and an idea behind.) I remember a riddle making the rounds when I was a child, "What would you do if the end of the world were nigh?" to which the correct response was "I'd go to Austria: it would happen a year later there." This ambiguous complaint/compliment seemed to me an epitome of Austrianness.

the concept of nationhood and related areas have provided a theoretical foundation for the discussion. Second, specific research into the First Republic, including political, social and cultural histories have provided useful insights. Finally, and most importantly, primary source materials permit the theories and conclusions of the secondary sources to be challenged or complemented. These materials include parliamentary and cabinet minutes; the League of Nations' economic reports on Austria; newspapers, particularly those of pressure groups; individual monographs (of economists, teachers, politicians, theorists); as well as cultural output (literature, poetry, cinema, art, and satire).

The greatest defect in objectivist theorising is that it is rarely explained precisely how the identified components affect the construction of national identity.<sup>49</sup> Thus it proved necessary to devise two models: one to aid analysis of the interaction between history and national identity, and another to illuminate the relationship between humans and territory through tourism. Although models by their very nature have limitations and must be applied with care, as a tool for analysis, the models devised here have broader application than merely for Austria in the inter-war period.

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<sup>49</sup> Much of the literature which has appeared on the Habsburg Empire claims that the Empire has important lessons for understanding the inherent problems of nationalism the world is experiencing today. This may well be true, but very rarely are any lessons actually identified.

The interaction of the components of the objectivist model, separated for clarity, is as crucial an element of national identity as the components themselves. Discussions of Austrian national identity rarely concentrated on one component only, recognising that identity was a composite. Thus the debate over Austrian national identity was founded upon the discussion over Austrian viability; the understanding of the Austrian mission was interlinked with the interpretation of Austrian history, and most interpretations were based on the assumption that a national identity was not dependent on political organisation in a nation state. It is this interaction between the different factors which helps to distinguish an Austrian national identity as much as the components themselves.

The solution to Austria's interwar problems was sought in a change in Austria's status, most famously, through Anschluß with Germany, but also through the proposed construction of a multinational structure, the details of which varied. The first chapter outlines these various solutions and establishes where the debate raged, and who the debaters were. The second chapter discusses the economic foundations of the debate on Austrian viability. The main components of the debate are the focus of the next chapters: the rôle ascribed to history; the determination of an Austrian mission and an Austrian individual; and the concept of an Austrian culture. In the final chapter an examination of tourism in the First Republic shows one area in which the

geographical foundations of nationhood can be explored, and one in which the theoretical debate on Austrian national identity, as outlined in the preceding chapters, had a practical application. Each chapter includes an examination of the contribution which each area studied has been seen to make to national identity in theoretical literature, and analyses how this area was presented and understood within the Austrian debate.

Like Austrian national identity, this thesis can be defined in terms of what it is not. It is not a history of the interwar period in Austria.<sup>50</sup> It is not a history of the Anschluß movement.<sup>51</sup> It is not even a history of Austrian nationalism. Not all issues relevant to Austrian national identity are examined. Rather, the focus is

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50 For introductions to this period in the English language, see F. L. Carsten: The First Austrian Republic, 1918-1938. Gower/Maurice Temple Smith, England, 1986. and Charles A. Gulick: Austria from Habsburg to Hitler, Volumes I and II. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1948. For readers of German, Heinrich Benedikt (Ed): Geschichte der Republik Österreich, Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Wien, 1977 (Nachdruck of 1954) contains valuable essays on this period. Attention should be drawn to three anthologies also: Ludwig Jedlicka; Rudolf Neck, (Eds): Vom Justizpalast zum Heldenplatz. Studien und Dokumentationen 1927-1938. Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1975; Erika Weinzierl; Kurt Skalnik: Österreich 1918 - 1938; Geschichte der Ersten Republik. Styria Verlag, Graz, 1983; and Austriaca - Deux fois l'Autriche. Université de Haute-Normandie, Fevrier 1979.

51 For histories of the Anschluß movement, see: Alfred D. Low: The Anschluß Movement, 1931-1938, and the Great Powers. East European Monographs, Boulder. New York, 1985. N. von Preradovich: Die Wilhelmstraße und der Anschluß Österreichs 1918-1933. Verlag Herbert Lang & Pie A.G., Bern & Frankfurt, 1971. Heinz Arnberger; Winfrid Garscha: Anschluß 1938 - eine Dokumentation. Österreichische Bundesverlag, Wien, 1988.

upon those aspects of the question which provide new insights into Austrian identity. For example, although the specific contribution of educational textbooks is discussed, an analysis of the wider rôle played by education in creating or fostering national identity is not provided.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, this thesis is not concerned with the correctness of the arguments raised in the debate over Austrian identity. I do not sit in judgement. Afterall, as Walker Connor has argued of the nation, "what ultimately matters is not what is but what people believe is".<sup>53</sup> For the purpose of understanding the components of Austrian national identity, the logic behind the arguments is irrelevant: it is the fact of their existence rather than their validity which is significant. The nation is not predetermined but constructed, not concrete, but perceived. As Benedikt Anderson writes, "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined".<sup>54</sup> This thesis can perhaps, therefore, be described as an investigation into style and imagination.

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52 See Herbert Dachs: Schule und Politik, Die politische Erziehung an den österreichischen Schulen 1918-1938. Jugend und Volk, Wien, München, 1982, and Heinz Kucher: Bildungspolitik und Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung in Österreich von 1918 bis 1934. Diplomarbeit, Klagenfurt, 1980.

53 Walker Connor: "A Nation is a nation, is a State . . ." in Nationalism. p37 This is not to suggest that people's actions necessarily follow their beliefs.

54 Imagined Communities, p15.

## Chapter One

### THE OPPOSING CAMPS

#### Introduction

In this thesis an important distinction is made between analysing the contemporary arguments surrounding Austrian national identity and analysing their validity. This has the dual advantage that it works against any bias on the author's part and it supports the central goal of this thesis to understand Austrian national identity as it was understood at the time. As most chapters are constructed around opposing points of view, it is helpful at this juncture to examine briefly who constituted the opposing camps: the precise nature of their views can then unfold in the following chapters.

Many different individuals and organisations discussed Austria's identity, almost always in the light of a specific agenda. The two main camps consist of the movements supporting Anschluß, and of those supporting some form of Danubian Federation (and within this latter group, Legitimism). These are briefly outlined below. It must be remembered that different views existed within as well as between these groups. Nonetheless, the opposing camps fall roughly into these two categories.

#### I. Anschluß

The history of the Anschluß movement has been extensively covered.<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this thesis it

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<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Stanley Suval: The Anschluß question in the Weimar Era: A Study of Nationalism in Germany and Austria, 1918-1932. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press, 1974; Heinz Arnberger; Winfrid Garscha: Anschluß 1938 - eine Dokumentation.

is most relevant to note that the Anschluß movement was not a continuum, based at all times on the same support groups and on the same ideology. Gerhard Botz has identified six stages of the Anschluß movement within Austria from 1918 to 1938.<sup>2</sup> It is helpful to contrast these to attitudes to Anschluß in Germany.

In the first phase, in 1918/1919, Anschluß was supported by the Austrian parliament and by the socialists. In Article 2 of the law of 12 November 1918 on the forms of state and government of German-Austria German Austria was declared part of the German Republic. Unaccustomed to independent existence, Austrians would invariably be influenced by the presence of German nationals across the border. The fact that they were fellow victims of the peace treaties made Anschluß between Austrians and Germans particularly respectable.<sup>3</sup>

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Österreichische Bundesverlag, Wien, 1988.; Helmut Konrad (ed.): Sozial-demokratie und Anschluss. Europa Verlag, Wien, München, Zürich, 1978; Alfred D. Low: The Anschluß Movement, 1931-1938, and the Great Powers. East European Monographs, Boulder. New York, 1985. Rudolf Neck; Adam Wandruszka (eds.): Anschluß 1938. Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. Wien, 1981; N. von Preradovich: Die Wilhelmstraße und der Anschluss Österreichs 1918-1933. Verlag Herbert Lang & Pie A.G., Bern & Frankfurt, 1971. Gerald Stourzh; Brigitta Saar : Österreich, Deutschland und die Mächte: internationale und österreichische Aspekte des "Anschlusses" vom März 1938. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1990. Georg Wagner: "Vom Widersinn des Anschlusses", in "Die Republik", 15 Jg. Heft 4, 1979.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard Botz: Der 13 März 38 und die Anschluss-Bewegung; Selbstaufgabe, Okkupation und Selbstfindung Österreichs 1918-1945. Vorwärts A.G. Wien, 1978.

<sup>3</sup> In article 80 of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany had to recognise the independence of Austria. In article 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain the independence of Austria was declared "inalienable".



Furthermore, Anschluß to a socialist, industrialised Germany would have strengthened the position of the Austrian Social Democrats. This phase ended with the failure of the German revolution, and with German inflation. According to Otto Bauer, it was the German Austrian bourgeoisie, the capitalist classes and the monarchists who opposed the Anschluß at this time.

German motivation for accepting the Anschluß as a foreign political goal, which, as in Austria, ran across party divisions, also varied. Ideological arguments apart, Austria could provide an important springboard to the east, permitting the encirclement of Czechoslovakia and giving Germany three new neighbours (Hungary, Yugoslavia and Italy) over whom it could exercise economic and subsequently political control. Conversely, as discussed in the next chapter, there were also many reasons why the Anschluß might not appeal to all Germans, including Austria's burden of reparations, its Catholicism, its lack of industrialisation, economic competition and its perceived general inefficiency.

In Germany in 1919 a strategy emerged which sought to place responsibility for Anschluß agitation on Austria's shoulders. From 1919 to 1921, Anschluß efforts within Austria were fostered wherever possible, particularly through financial aid. For example, generous aid was given for funding propaganda surrounding the plebiscites in the Tyrol (April 1919) and Vorarlberg (May 1919).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> See Erich Bielka: "Die Volksabstimmung in Tirol 1921 und ihre Vorgeschichte." Symposium St Germain, 1919. Vienna, 1979 and Stephan Verosta: "Die

In an ironic reversal, in the second phase in Austria, which began in 1921, there was petit-bourgeois support for a union which would preserve the Austrian middle classes from the influence of red Vienna. There were also rural moves toward Anschluß in the provinces as the ramifications of the peace treaty became apparent and the rift between Vienna and the provinces deepened.

In the third phase, from 1925 onwards, the Anschluß was worked towards through bureaucratic-academic *Angleichung*. As the economic and political situations improved in Austria and Germany, agitation for the Anschluß was found predominantly in intellectual circles. Co-ordination of political, legal, economic and cultural areas was worked towards with some success. Katzenstein terms this coordination the "voluntaristic pattern" which he sees as a partial response to "the negative economic rewards which characterized the First Republic".<sup>5</sup> Organisations including the "*Österreich-deutschen Volksbund*" and the "*Österreich-deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft*" received aid from the German Foreign Office, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Exchequer. Financial aid was coupled with the proviso that it could not be

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österreichische Außenpolitik" in Erika Weinzierl; Kurt Skalnik: Österreich 1918 - 1938; Geschichte der Ersten Republik. Styria Verlag, Graz, 1983. (Hereafter cited as Österreich 1918 - 1938.)

5 Peter, J. Katzenstein: Disjoined Partners; Austria and Germany since 1815. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976. p152 See p150 for a list of political coordination between Austrian and Germany 1922-1933. (Hereafter cited as Disjoined Partners.) These ranged from mutual recognition of educational certificates to standardization of traffic regulations.

used for propaganda purposes, which might have threatened foreign political moves elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> These contributions ended with the onset of the depression when the Reich could no longer afford them.

In the fourth phase, beginning in 1931, the profit motive continued to be decisive. During this period the *Anschluß* found support in Austrian *Großbürgerlich*, capitalist circles. The stances taken by the affluent middle classes, big business and politicians hoping to reap economic benefits from a union are covered in Chapter Three. Joint economic co-operation led to the negotiations for a customs union between Austria and Germany in 1931, subsequently blocked by France. Financial aid and the plans for a customs union reflected the recognition that, while direct union between Austria and Germany might be impossible in the near future, it was nonetheless possible to work towards closer political and economic co-ordination.

The fifth phase is marked by the National Socialist attempt at *Anschluß* through "revolutionary means" (*Putsch*) in 1934, when Dollfuß was assassinated. Hitler had always made it very clear that Austrian independence was an abomination to him. On the first page of *Mein Kampf* he stated unequivocally:

German Austria must return to the greater German Fatherland, not for any economic reasons. No, no: Even if this union was economically neutral, yes, even if it were

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<sup>6</sup> An instruction that could be followed by the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* which worked behind the scenes, but not by the *Volksbund* whose main goal it was to gain the support of the masses. See below.

harmful, it would nonetheless have to take place.<sup>7</sup> Common blood belongs in a common Reich.

Point one of the Programme of the NSDAP stated,

We demand the union of all Germans into a Greater Germany on the basis of national self-determination.<sup>8</sup>

Incorporated in all but name in the German Nazi party as early as 1926, the Austrian Nazis coordinated all the political activities with the German party and became an instrument for Hitler's terrorist attacks culminating in the assassination of the Prime Minister, Engelbert Dollfuß, in 1934. More determinedly and consistently than any other party, the Austrian Nazis worked for the political integration of Austria with Germany. In response to the assassination, Italian troops were mobilised and Austria's independence secured, at least for the time being.

The failure of the direct approach led to insidious attempts to promote Anschluß through internal and external pressures, rather than through direct violence. In the final phase, from 1936 to 1938, closer relations between Austria and Germany were sought by "evolutionary means" (silent undermining and *Angleichung*) until the actual military intervention.

The advent of Hitler and the National Socialists to power in Germany in 1933 was the most important watershed in the Anschluß issue, more important even than the

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<sup>7</sup> Adolf Hitler: Mein Kampf. Zentral Verlag der NSDAP, München, 1936. p1

<sup>8</sup> *Wir fordern den Zusammenschluß aller Deutschen auf Grund des Selbstbestimmungsrechtes der Völker zu einem Groß-Deutschland.*

installation of the Corporate State and its attempts to formulate an Austrian idea of state. After 1933, friends of the Anschluß movement were increasingly enemies of the Austrian state: this had not necessarily been the case before. German interference in Austrian affairs did provoke a counter-reaction which Felix Kreissler termed a "patriotic awakening".<sup>9</sup>

All the major Austrian parties of the First Republic supported the Anschluß ideal at some point. However neither of the main parties in Austria had uniform goals. The Christian Socials had three camps: those who supported the Anschluß; those who preferred a Danubian Federation, and initially a third group, who favoured a greater Catholic South German state. For the Christian Socials, the political rewards pointed toward an independent Austria ruled by Christian Socials, "not an Austria integrated with Germany and governed by a coalition in which, at best, they were to play a minor part".<sup>10</sup> Similarly, although the Social Democrats supported the Anschluß when it served party political goals immediately after the war, thereafter, opinion was divided: Georg Wagner argues that the proletariat was neutral towards the Anschluß.<sup>11</sup> After Hitler's rise to

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<sup>9</sup> Felix, Kreissler: Der Österreicher und seine Nation. Ein Lern Prozess mit Hindernissen Böhlau Verlag, Vienna/Graz/Köln, 1984. (Hereafter cited as Der Österreicher und seine Nation.)

<sup>10</sup> Disjoined Partners, p130.

<sup>11</sup> Georg Wagner, Österreich von der Staatsidee zum Nationalbewußtsein, PRO AUSTRIA, Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1982.

power, both major parties removed the *Anschluß* clause from their party programmes.

The *Großdeutsche Volkspartei* (Greater German national party) and the *Heimatschutz* also declared the *Anschluß* to be their goal. The former party suffered greatly under the peace settlement. The largest support of the nationalist camp had come from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, areas excluded from the First Republic. The Greater German party thus became the smallest party in Austria in terms of organisational strength and electoral support. Prior to 1918 only a small extremist group around Georg von Schönerer had pursued a policy aimed at detaching the German-speaking crown lands from Austria and at accomplishing their *Anschluß* with Germany.<sup>12</sup> After 1918, therefore, the Great German party advocated the political integration of Austria into Germany, where it would be part of a larger nationalist party.

Finally, a national-liberal agrarian party, the *Landbund*, (mainly in Styria, Carinthia and Upper Austria) claimed the right to national self-determination with a view to unifying all German *Stämme*. The *Landbund* was the only party officially united with its German counterpart: it joined the *German Reichs-Landbund* on 8 September 1921

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<sup>12</sup> Georg Ritter von Schönerer (1842-1921), a key leader in the German nationalist movement, drew up the Linz Program (1882) which sought to loosen Cis-Leithanian ties with Hungary and strengthen ties with the German empire. In 1911 the *Deutscher Nationalverband* became the strongest party in the *Reichsrat* (104 representatives) but dissolved in 1917. This was the precursor of the *Großdeutsche Volkspartei*.

as the "Verband Österreich". It retained its independent leadership, and broke the connection in 1933, however.

The one exception within the parties was the Communist party. It denounced the Anschluß already in 1925, claiming it was a bourgeois deception to distract the Austrian proletariat from the real reasons for its misery. Its slogan was "Immer für Österreich" (Always for Austria). Although the communist party was too small to exert great influence, it was the first party to support an unequivocally independent Austrian identity.

After the eradication of parliamentary government, Austrian identity under the Corporate State continued to vacillate between Anschluß and independence. On the one hand, the authoritarian government actively attempted to foster a sense of Austrian national identity. It professed loyalty to Austrian independence, to the German ideal and to Austria's supranational mission simultaneously (Kreissler labels this as verging on "national schizophrenia"<sup>13</sup>). As Hans Kohn argues,

After Hitler's accession to power in Germany, the situation offered to Dollfuss and Schuschnigg a great historical chance - not to stress that Austria was German - which needed no stressing, as nobody denied it, nor did anybody threaten or endanger it - but to emphasise that German was not identical with National Socialist.<sup>14</sup>

This chance was foregone. The attempts to instill a broadly accepted version of Austrian national identity were not purely idealistic. Both Dollfuß and his

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<sup>13</sup> Der Österreicher und seine Nation, p31

<sup>14</sup> Hans Kohn: "AEIOU: Some Reflections on the meaning and mission of Austria" in The Journal of Modern History. Volume XI, December, 1939, No 4, p523

successor Kurt von Schuschnigg depended for their power on Austria's retaining its independence. However, from the outset, the Corporate State was dependent on greater powers, first Italy, then Germany. Austrian independence had been signed away to Germany before the Anschluss: in the agreement of 11 July 1936, Austrian independence was recognised by Germany, but Austria promised to follow a German line in all political actions.

Anschluss was also the goal of several non-party organisations which kept the ideal of union in the public eye. The "Österreich Deutsche Volksbund" (which purported to be above party - *überparteilich*), the Austro-German people's League, was established in 1925. By 1930, the *Volksbund* had over 1,300,000 members (out of a population of c. six million). There was also an "Österreich Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft", the Delegation for Austro-German Economic Unification, which reorganised and expanded from 1925.<sup>15</sup> In 1930 it had 420 members.<sup>16</sup> Many cultural associations merged with or created German counterparts.<sup>17</sup> These organisations helped to keep Anschluss in the public eye both at home and abroad through organised events such as proclamations and

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<sup>15</sup> Although the *Arbeitsgemeinschaft* had a German counterpart (founded in 1925), the "Delegation für den ... Wirtschaftszusammenschluß" did not.

<sup>16</sup> See Hermann Neubacher "Die Organisationen für den Österreich-Deutschen Zusammenschluss," in Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlussfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as Die Anschlussfrage.)

<sup>17</sup> See also Adolf Günter: "Die Anschlussfrage als soziales und soziologisches Problem" in Die Anschlussfrage.



excursions. The 50th anniversary of the German Empire, the 80th birthday of the German president von Hindenburg, and the Schubert Festival (*Deutscher Sängerbundfest*) in 1928 all provided the opportunity to agitate in favour of *Anschluß*. One individual worth mentioning in this context is Friedrich Kleinwächter who was the most prolific author on the advantages of *Anschluß*.

Katzenstein argues that the predominance of cultural-nationalist organizations

demonstrates that the dominance of cultural over social and economic factors occurred during the interwar years not merely on the attitudinal and behavioral levels, but on the institutional level as well.<sup>18</sup>

This is consistent with the contemporary understanding of what constituted nationhood.

The extent to which the Austrian population were themselves adherents of *Anschluß* has been vigorously debated. Again, much depends on which period is under discussion. So, for example, in the first stage when *Anschluß* to a socialist Germany seemed possible, middle and upper class opposition was at its strongest. Industrialist and rural support depended largely on the economic situation. After the Nazis' rise to power in Germany, the Austrian Nazis liked to present the Austrian population as being completely won over, as the joke "The Sliding Border" illustrates:

After his return from Berlin, Guido Schmidt tells Chancellor Schuschnigg how enthusiastically the Germans cheer Hitler. Schuschnigg wants to hear it himself, and travels with Schmidt to Munich. After a nap,

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<sup>18</sup> Disjoined Partners, p6.

he sees the lights of a large station. Believing himself to be in Munich already, he tears open the window, raises his arm, and calls "Heil Hitler!". Everybody at the station repeats the greeting enthusiastically. But Schmidt grabs the chancellor and throws him back on his seat. "For God's sake, Mr Chancellor, we're only in Salzburg!"<sup>19</sup>

In truth, consistent and open support for the Anschluß was only found amongst the intelligentsia, especially in the universities.<sup>20</sup> Consistent opposition only came from the monarchists/legitimists. The rest of the population vacillated somewhere in between.<sup>21</sup>

## II. Danubian Federationists

As with the Anschluß, agitation in favour of a Danubian Federation went through several stages. Before the dissolution of the Empire was complete, the Social Democrats declared their willingness to enter into negotiations with the other nationalities in the Monarchy with a view to the formation of democratic federation (10 and 21 October, 1918). The other parties followed suit. Only when this failed did Anschluß appear to be the only hope for Austria. Following the Entente's objections to

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19 Wolfgang Broer: Wort als Waffe. Politische Witz und politische Satire in der Republik Österreich (1918-1927). Diss, Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, Wien, 1973. p48.

20 See Weinzierl's paper on the German national character of Austria's universities in Erika Weinzierl, Karl R. Stadler: Justiz und Zeitgeschichte. Geyer Edition, Wien, 1977.

21 Kreissler argued that from 1936 the majority of Austrians were against the Anschluß and had the Anschluß called for 13 March taken place 60-80% would have voted in favour of Austrian independence. Der Österreicher und seine Nation, p87. See also "Wollten die Österreicher den Anschluß?" in Georg Wagner (ed.): Österreich von der Staatsidee zum Nationalbewußtsein, Pro Austria, Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, Wien 1982.

Anschluß, the Danubian union became more attractive again, although without encouragement from the Succession States. All the various attempts at an economic rapprochement between Danubian States failed, or led only to temporary alleviations. Given the allied veto of the Anschluß, the Danubian Federation solution offered a way out of Austria's diminutive status in European affairs and rôle as the "Spielball" (football) of the great powers. Naturally, a consistent hope was that union would again be under Austrian leadership, but it was also recognised that a federation, in which all members had equal status, was a more attainable and worthy goal.

Support for a Danubian Federation could be found in the army and the bureaucracy, those institutions closest to the Imperial form of rule. The clergy of the Catholic Church and elements of the Christian Social Party were also supporters. These groups were most closely attached to the empire and the dynasty. The Federative idea was taken furthest by the Pan-European movement, founded by Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi. He was a firm believer in the rôle which Austria could play on a European scale and a firm opponent of the Anschluß, a denial of the supra-national ideals to which he dedicated his life.

It was broadly recognised, however, that, while Pan-Europe might be a worthy goal, it would not be attainable rapidly.<sup>22</sup> The desire for a Danubian Federation, on the

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<sup>22</sup> See for example, Dr M. Niederle (Wirtschaftsrat der kleinen Entente): "Der Ausbau des Wirtschafts-bündnisses der Kleinen Entente." in Donau-Europa, Zeitschrift für Wirtschaft, Politik, Kultur. Wien. III Jhg 34, No 3. p17: Während der paneuropäische

other hand, was easily defended to the outside world, was more acceptable to key foreign powers such as France, and could always serve as a stepping stone to more comprehensive union in the future. Alternatively, Anschluß was presented as Austria merely claiming its moral right to national self-determination.<sup>23</sup> Ideas such as *Mitteleuropa* and Pan-Europe were more ambitious still, because they brought together both Anschluß and Danubian Federation by possibly including Germany. This was a consequence of the belief that no solution to Europe's economic or political problems could be stable unless it included, or at least had the approval of, Germany.

### Legitimism

A sub-group of the Danubian Federationists were the Legitimists. As their name implies, the Legitimists upheld the legitimate rights of all royal families. They argued that the Pragmatic Sanction,<sup>24</sup> which had never been repealed, dictated that Austria should have an Emperor, not a president - a view encouraged by anti-parliamentary feeling. Rejecting the term monarchist as

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*Gedanke auf wirtschaftlichem Gebiete den Zusammenschluß der europäischen Staaten zu einer wirtschaftlich geeinten und ausgeglichenen Staatenfamilie anstrebt, hat sich die donau-europäische Bewegung ein bescheideneres, dafür aber doch leichter realisierbares Ziel gesetzt.*

<sup>23</sup> The United States had refused to make peace with Austria-Hungary on the basis of the Fourteen Points, Austria could not, therefore, lay the same legitimate claim to the right for national self-determination as Germany.

<sup>24</sup> The Pragmatic Sanction (1713) had declared the Habsburg Dominions indivisible and inseparable.

misleading,<sup>25</sup> Legitimists concluded that, following Karl's death, his son Otto was the only legitimate ruler of Austria.

Legitimists came predominantly from the same circles as Danubian Federationists, finding most support in Catholic circles, and in army organisations.<sup>26</sup> There were numerous legitimist organisations, many of which were drawn together under the umbrella organisation *Verband Alt-Oesterreich*, and in *Der eiserne Ring* (the iron ring), self-termed "the 'Spitzenorganisation' (leading organisation) of legitimist parties, organisations and unions".<sup>27</sup> The most influential organisation which could be termed Legitimist was the *Die Vaterländische Aktion*. One major publication was the collection of essays in *Die österreichische Aktion* whose editors included Wilhelm Schmid, and Ernst Karl Winter.<sup>28</sup> Legitimist newspapers included *Vaterland* and *Die österreichische Mission*; as their names indicate these newspapers were intended to instil pride and

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25 Schmid, for example, argued in *Vaterland* that many Anschluß adherents could be termed monarchist, although their support lay with the Hohenzollern or Wittelbach dynasties. Wilhelm Schmid: "Anschluß" in *Vaterland*. Sept/Oct, 1 Jahrgang 1927, No. 3.

26 Including organisations such as associations of regiments, veterans and riflemen.

27 These included the Akademisches Corps Athesia; the Verband ehemaliger Berufsunteroffizier; die Ostmärkischen Sturm-scharen; Verband Neu-Österreich; Österreichische Volksbewegung; Österreichischer Volkssturm; Österreich-legitimistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft; Pfadfindercorps Ostmark; Akademisches Corps Ottonen; Reichsbund der Österreicher. Another of their vehicles was *Österreichs Stern*.

28 The "Österreichische Gemeinschaft" of 1925 became "Die Österreiche Aktion" in 1927.

understanding of Austrian identity and of an Austrian mission (discussed in Chapter Five).

The Legitimists' political influence was minor. In a political climate dominated by two major parties, parties such as the "Kaisertreue Volkspartei" (the people's party loyal to the Emperor) , founded in 1919, never managed to gain much political clout. Unlike in Hungary, the monarchists in Austria never managed to form a significant political party, and remained to the most part simply a wing of the Christian Socials. Parliamentarianism was anathema to Legitimists in any case. The fact that the Christian Social party found much of its leadership in supporters of the former monarchy, including functionaries of the Church, former bureaucrats from the upper echelons of the Civil Service, and army generals, does perhaps help to explain why its support for the Anschluß was ambiguous. However, the party never became identified as a legitimist party. The majority of the Christian Socials recognised that a Habsburg restoration would not be possible in Austria, at least in the immediate future.

For anti-parliamentarians, the Corporate State could be seen as having come to the rescue of an unsatisfactory parliamentary Republic, and the Legitimists therefore pledged their loyalty to the Corporate State as long as it remained true to its ideal of "sweeping away the revolutionary rubbish of 1918, supporting Austrian independence and building on the great traditions of

Austria's past".<sup>29</sup> Ernst Karl Winter, then vice-mayor of Vienna, recognised that Austria could not afford to alienate its working class, and tried to bring about a reconciliation between the workers and the Corporate State. The Civil War in 1934 had created deep wounds, however, and Winter received little help from either Dollfuß or Schuschnigg to soothe them.

In terms of public support, the Legitimists were aided by simple nostalgia. As Cicely Hamilton pointed out,

It would ... be a mistake to suppose that only the legitimist takes pleasure in the memory of Franz Josef; more than once I have heard the elder generation of Viennese Socialist speak of him almost affectionately.<sup>30</sup>

In her travels around Austria in 1935, Hamilton discovered that the Habsburgs still populated Austria, if not in body than in spirit. Judging by their window displays, shops obviously found Habsburg pictures and postcards commercially lucrative: "Otto is the most frequent, in various guises and costumes".<sup>31</sup> Dead

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29 Legitimistische Arbeitsgemeinschaft      Anschrift  
 Leopold Eichinger: "Kundgebung an das  
 österreichische Volk: Österreicher und  
 Österreicherinnen!" in Österreichs Stern. No 23, 5  
 Juni, 1933, 2 Jahrgang: Wir begleiten die  
 Bemühungen dieser Regierung, unser Land aus der  
 bisher verfolgten Bahn herauszuführen, mit  
 Sympathie und sind bereit, ihr hiebei unsere  
 werktätige Unterstützung zu leihen, wenn und  
 insolange sie die eingeschlagene Linie der  
 Beseitigung des Schuttes der Revolution vom Jahre  
 1918, der Wahrung von Österreichs Unabhängigkeit und  
 der Anknüpfung and die großen Traditionen unseres  
 Vaterlandes, festhält und sie stets bedacht auf das  
 Wohl der Volksgesamtheit, tatkräftig verfolgt.

30 Cicely Hamilton: Modern Austria as seen by an  
 Englishwoman. J. M. Dent and Sons, London &  
 Toronto, 1935. p100

31 Ibid.

Habsburgs were also popular, and included Karl and Franz Joseph in particular. Franz Joseph's longevity and the length of his period in office (1848-1916) doubtlessly encouraged this loyalty.

Certain elements of the Monarchy had been retained from the start: for example, Walter Goldinger sees it as noteworthy that the Republic retained the title of "Hofrat" without question, although there was no longer a court.<sup>32</sup> Other elements were re-introduced under the Corporate State. Support for the Royal Family after the installation of the Corporate State is indicated by the number of cities which honoured Otto. By 31 January 1936, 1064 municipalities had given Otto the freedom of the city; 254 organisations had voted "the Emperor" as an honorary member or president.<sup>33</sup>

However such popularity could be misleading. The royal family was an emotive subject, and figured large in nostalgia, but its popularity did not necessarily indicate a deep-rooted desire for restoration. Skilful media exploitation made glorification of individuals the order of the day, whether football stars, opera divas, or deposed emperors.

The Danubian Federationists could claim broad popular appeal, but this appeal did not necessarily translate into active support for their ideas. Although only a small group of essentially conservative Catholic

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<sup>32</sup> Walter Goldinger: "Verwaltung und Bürokratie" in Österreich 1918 - 1938, p205.

<sup>33</sup> Österreichs Stern. 5 Feb, 1936, 5 Jahrgang No 5. By July 1937, the figure had risen to 1569 municipal councils conferring this honour.



intellectuals,<sup>34</sup> the "Austrian nationalists" proved influential. Their consistent stance against *Anschluß* and their unremitting support for "Austrian" ideals served to underpin an independent Austrian identity. They inspired other circles by acting either as an example or as an irritant.

The existence of camps with competing agendas led to a vigorous debate on Austria's character and future, and helped to ensure that the issue of Austrian national identity remained topical throughout the interwar period. Post-war realities had two consequences: the ramifications of the debate would never merely be an Austrian issue but one of European concern; second, the debates as to Austria's future were based on practical considerations, not only ideological theorising. It is the material basis for the debates which provides the focus of the next chapter, and which introduces the first area of disagreement between the opposing camps.

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<sup>34</sup> See Jan Papior: "Die Österreichische Idee in der Zeitschrift "Vaterland" in Walter Weiss, und Eduard Beutner (Eds.): Literatur und Spache in Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit. Hans-Dieter Heinz, Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart, 1985, p44

## Chapter Two

THE ECONOMY OF THE STATE: THE STATE OF THE ECONOMYTHE FOUNDATION OF THE DEBATE ON AUSTRIAN NATIONAL  
IDENTITY

## Introduction:

In this chapter the foundations of the debate on the existence or non-existence of an Austrian nation are examined. These are found in the economic sphere.<sup>1</sup> Economy and national identity are logically interwoven: consider, for example, the analysis of a state's economic situation in terms of domestic and foreign trade; or how currency brings a symbolic and practical representation of the nation state into every household. The contribution made by economics to national identity has long been recognised. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, for example, argued that the nation was developed by the bourgeoisie in order to develop markets for its goods to create profit. While this view fails to recognise the contribution made by monarchs and the aristocracy in nation-building, or the contribution "from below", it does serve to draw attention to the fact that, as Eric Hobsbawm argues, the national question is

situated at the point of intersection of politics, technology and social transformation. Nations exist ... in the context of a particular stage of technological and economic development.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For discussion of Austria's economic situation in the interwar period, see, for example, Ernst Bruckmüller: *Sozial Geschichte Österreichs*, Herold Verlag, Wien/München, 1985. (Hereafter cited as *Sozial Geschichte*)

<sup>2</sup> E. H. Hobsbawm: Nations and nationalism since 1780; Programme, myth, reality. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. p10 So, for example, the development of national languages was associated

On the dissolution of the Empire, the Austrian economy went through a profound change. The break-up of the Monarchy involved the end of a large historical economic unit marked by a high degree of regional division of labour. A single marketing area was replaced by a multiplicity of markets protected by customs barriers.

As the debate outlined below reveals, doubts about Austria's economic viability and doubts as to the validity of its existence were closely related. Norbert Leser has coined the helpful term "reduction shock" to describe what Austria experienced. He compares the Austrian state of mind to that of a family who has unexpectedly been evicted from a large flat into tiny cramped surroundings. Attempts to reproduce its former more spacious living conditions were unsuccessful.<sup>3</sup> The debate over Austria's viability was based on economic and territorial considerations and on an inability to come to terms with the extent of the change.

Reduction shock had a specifically economic dimension. Austrian economists and policy makers saw security and prosperity in large political and economic areas. Friedrich Hertz speaks of "the habit of thinking of Austria's identity in large spatial terms".<sup>4</sup> Autarky

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with the development of the printing press and the spread of literacy.

<sup>3</sup> Norbert Leser: "Die nationale Selbstfindung der Österreicher" in Walter Jambor (ed.): Der Anteil der Bundesländer an der Nationswerdung Österreichs. Verlag Kurt Wedl, Wien, München, 1971

<sup>4</sup> Friedrich Hertz: The Economic Problem of the Danubian States; A Study in Economic Nationalism Victor Gollancz Ltd, London, 1947. p174 (Hereafter cited as The Economic Problem)

was the ideal to which to strive. This ideal was founded on the experience of the Empire, and on the power displayed by the United States in the First World War. As will be seen below, the alternative, dependence on foreign states, was seen as potentially most hazardous. A 1934 article in Der Österreichische Volkswirt labelled this belief "autarky psychosis", deriding the contradiction between the belief in autarky and the practice of protectionism adopted.<sup>5</sup>

Accustomed to finding security within a large economic unit, many Austrians could not believe in the viability of the tiny Republic. Kleinwächter expressed the common view: "The German-Austrians had been locked into an unviable state against their will, and, despite their protests, now they are simply left to rot in misery within this cage".<sup>6</sup> The lack of belief in Austria's viability was thus in part a product of reduction shock, in part a consequence of the sense that independent statehood had been imposed by a callous outside world.

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<sup>5</sup> Der Österreichische Volkswirt 26 Jahrgang, 10 March, 1934. Nr 24, p520. The economist Pasvolsky also identified the differences between theory and practice as one of Austria's greatest problems. Leo Pasvolsky: Economic Nationalism of the Danubian States. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. London, 1928. (Hereafter cited as Economic Nationalism)

<sup>6</sup> Friedrich Kleinwächter: Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich Reichs Propaganda Ausschuß der Deutsch Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. d. Reich, Stuttgart, 1929. (Hereafter cited as Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich) p33: *Man hatte die Deutschösterreicher gegen ihren Willen und gegen ihren Protest in einem lebensunfähigen Staat gesperrt, und nun sollten sie in diesem Käfig elend zugrunde gehen.*

Section I of this chapter examines the basis of the debate, Austria's economic situation in the aftermath of World War I. If Austria could not survive in its 1918 form, it needed to be part of a larger economic unit: either a European solution of some description (Pan-Europe, *Mitteleuropa*, or Danubian Federation), or join with Germany. Authors became most adept in justifying their chosen solution when attempting to undermine the opposition. Thus the arguments in favour of *Anschluß* or a European solution can best be understood when analysed in juxtaposition. Section II examines the component arguments of these contrasting solutions. The third section of this chapter examines the positive conclusions reached about the Austrian economy, conclusions which could form the basis for belief in independent existence. Finally, foreign policy towards Austria is shown to have had a profound influence on the economic debate.

### I. The state of the economy

The problems which Austria faced in the economic sphere were broadly recognised, not only by economists and politicians, but by the population as a whole, who were experiencing them at first hand. Before the debate can be understood, therefore, these problems must be briefly outlined.

In the Treaty of St Germain (1919), an empire of 676,000 square kilometres (of which Cis-Leithania had occupied 300,000km<sup>2</sup>) was reduced to an area of 110,000km<sup>2</sup>. The "rump formation" (*Rumpfgebilde*) which

remained contained an out-sized capital city in the east and an imbalanced economic structure throughout. Austria received c.22.2% of the population of Cis-Leithania, a third of whom resided in Vienna. The area occupied by the Republic was amongst the most industrialised of the monarchy. It included 32.4% of Cis-Leithania's industrial workers and manufacturing plants (small and medium-sized businesses rather than heavy industry, located mainly in Bohemia). Despite the fact that Austria had therefore received a large percentage of the industrial potential of Cis-Leithania, more of the labour force was employed in agriculture: 44% of the active working population worked in agriculture and forestry, 32% in industry, mining and handicrafts, 16% in trade and transport, while 7% were state and public employees.<sup>7</sup>

The effects of the war included inflation, economic disruption, transport chaos, social misery and hunger. Austria could not cover the domestic demand for mineral fuels, nor could it feed its population.<sup>8</sup> The industries which had expanded to meet wartime demand, such as the armaments and iron industry, were oversized for the new country. Certain industries would have been oversized without the war - those which had supplied equipment to the Empire's railways, hospitals, and factories, for example. Others, such as the sugar and textile

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<sup>7</sup> *Sozial Geschichte*, p475 Also Lajos Kerekes: Von St. Germain bis Genf; Österreich und seine Nachbarn, 1918-1922. Verlag Bühlaus, Wien/Köln, 1979. p55 (Hereafter cited as Von St. Germain)

<sup>8</sup> Raw materials and food represented over 60% of the total imports in the 1920s.

industries, could not meet internal demand. The luxury industries producing expensive furniture, jewellery, musical instruments, clothing, etc. lost their markets.<sup>9</sup>

Most Austrian industries were dependent on close cooperation with the newly formed neighbouring countries.<sup>10</sup> These, however, swiftly erected customs barriers to protect their own domestic industries and improve their bargaining power. The area occupied by the Republic contained the manufacturing and refining industries, which had obtained raw materials and initial products from other areas of the Monarchy, selling back the finished product. In the textile industry, for example, the weaving mills were in Czechoslovakia, the spinning mills in Austria, and the clothing manufacturers in Vienna. The relationship between the individual sectors left within Austria was so vague in 1918 that, according to H. Bayer, the sum of the economic branches of the new Austria could not be termed a "Volkswirtschaft" (a national economy).<sup>11</sup>

On the whole, the twenty years of the First Republic were a period of economic stagnation. Foreign trade was

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<sup>9</sup> With the loss of the empire Austria also experienced the reduction in income of the bureaucracy, the middle and the upper classes. As a result, purchasing power was undermined.

<sup>10</sup> Von St. Germain, p55

<sup>11</sup> H. Bayer, Strukturwandlungen der österreichischen Volkswirtschaft nach dem Kriege. Ein Beitrag zur Theorie der Strukturwandlungen. Leipzig, 1929. p23. It would be a mistake to claim that with the monarchy a perfect economic unit had been destroyed. The breakup of the Habsburg Empire simply highlighted flaws formerly hidden.

chronically imbalanced,<sup>12</sup> production capacities could not at any time be used to their full potential, and unemployment rose from 1923.<sup>13</sup> Industrial production never reached its 1913 level, attaining its highest value in 1929 at 98% of the prewar level. Industrial recovery was hampered by low investment and lack of capital. Many gains were largely wiped out by the depression, and the 1929 values had rarely been regained by 1937.<sup>14</sup> High interest rates and the destruction of savings increased the problems of industry and poisoned the social climate. Public confidence was shaken by repeated crises; the scandal surrounding the Phoenix Insurance Company, in 1930, for example, and the collapse of the Creditanstalt in 1931.<sup>15</sup> These events appeared to substantiate the fear that the economy was built on shaky foundations.

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<sup>12</sup> Exports remained lower than imports. In 1929, for example, Austria exported 14% less than it had prior to World War I.

<sup>13</sup> Unemployment was particularly high in 1919, following demobilisation and immigration; in 1926, after the post-war inflationary boom dissipated and the currency crisis rocked economic stability (11%); and during the depression (highest figures 26%). Figures taken from Fritz Weber's article "Die Weltwirtschaftskrise", in Traum und Wirklichkeit: Wien 1870-1930, Ausstellungskatalog, Eigenverlag der Museen der Stadt Wien, 1985 and Sozial Geschichte.

<sup>14</sup> In 1937 industrial production was 21% under the 1929 level, mainly due to stagnation in the consumer sector, although the investment sector had almost regained its 1929 level. Small business and the service sector also stagnated, only agricultural production had risen and was by 1937 6% over the level of 1929. Austria was the only European country whose industrial production was lower at the outbreak of the depression than in 1913. Austria's exports in its last year stood at 1216,9 million A.S. - even less than the values of 1920 and 1921 when they had stood at over 1300 million A.S.

<sup>15</sup> Unsuccessful speculation led to a loss of 50 million A.S. per year for the Phoenix Company, affecting 5%



The situation was exacerbated by the rôle the provinces had traditionally played within the monarchy. Gustav Stolper, a respected economic journalist, and an influential proponent of the argument that Austria was not viable,<sup>16</sup> characterised the former rôle of Vienna and the Austrian provinces as follows:

German-Austria never lived from the income of its own economy ... Rather it was the middle class amongst the peoples of the monarchy, it provided buyers, technicians, organisers, scholars, civil servants, officers, who provided typically middle-class services, for which it was paid from income from the entire area of the former Austria-Hungary.<sup>17</sup>

This large tertiary sector could not provide the basics Austria needed to survive: food, and goods for export.<sup>18</sup>

16 of the population. By 1936 its loss stood at over 250 million A.S.  
 In 1918, for example, Stolper wrote: *Alle wirtschaftliche Arbeit für die Zukunft muß von der Erkenntnis ausgehen, das Deutschösterreich für sich politisch und wirtschaftlich kein lebensfähiges Gebilde ist. Der Österreichische Volkswirt 11 Jahr, Vienna, 23 November, 1918 Nr. 8. (All economic work for the future must be based on the recognition that politically and economically German Austria is not a viable organism.)*

17 *Von St. Germain*, p54: *Deutschösterreich hat niemals vom Ertrag seiner eigenen Wirtschaft gelebt ... Es ist vielmehr der Bourgeois unter den Völkern der Monarchie gewesen, es hat ihnen als Kaufmann, Techniker, Organisator, Gelehrter, Beamter, Offizier, die typisch bürgerlichen Dienste geleistet, für die es als Entgelt Einnahmen aus dem gesamten Gebiet des früheren Österreich-Ungarn gezogen hat.*

18 The problem of the over-sized tertiary sector was exacerbated by the fact that many employees in this sector chose to move from other areas of the former Monarchy to Austria. Pasvolsky points out that this influx was counterbalanced by an exodus from Vienna of Czechs, Hungarians, Croatians, etc, who left to join their new states. However, this still left the capital with a considerable number of impoverished refugees. *Economic Nationalism*, p96

Furthermore, there was the unique problem of Vienna.

Otto Bauer depicted a common view when he argued:

The city of two million, whose existence was founded on an economic area comprising 50 million people, cannot survive in the small, infertile state of 6 million, this alpine country cannot support the massive burden that falls upon it as the heir of the power politics of an Empire of 50 million.<sup>19</sup>

The city was over-sized and badly situated (Stolper called its location in the Republic "eccentric"),<sup>20</sup> and constituted a heavy economic and social burden. The state bureaucracy was seated there, as were the trade and finance centres of the Monarchy, and the main offices of the large industrial concerns. The percentage of those in the tertiary sector had been twice as high in Lower Austria, including Vienna, as in the rest of Cis-Leithania. With the independence of the Succession States, much of the economy and administrative apparatus in the capital became obsolete. The income from invisible exports and capital yields sank rapidly as the Succession States set up their own financial centres.

The Succession States were not alone in resenting Vienna for its former position as the political and economic centre of the monarchy. The Austrian provinces

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<sup>19</sup> Otto Bauer to parliament in June 1919, quoted in Von St. Germain, p60: *Die Zweimillionenstadt, deren Dasein auf ein Wirtschaftsgebiet von 50 Millionen Menschen gegründet war, kann in dem kleinen, unfruchtbaren Sechsmillionstaat nicht bestehen, das arme Gebirgsland der Alpen kann die Riesenlast, die das Erbe der Großmachtpolitik eines 50-Millionen-Reiches ist, nicht tragen. Auf uns selbst gestellt, lebensunfähig, können wir nur in einem größeren Verband die Möglichkeit erlangen, uns allmählich wieder emporzuarbeiten.*

<sup>20</sup> Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, 23 November, 1918 Nr. 8. p21

themselves erected barriers against a flow of supplies into the capital, viewing it as a parasite, and labelling it hydrocephalic. According to Leo Pasvolsky, an economist writing in 1928, it was the problem of Vienna which made Austria "dependent upon an extensive foreign trade for the maintenance of a fair standard of living for its whole population".<sup>21</sup> In other words, Austria's viability depended upon the capital:

the question of whether or not present-day Austria is capable of independent existence is, in reality, the question of whether or not the city of Vienna can be maintained merely as a part of Austria's present economic system.<sup>22</sup>

Coming to the same conclusion as found in the broader discussions on Austria's economic future, Pasvolsky concluded Vienna had to be "afforded a larger scope for its economic activities than that provided by the Austrian Republic alone".<sup>23</sup>

All European states had considerable problems in adjusting to peacetime conditions, but these problems appeared greater in Austria than elsewhere. Defeated and starving, Austria was believed to have borne the brunt of the dissolution process, to have been condemned to life. The Minister of Justice, Dr Josef Schenk, described the Treaty of St. Germain as a sentence of death ("*Todesurteil*").<sup>24</sup> Under these emotional conditions, many inhabitants were inclined to underestimate the

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21 Economic Nationalism, p177

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Dr Josef Schenk: Unser Friede! Der wirtschaftliche Vernichtungsfriede von St. Germain. Wien, 1919. p19

economic resources of the young Republic. At the first meeting of the provisional National Assembly, on 21 October 1918, Victor Adler described Austria as a new state "that, left to itself, would be a structure incapable of economic development".<sup>25</sup> This was not merely emotional rhetoric to encourage foreign aid or to serve political goals, but was based on the conviction that Austria could not survive in its 1918 form.

In summary, lack of belief in Austria's viability was based on the dislocation of the complementary economies which was exacerbated by the erection of customs barriers after the dissolution of the monarchy; the demands for reparations; massive problems with currency followed by extreme inflation; and a chronically imbalanced budget.<sup>26</sup> Later, the adjustment difficulties of industry, the shortage of capital, the unfavourable balance of trade, and rising unemployment sustained the belief that Austria could not survive the reduction of its economic area.

However, it must be emphasised that the arguments surrounding the issue of viability had as much to do with masking or justifying greater political ends as they

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<sup>25</sup> Stenographische Protokolle der Konstituierenden Sitzung der Nationalversammlung der deutschen Abgeordneten 21.10.1918: "der, auf sich selbst gestellt, kein wirtschaftlich entwicklungs-fähiges Gebilde wäre".

<sup>26</sup> The treaty of St. Germain had obligated Austria to grant the victors most-favoured-nation treatment for three years from the coming into force of the treaty, without reciprocity on their part. This provision expired in July 1923, and it was not until some months after the proposal made by the Austrian government that negotiations for bilateral commercial treaties began.

did with economic fact: Greater Germans were frustrated at their exclusion from Greater Germany; Social Democrats initially sought Anschluß to support a socialist Austria; monarchists desired a restoration of the Habsburg monarchy. The economic argument was used to garner support and to discredit the other side: objective analysis was not the goal. Desire to change Austria's status led to negative interpretations of its economic potential: conversely, genuine doubts as to Austria's economic capabilities encouraged the quest to find an alternative form of existence for the country.

## II. The debate

The view that Austria was not economically viable was the one area of common ground in the debate over the country's future. A quotation by Dr Rudolf Raun, published in 1921, sums up where agreement lay:

It is true that the "Republic of Austria" is not viable in the territorial form and under the legal and economic conditions which were created in the Treaty of St. Germain ... a country virtually blockaded cannot in the long term provide sustenance to six million people who wish at least to retain standards of diet, clothing and living. A large percentage of them would either have to emigrate or starve in order to permit the others a civilized existence, or the entire population would have to be reduced to the cultural level of half-savage slaves.<sup>27</sup>

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27 Dr. Rudolf Raun: Deutschland und Deutschösterreich Verlag von Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin, 1921. (Hereafter cited as Deutschland und Deutschösterreich) p14: *Es ist richtig, das die "Republik Österreich" in der territorialen Gestalt und unter den rechtlichen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnissen, die der Friede von St. Germain geschaffen hat, nicht lebensfähig ist. Das heißt, der von allen Seiten durch Ein und Ausfuhrverbote, Verkehrsbeschränkungen, meistbegünstigungs und*

To discredit the opposition and to win maximum support, economic arguments over Austrian viability were linked with many other aspects of Austrian identity. In the quotation above, it is suggested that if Austria could not sustain its cultural identity, its existence served no purpose. The important question was whether the country could still afford to support those aspects of its identity most associated with "Austrianness", including a healthy robust diet.<sup>28</sup> The components of the economic debate therefore included arguments based on history, geography, economic advantage, culture, patriotism, feasibility and politics, which are examined in turn below. Thus a picture of the composite nature of national identity in general, and Austrian national identity in specific, emerges from the outset.

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*Kompensationsforderungen, valutarische Schwierigkeiten usw. so gut wie blockierte Staat kann auf die Dauer sechs Millionen Bewohner die die Lebensführung zivilisierter Menschen wenigstens in Bezug auf Nahrung, Kleidung und Wohnung beibehalten wollen, nicht ernähren. Ein großer Teil von ihnen muß entweder auswandern oder verhungern, um dem Rest ein zivilisiertes Dasein zu ermöglichen, oder es muß die Bevölkerung im großen und ganzen auf das Kulturniveau von halbwilden Sklaven herabgedrückt werden.* A similar argument, that Austria could not be expected to live at the living standards of barbarians, can be found in Dr Alfred Vodroß's article "Wege zum Anschluß - Der Zusammenschluß im Lichte des Völkerrechtes" in Die Anschlußfrage, p551.

28 In an analysis of Austria first printed in 1828, Karl Postl argued the Austrians could be distinguished by their love of food, drink, and music. Despite these appealing tendencies, and their goodheartedness, Austrians were generally despised because they lacked any sense of national identity. Karl Postl: Österreich, wie es ist cited in Joseph Nadler (ed.): Die deutschen Stämme. Fr. Frommanns Verlag, Stuttgart, 1925

The use made of history in its non-economic manifestations is examined in the next chapter. However history also played a rôle in the viability debate. First, the modern Austria was dissociated from its Habsburg past, and described as a country without a history. This approach was partially encouraged by the desire to dissociate Austria from defeat and from responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War.<sup>29</sup> In addition, this interpretation permitted the conclusion that Austria in its interwar form was a creation so artificial it had no hope of survival. According to Lajos Kerekes, who saw the solution in Anschluß, Austria's dire economic situation was exacerbated by the fact that the country had no purpose:

A country cannot live long from begging and a country lives not by bread alone, it needs a goal in life, for the community: the German-Austrian state cannot be this goal because it is a synthetic, unwanted, historically unfounded formation.<sup>30</sup>

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29 In 1918, the Provisional *Nationalversammlung* (national assembly) saw German-Austria as a new state and in no way the legal successor to the Empire. It had thus never declared war, had not made an armistice, and could therefore not make peace. The legal understanding of the Entente was, however, different, holding Austria responsible but signing a state treaty rather than a peace treaty. See Barbara Jelavich: Modern Austria: Empire and Republic, 1800-1986. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p156.

30 Von St. Germain, p60-1: ein Volk kann nicht lange vom Bettel leben und ein Volk lebt nicht nur vom Brot, es braucht ein Lebensziel der Gemeinschaft: der deutsch-österreichische Staat kann dieses Lebensziel nicht sein, weil er ein künstliches, von niemandem gewolltes, historisch unbegründetes Gebilde ist. Karl Jonovsky also terms Austria künstlich - synthetic. (Dr Karl Jonovsky: "Anschluß oder Donauföderation" in Die Anschlußfrage, p240)

Note that it is the state which is being denied the right to exist; the nation is not mentioned. The fact that the provinces constituting the Republic had never formed an independent coherent unit in the past did not undermine the fact that these provinces had all co-existed within the Habsburg Empire, but this point was ignored.

If a lack of history was the greatest argument against Austrian independence, historical precedent was the greatest argument in favour of some form of Danubian Federation. Thus it seemed natural to Nikolaus von Kallay, (formerly Hungarian Agricultural Minister in the Empire), to speak of "the symbiotic relationship between Austria and Hungary" in the magazine Donau-Europa.<sup>31</sup>

For Anschluß adherents, past experience necessarily featured in a different light. The dissolution of the Empire was interpreted as the result of an inevitable historical process, with the resultant conclusion that attempts to turn back the clock could only be unsuccessful.<sup>32</sup> Anschluß proponents also argued that

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31 "Die Lebensgemeinschaft Österreichs und Ungarns" Donau-Europa was a newspaper intended to encourage cooperation between all Danubian states, provide a platform for debate on solutions to the economic problems of the Danubian area, promote broader and deeper economic relationships, without bias towards any one country or interest group. In its first edition it described itself proudly as a NEWSPAPER OF EUROPEAN STATURE, confident that it was serving both the economy of Danubian Europe and world peace, a link which is explored later in this chapter.

32 See for example, Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter: Der deutschösterreichische Mensch und der Anschluß, Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. (Hereafter cited as Der deutschösterreichische Mensch) p201: *Im Verlaufe der seit dem Zusammenbruche verflissenen Jahre, die immer deutlicher beweisen, das die Loslösung der nicht deutschen Nationen nicht eine*



experience had shown that economic union was not without its problems, pointing to Austria's negotiations with Hungary before the war, when common sovereignty had not prevented serious economic conflicts. Furthermore, the Monarchy had not succeeded in reconciling regional interests with genuine economic advancement. As Pasvolsky argued, a new Danubian economic union was unlikely to succeed where the former had not.<sup>33</sup>

Conversely, dissolution of the Empire had removed the historical obstacles to union with the Fatherland. The Neue Freie Presse wrote in February 1919:

The major obstacles to a union of the Germans hitherto divided between Germany and Austria have fallen away, that is, the hitherto insurmountable dynastic interests and the indivisible state union between the Austrian Germans and elements of other nationalities. German Austria, which has no access to the sea, whose agriculture is insufficient to feed its inhabitants, which lacks coal and ores, cannot exist independently.<sup>34</sup>

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33 *vorübergehende Erscheinung ist, sondern das Ergebnis eines historischen Prozesses, der sich schon lange vorher vorbereitet hatte, ist die Zahl der Anhänger der Donauföderation wesentlich zusammengeschmolzen. Economic Nationalism, p375: ... the weight of argument is against the creation of a Danubian economic union. Even this powerful factor did not provide the Monarchy with the necessary basis for a reconciliation of regional interests and a real economic advancement.*

34 Neue Freie Presse. Jg 1919 7 February, Nr 19660 cited in Kurt Skalnik: Die österreichische Presse: Vorgestern-Gestern- Heute. Bergland Verlag, Wien 1964. p108: *Die schlimmsten Hindernisse eines Sichzusammenfindens der bisher auf Deutschland und Österreich verteilten Deutschen in einem einheitlichen Staatswesen sind weggefallen, nämlich die seit jeher unüberwindlichen Gymnastischen Interessen und die staatlich unlösbare Gebundenheit der österreichischen Deutschen an Element anderer Nationalitäten. Deutsch-österreich, das keinen eigenen Zugang zum Meers hat, dessen Landwirtschaft nicht ausreicht, die Bewohner zu ernähren, dem es an*

The more often the argument that Austria was not viable was used, the more likely it was that it would be accepted as the truth, and become self-reinforcing.

In pro-Anschluß literature, the natural unification of Austria and Germany had been prevented in the past by the existence of two ruling dynasties or as the consequence of the Empire's multinationality. Neither factor constituted an impediment any longer. Professor Dr. Franz Heiderich argued, for example, that with the dissolution of the Empire, Austria no longer had to bleed for a polyglot state nor deny its own development.<sup>35</sup> This approach had the advantage that it simplified the highly complex historical relationship between the two countries. It also served to discredit the opposition, in particular Legitimists, who supported Habsburg rule and spoke of Austria's multinational mission.

The second justification for a Danubian solution to Austria's economic problems was provided by geography. For example, Oswald Straub argued

if one wishes to sum up succinctly the arguments in favour of a customs union of the Danubian lands, a glance at the map perhaps suffices. An area which is defined geopolitically as unified through the surrounding mountains, Alps, Sudeten and Carpathian, with countries along the transit road of the Danube from the West to the East, Austria, in particular with Vienna at the centre, one can claim, of Europe, at the

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<sup>35</sup> *Kohlen und Erzen fehlt, kann als selbstständiges [Land nicht] bestehen.*  
 Prof. Dr. Franz Heiderich: Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs. Flugblätter für Deutschösterreichs Recht. Herausgegeben von Dr. A. Wotawa. Alfred Hölder, Universitätsbuchhändler. Wien, 1919. (Hereafter cited as Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs), p3

intersection of all traffic to all four points of the compass.<sup>36</sup>

Similarly, industrialists in the *Neue Freie Presse* argued that the economic area of the former Monarchy was natural and the only basis for Austrian economic activity: "That which God has put together through the formation of the earth, let no man tear asunder".<sup>37</sup>

Anschluß adherents were quick to challenge the idea that there was any geographical justification for a Danubian Federation. The Empire had been three, not one, geographical units: the alpine territories, German Bohemia and the Sudetenland.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, the former monarchy had been a political, not geographical structure (united by the Habsburgs in a bid for increased power and by fear of the Turks). The complementary economy had therefore been the consequence of a political union. In order to ensure future economic security, therefore, any

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<sup>36</sup> Dr. Oswald Straub: Präferenz, Zollunion und Donau-föderation. Gedanken über das Problem "Österreich". Eigenverlag, Wien --; (Hereafter cited as Präferenz, Zollunion), p12: *Will man die Argumente für eine Zollunion der Donauländer kurz und prägnant zusammenfassen, so genügt vielleicht ein Blick auf die Landkarte. Ein Areal, das schon durch die umgebenden Gebirge, Alpen, Sudeten und Karpathen als geopolitisch zusammengehörig gekennzeichnet ist, Länder längs der Verkehrsstraße der Donau von West nach Ost, Österreich, insbesondere mit Wien als Mittelpunkt, man kann ruhig sagen von Europa, an der Schnittlinie des Verkehrs nach allen vier Richtungen der Windrose.*

<sup>37</sup> *Neue Freie Presse* January 1919, quoted in Karl Bachinger in Christliche Demokratie, Schriften des Karl v. Vogelsang-Institutes. 3 Jahrgang, 4/85, p301: *Was Gott durch die Gestaltung der Erde zusammengetan hat soll der Mensch nicht trennen.* Their resistance to being incorporated into Germany continued: polled in 1931, Austria's chambers of commerce voted against the customs union by a margin of four to one. Karl H. Werner's statistics quoted in Disjoined Partners, p150

<sup>38</sup> Flugblätter Nr 18, p4.

solution would have to have a political dimension, with inevitable problematic consequences (see below). The pettiest argument even challenged the title "Danubian Federation", asserting that the former Monarchy had never been a geographical unit centred around the Danube: its key economic areas had had little to do with the river.<sup>39</sup>

One argument which could not be raised against the Anschluß proponents was the problem of which countries would be involved. This was indeed an issue for those in favour of a "Danubian" solution. Apart from Austria, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, the Succession States were composed also of areas which had not been part of the Empire.<sup>40</sup> Reproduction of the monarchy was impossible: union with these new areas unrealistic; the only other option would be union with some of the Succession States, leaving open the question of which ones. Benes described this option as extremely unclear, complicated and difficult to put into practice.<sup>41</sup> Geographical conditions could not alone determine the shape of the union.

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39 Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich, p43: *Schon das Wort Donauföderation ist irreführend. Man tut immer so, als ob die alte Monarchie eine geographische Einheit von einer Reihe um die Donau sich gruppierenden Ländern gewesen wäre. Das war aber durchaus nicht der Fall. ... Der größere und wirtschaftlich wichtigere Teil der alten Monarchie hat mit der Donau nichts zu tun.*

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Ibid.

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Edward Benes: Das Problem Mitteleuropas und die Lösung der Österreichischen Frage. Exposé des Ministers der Auswärtigen Angelegenheiten in den Außenausschüssen des Abgeordnetenhauses und des Senats am 24 März 1934. "Orbis Verlag, Prag XII 1934. (Hereafter cited as Das Problem Mitteleuropas) "ziemlich unklar, kompliziert und schwer realisierbar zutage getreten".

A central question was which option would best serve Austria's economic interests. The advocates of a Danubian Federation could initially argue that such a solution would involve the least re-adjustment of its economic system. Industrialists issued a statement in the Neue Freie Presse in which they argued

Why we should do without Bohemian sugar, Bohemian beer and thread, or Moravian cloth and glass, or Silesian coal and Hungarian fat, or make the acquisition of these goods more difficult through our trade policy, is incomprehensible. Without threatening the sovereignty of the newly founded Republic in the slightest, a system of exchanging goods could be created, which *mutatis mutandis* [with necessary changes] corresponds to tested and proved in the course of centuries. Whether this is in the form of a customs union or some other agreement is less important. The main thing is to retain or restore the natural circulation of goods.<sup>42</sup>

Union would provide access to supplies of foodstuffs, fuel and raw materials; industrial and agricultural areas could once again complement each other; the close industrial ties between different areas would be re-established; and Austria would re-gain a large domestic market. Vienna would have the advantage over the new

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42 "Neue Freie Presse" January 1919, quoted in Christliche Demokratie 4/85. p301: *Warum wir auf den böhmischen Zucker, auf böhmisches Bier und Garn, auf mährisches Tuch und Glas, auf schlesische Kohle und ungarisches Fett verzichten, oder uns den Bezug dieser Waren durch unsere Handelspolitik erschweren sollen, erscheint unerfindlich. Ohne die Souveranität der neugegründeten Republik im mindesten anzutasten kann ein Zustand des gegenseitigen Warenaustausches geschaffen werden, welcher mutatis mutandis dem durch Jahrzehnte Bewährtem entspricht. Ob dies nun in der Form einer Zollunion oder aufgrund eines sonstigen Vertrages geschieht, ist nebensächlich. Hauptsache ist die Aufrecht-erhaltung bzw. Wiederherstellung des natürlichen Kreislaufes ...*

trade organisations in the Succession States; the capital's commercial and financial institutions would regain their dominant position. A restoration of the economic unity of the monarchy would avoid the problems involved in descaling institutions and the capital city.

Furthermore, such a union would be in a better position to deal with the outside world. As Pasvolsky pointed out, whether in the forms of a customs union or of a regional preferential customs arrangement, a Danubian economic union would be surrounded by a protective tariff wall. Austria could thus avoid the problems of competition which would otherwise confront it, both in the Danubian markets and further afield.<sup>43</sup> The outside world would also benefit in that these countries united in a single economic territory would eventually provide a larger market for foreign production than they would as separate entities. As Pasvolsky ascertained, the five Danubian countries purchased from the rest of the world "scarcely three-quarters of what this same territory purchased before the war".<sup>44</sup>

Anschluß could provide Austria with similar advantages, in particular through increasing the size of the domestic market. Here the argument ran that Austrian industry would benefit from German capital, and be more efficiently organised as part of the German economic system. The Austrian labour force could raise its standard of living. Vienna would benefit by becoming the

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<sup>43</sup> Economic Nationalism, p565

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

southern outlet for German and Austrian industry. Anschluß adherents conceded that Austria was not so highly industrialised as Germany, but turned this to their favour. Although Austria could not bring a modern industrialised economy to the union, her alpine nature was a racial as well as political advantage:

Austria's union with Germany from the point of view of maintaining a strong people, from the point of view of strengthening the proportions of indigenous rural people and farmers, and the influence of this element of the population on the people as a whole is of a relevance which should not be underestimated.<sup>45</sup>

Any view could be presented as economically disastrous by its opponents. Those against Anschluß argued Austria would not be able to compete with the "industrially more progressive German tribes"; that unviable German Austria would be considered the poor relation; and that Austria would be an economic drain on Germany. Pasvolsky questioned whether a primarily industrial Austria would gain economically from a union with an even more overwhelmingly industrial Germany.<sup>46</sup> It was said of the Germans that they considered the Austrians to be less diligent than themselves and

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45 Vinzenz Schumy: "Land und Forstwirtschaft" in Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung. Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as Die Anschlußfrage.) "der Anschluß Österreichs an Deutschland vom Standpunkte der Erhaltung der Volkskraft, vom Standpunkte der Stärkung des bodenständigen Landvolkes und Bauerntums und des Einflusses dieser Bevölkerungsschicht auf das Volksganze [ist] von nicht zu unterschätzender Bedeutung".

46 Economic Nationalism, p578

remembered the Austria of the past as already having been behind the German Reich in many respects.<sup>47</sup>

Conversely, the economic dangers of a Danubian Federation were underlined heavily. In pro-Anschluß pamphlets published by the German *Schulverein Südmark* it was argued that Austria's agricultural sector would be ruined in a customs union which included Czechoslovakia and Hungary.<sup>48</sup> Austria would be unable to compete with Hungarian production of wheat and rye, or with Czech barley; the mill industry would be ruined. Austria's economic development would be stifled if it were tied to the predominantly agricultural Succession States, thus denying it access to the German economic area, in which it would gain a market ten times as large. Stolper argued that Austrian industry had little to fear from German competition. Any problems Austrian industry might face through Anschluß could be alleviated through greater specialisation.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, Anschluß would allow Vienna to take up its economic rôle in eastern Europe

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47 Deutschland und Deutschösterreich, p14: Man erinnert sich, das schon das alte Österreich in vielem hinter dem Deutschen Reich zurück war und hält daher die "Österreicher" für minder tüchtig als die "Deutschen". One response indicates that this view was not considered completely unjustified by Austrians: Dr Raun chose to defend the Austrians not by outright denial, but by pointing out that they could not be held fully to blame for the problems of the Habsburg Empire, having only constituted a fifth of the Empire's population. Stolper, discussing Vienna's future, argued that the city would have to recover from its political backwardness and re-organise following German example. Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, 2 November 1918, Nr.5 p67

48 Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht. Herausgegeben vom deutschen Schulverein Südmark.

49 Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt. 11 Jahr, Vienna, 30 November, 1918, Nr 9.



again through the backing of German industry, which would also help Austria overcome its structural and technical economic difficulties. Austrian economic development was dependent upon German financial aid and German workers, who would be needed if Austrian industry were to grow rapidly. (Stolper assumes Slav and Italian workers would remain "undesirable" for some time to come.)<sup>50</sup>

The advantage that Austria and the Succession States would (theoretically) retain their sovereignty in a Danubian Federation could also be presented in a negative light. A mere customs union would only alleviate, not solve Austria's problems; domestic affairs would always be the first priority of member states. Home products and produce would always be favoured over imports from other parts of the union, a problem particularly acute once the Succession States had begun to build up their own industries. Austria, and in particular Vienna, could not be dependent on other States for their basic commodities. In a federal solution, should relations between members cool, exports to Austria would cease, but its own agricultural sector would no longer be in a position to supply the country's needs. The experience of the war and its immediate aftermath had helped to create this emphasis on autarky; indeed, the references to the behaviour of Hungary and Czechoslovakia immediately after the war intentionally exacerbated fears. Austria could not, it was argued, afford to

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

sacrifice its agriculture, and should never be dependent for food on the benevolence of foreign governments.<sup>51</sup>

The argument that Austria could not compete with the Succession States continued throughout the interwar period.<sup>52</sup> As time passed, it was pointed out, for example, that Austria had invested a great deal of money into agriculture to replace supplies lost after the dissolution of the Monarchy, and that Czechoslovakia and Hungary had invested in national industries which competed with Austrian production. Union would destroy the corresponding industries in Austria.<sup>53</sup>

In the attempts to persuade Germany of the benefits of Anschluß, Austrian economic strengths were emphasised. Union was also presented as strengthening Germany's power political status; in the event of union, for example, Czechoslovakia would find itself surrounded on three sides by Greater Germany. This would benefit Germany in any negotiations with this country, and indirectly

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51 This argument against Danubian Federation had some influential support, notably from the economist Gustav Stolper who supported the Anschluß because he saw it as the only possible way Austria could avoid being dependent on the Succession States.

52 See, for example, Siegmund Schilder: Der Streit um die Lebensfähigkeit Österreichs. Stuttgart, 1920; Bericht über die Ursachen der wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten Österreichs - Redaktionskomitee der Wirtschaftskommission. Wien, 1934. Oskar Berl: Die chinesische Mauer; Österreichische Betrachtungen zur Absperrungspolitik der Nachfolgestaaten. Wien, 1923. Walther Federn (ed): Zehn Jahre Nachfolgestaaten. Wien 1928.

53 In "Rudolf von Habsburg und die Donauföderation" (in Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht), it was argued that since dissolution Austria had developed its agriculture, while Czechoslovakia and Hungary had developed industries in competition with the Austrian. In the event of union, Austria would not survive this competition.

therefore with France. Proponents of the union were in the awkward position of simultaneously arguing that Austria's economic situation was hopeless, and that it had a great deal to offer Germany.

Similarly, amongst Anschluß opponents Austria was presented simultaneously as an economic threat to Germany through competition, and an unviable entity which would merely be an economic burden. The argument that Anschluß was inevitable given Austrian unviability was dismissed as a mere manoeuvre to gain leverage in negotiations with the Great Powers or Austria's neighbours, and in order to gain economic, financial or political concessions.<sup>54</sup> Seipel's tour of Europe prior to the 1922 loan provided convincing evidence of this approach (see below).

The arguments over what would best serve Austria's interest inadvertently boosted an Austrian identity. Whereas elsewhere the existence of a cohesive unit was denied, the provinces seen as separate entities with little in common, here the emphasis was on how Austria could best face the future and gain maximum economic advantage. The areas which constituted the new Republic were thus endowed with a corporate identity. In that

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<sup>54</sup> Das Problem Mitteleuropas, p35: Von österreichischer Seite wurden lange Zeit wirtschaftliche Ursachen als einziger Grund für den Anschluß an Deutschland angeführt, weil das keine Österreich angeblich wirtschaftlich nicht lebensfähig sei. Bei manchen Österreichern war dies aufrichtig gemeint, bei vielen aber, die den Anschluß selbst nicht wünschten, war dies nur ein Vorwand; es wurde dieses Argument häufig als Druckmittel auf die Großmächte und auf die Nachbarn Österreichs zur Erlangung wirtschaftlicher, finanzieller und politischer Konzessionen angewendet.

sense every mention of "Austria", however negative the context, was an implicit recognition of its corporate existence. This was particularly important given that the Cis-Leithanian half of the Dual Monarchy had officially been described as the area constituted by "*die im Reichsrat vertretenen Königreiche und Länder*" (the realms and provinces represented in the Reichsrat): the term "Austria" did not become customary until 1915/16.<sup>55</sup>

Any solution could be accused of failing to address the problems it was intended to solve. The problem of Vienna provides a prime example. According to those in favour of a Danubian Federation, Vienna would function as the financial and trading centre for transactions between the Succession States, and, by extension, would have extraordinary economic opportunities in the entire East and South East, providing a basis for Austrian viability.<sup>56</sup> This was denied by Anschluß adherents who drew attention to the jealous nationalism of the Succession States. One tract, for example, stated:

Those who believe that Vienna would regain her old position in the event of a union of the Succession States, are sadly mistaken. They are forgetting that the attempts to bring about a Danubian Federation are founded in Prague and Budapest. In the case of the former, Vienna

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55 See Ludwig Jedlicka's research on Austria's name which is also discussed in Horst Zimmermann: Die Schweiz und Österreich während der Zwischenkriegszeit. Wiesbaden 1973. p14.

56 Der deutschösterreichische Mensch, p173: Nun ist vielfach - besonders im Ausland - die Meinung verbreiteten das Wien als Finanz und Handelsvermittler zwischen den Nachfolgestaaten und in weiterer Folge des ganzen Ostens und Südostens außerordentliche wirtschaftliche Möglichkeiten besitzen, die geradezu die Grundlage für die Lebensmöglichkeit Deutschösterreichs bieten.

must be clear that the Czechs in the dominant part of a Czech-Austrian union would never give up their Danubian part of Preßburg, and that Vienna would therefore be cast in a Cinderella rôle. In a union with Hungary, Budapest would be the centre of the future form of state, which according to Hungarian politicians would be called not Austria-Hungary, but Hungary-Austria. In either case Vienna's rôle, as the economic and cultural centre of south Europe, even after the collapse, would be over.<sup>57</sup>

The reference to the name (Hungary-Austria) with its implication of reduced status was particularly snide, designed to provoke instinctive antagonistic feelings to the idea. This type of argument was intended to counter the idea that Austria would regain its former dominant status in a Federation, the latter an appealing argument to the bruised Austrian ego. Stolper too argued that Prague would be the most economically strong centre of a new state union, and that Czechoslovakia would have power

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57 Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht. Herausgegeben vom deutschen Schulverein Südmark. "Wien und die Donau-föderation": Diejenigen, die glauben, Wien werde bei einem Zusammenschluß der Nachfolgestaaten der alten Monarchie wieder seine alte Stellung erringen, sind in einem schweren Irrtum befangen. Sie vergessen, daß die Verstreungen, die auf Schaffung einer Donauföderation gerichtet sind, in Prag und in Budapest ihren Sitz haben. In dem einen Fall muß sich Wien darüber klar sein, daß die Tschechen als das in dem tschech-österreichischen Bündnis tonangebende Volk ihre Donauhafenstadt Preßburg nie aufgeben und daher Wien zu einer Aschenbrödelrolle verurteilt werden. Bei einer Vereinigung mit Ungarn wird Budapest der Mittelpunkt des künftigen staatlichen Gebildes sein, das nach Aussprüchen ungarischer Politiker nicht Österreich-Ungarn, sondern Ungarn-Österreich heißen wird. In beiden Fällen wird Wien seine bisherige auch nach dem Umsturze innegehabte Rolle als wirtschaftlicher und kultureller Mittelpunkt Südeuropas ausgespielt haben.

over Austria through the latter's dependence on Czech coal. Austria would thus become a "Czech colony".<sup>58</sup>

In 1928, Pasvolsky discussed how the Danubian countries had built up their own facilities as trade and financial centres, thus weakening Vienna's position:

a resumption by it of its pre-war rôle in full measure would have to be at the expense of very real developments in the other Danubian countries, and it is doubtful whether Vienna can offer them adequate compensation for this.<sup>59</sup>

In a union with Germany, however, Vienna could play the unique rôle, without competition, of providing a gateway to the east. Germany would benefit from the traditions and relationships between Vienna and Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Croatia, etc. The representative of Vienna and Lower Austria in 1919, Minister Skaret, thus argued:

If German Austria becomes part of the German Republic by exercising her right to national self determination, then Vienna will blossom as the second capital of the German Reich, and be a city of work and of beauty, a credit to our people and the whole world.<sup>60</sup>

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58 Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, 2 November, 1918 Nr. 5. Dr Karl Jonovsky stressed that Prague and Pressburg had developed at the expense of Vienna which could only play a significant rôle if it were an "Ausfalltor" to the east and south east for Germany. Dr Karl Jonovsky: "Anschluß oder Donauföderation" in Die Anschlußfrage, p209.

59 Economic Nationalism, p571

60 Die Kundgebung der Deutschösterreichischen Nationalversammlung 7 June, 1919, Minister Skaret: Wenn Deutschösterreich in Ausübung seines Selbstbestimmungs-rechtes ein Bestandteil der Deutsche Republik wird, dann wird Wien als zweite Hauptstadt des Deutschen Reiches neu erblühen als eine Stadt der Arbeit und der Schönheit, eine Zierde für unser Volk und für die ganze Welt.

Again, this was an appeal to Austrian pride. This argument also indicates how culture and economics were linked in debate.

The understanding of the nation as a cultural construct, and the long-standing pride in Austrian accomplishment in cultural fields made this area an emotional one to which to appeal. Economic prosperity was thus speciously interpreted as a cultural necessity. In a similar argument to Raun's above, Kleinwächter argued that Austrian cultural identity was dependent on the country's economic situation:

The heart of the Austrian problem is that Austria is not capable of earning what it requires to sustain its population at their accustomed cultural level. If this situation is not changed, there is only one solution, namely to lower the standard of living accordingly. This is what has happened.<sup>61</sup>

A sophisticated technique of convincing his audience is being adopted here. Kleinwächter covertly appeals to the most basic human desire for material wealth in order to seek support for Anschluß, but the lure of a better standard of living is masked with the morally superior justification of sustenance of cultural identity.<sup>62</sup>

According to Kleinwächter,

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61 Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich, p37: *Der Kern des österreichischen Problems ist: Österreich ist nicht imstande, das zu verdienen, was es zur Erhaltung seiner Bevölkerung auf dem bisherigen Kulturniveau braucht. Wenn diese Lage nicht geändert wird, gibt es nur einen Ausweg, nämlich den Standart der Lebenshaltung entsprechend herabzusetzen. Das ist auch geschehen.*

62 James Mayall opines that it is typical for nationalist demands to be formulated as demands for freedom and self-determination and "not merely as a means of securing a more equitable distribution of income". Economic deprivation is certainly a major

There is no cultural life without economic foundations. Even today, while we can still feed from some of our former culture capital, we see one cultural treasure after the other disappear. If theatres in Vienna finally have to close down despite rehabilitation measures, because the experts explain that theatre audiences are too impoverished to afford the theatre, if our universities are declining, because the state can only afford to pay its professors such low salaries, that it is no longer an attractive career option in German Austria to become a university professor ... when our artists are starving because nobody can buy pictures, when architects have to stop practising their profession because nobody is building any more, when the book trade is fighting against appalling difficulties because the circle of book buyers has shrunk to a minimum, when our libraries and institutes stand still, and therefore decline, because they cannot make any new purchases, these are only the first signs of that which is waiting for us. Never in the course of history has there been cultural growth during economic decline.<sup>63</sup>

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63 factor in nationalist dissatisfaction. See Nationalism and International Society, p70. Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter: Der deutsch-österreichische Mensch und der Anschluß, Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. (Hereafter cited as Der deutschösterreichische Mensch) p186: *Es gibt kein kulturelles Leben ohne wirtschaftliche Grundlage. Schon heute, wo wir noch vom alten Kulturkapital zehren können, sehen wir einen Kulturbesitz nach dem anderen schwinden. Wenn Theater in Wien nach vergeblichen Sanierungsversuchen schließlich zu Grunde gehen, weil die Fachmänner erklären, das Theaterpublikum sei so sehr verarmt, das es die Theater nicht mehr erhalten kann, wenn unsere Universitäten zurückgehen, weil der Staat die Professoren nur so kärglich zu entleihen vermag, das der Beruf eines Universitätsprofessors in Deutschösterreich nicht mehr erstrebenswert ist und Berufungen hervorragender Gelehrter aus dem deutschen Reiche unmöglich werde, wenn unsere Maler verhungern, weil niemand mehr Bilder kaufen kann, wenn Architekten ihre Tätigkeit einstellen, weil niemand mehr baut, wenn der Buchhandel mit den größten Schwierigkeiten kämpft, weil der Kreis der Bücherkäufer sich auf einen Bruchteil vermindert hat, wenn unsere Bibliotheken und Institute stehen bleiben und das heißt zurückgehen, weil sie keine Neuanschaffungen machen können, so sind das nur die ersten Anzeichen dessen, was uns bevorsteht. Kulturellen Aufstieg bei*



By blurring the distinction between markets and creativity, Kleinwächter vilifies Austria's independent existence as unable to sustain those areas most identified with the Austrian identity. Given the cultural understanding of national identity, it is not atypical that an independent state is here seen as being less vital to Austrian identity than the country's ability to sustain cultural activities. Austrian identity would thus best be served by sacrificing political independence. Kleinwächter concluded that only in Anschluß would German Austria find all that which it was forfeiting and stood in danger of losing - economic and cultural viability. This argument was also aimed at countering the view that Austria could not unify with Germany if it wished to preserve its unique culture, a point discussed in Chapter Seven.

Kleinwächter was not alone in linking economics with culture. Stolper, writing about Austria's economic problems in 1918, also pointed out that "German-Austria is tied to an ordered development with its economic and cultural existence".<sup>64</sup> The entire viability debate was turned into a competition of loyalty to Austrian values and patriotism, an important aspect if the existence of an Austrian identity was in doubt.

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*wirtschaftlichem Verfall hat es in der Geschichte noch niemals gegeben.*

<sup>64</sup> Dr Gustav Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, 12 October, 1918 Nr. 2: ... das Deutschösterreich an eine geordnete Entwicklung mit seiner wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Existenz gebunden ist ...

At a conference of the Greater Germans in Ischl in August 1931, any attempts to present Austria as an independent, viable state were denounced as "pure treason".<sup>65</sup> Such decisions were hardly likely to promote an objective understanding of Austria's economic position. Oswald Straub, who compared the solutions and was in favour of Austrian independence, complained that

any voice in the wilderness which called for any solution other than the "German" one counted as a "Frenchie", anyone who did not see the salvation and the only solution in *Anschluß* did not count as German.<sup>66</sup>

The reference to Isaiah 40:3 bestows prophet status on those preparing the way for better things to come, in this case, those calling for a future which did not entail union with Germany. All proposals claimed to have reason on their side. In an "Industrie" of January 1919, for example, the Danubian Federation was claimed to be the view of

all those who do not approach these practical questions of politics with political catch phrases, but with quiet, practical thinking, and have thereby come to the conclusion that the economic interests of German-Austria are not to be sought in the unconditional economic *Anschluß* with Germany, but that instead these interests refer us to those areas which

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65 ("glatten Volksverrat") Präferenz, Zollunion, p22, Furthermore, analysis of Austrian party programmes were used to show the frequency with which solidarity with the German people was expressed, across political divisions. See, for example, Merkblätter.

66 Ibid. Wer als Rufer in der Wüste für eine andere als die "deutsche" Lösung eintrat, galt als "französling", wer nicht das Heil und die ausschließliche Lösung im *Anschluß* sah, galt als nicht deutsch,

formerly made up the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.<sup>67</sup>

The industrialists were accused in turn of putting economic interests ahead of national, and of insisting on their Austrian nationality only when it served economic profit. Otto Bauer accused them of being better Czechs than Germans - substantiating Straub's complaint above.<sup>68</sup>

Conversely, because Anschluß adherents concentrated on Austria's unviability, it was possible to accuse them of scare-mongering and defeatism. Straub, for example, pointed out that confidence in Austria was scarcely aided by the daily "catastrophe articles" which appeared in the domestic and the foreign press.<sup>69</sup> Such undermining of confidence was synthetic.<sup>70</sup>

Both sides argued that in the alternative solution, Austria would be the underdog. One of the appealing aspects of the Danubian Federation was the hope that

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67 Christliche Demokratie 4/85. p301: Dieser Gedanke werde von allen jenen vertreten, die nicht mit politischen Schlagworten, sondern in ruhigem, praktischem Denken diesen praktischen Fragen der Politik gegenüberstehen und aufgrund dieser Erwägungen zu dem Resultat gekommen sind, daß die wirtschaftlichen Interessen Deutschösterreichs nicht in dem unbedingten wirtschaftlichen Anschluß an Deutschland zu suchen sind, sondern daß diese Interessen uns gebieterisch nach jenen Gebieten verweisen, die früher die österreichische-ungarische Monarchie ausgemacht haben.

68 Ibid. "Man kommt auf den Gedanken daß die Herren ihr Deutschösterreichertum verleugnen, weil ihre wirtschaftlichen Interessen in Kladno und Witkowitz liegen. Die Herren sind eigentlich Tschechoslowaken."

69 These were not only economic. In 1931, just prior to the fall of the Creditanstalt, the threat of the Heimwehren created insecurity abroad, giving the impression that a civil war was imminent. Foreign loans were recalled, and internal economic confidence fell.

70 Präferenz, Zollunion, p22

Austria could once again dominate the union, an argument Anschluß proponents were anxious to debunk. In a Danubian Federation, the argument ran, German nationals would be in the minority, without the protection which the dynasty or historical precedence had previously accorded them; they would be the losers amongst victors, and at the mercy of the other countries. Austria could never take the leading position which she had held in the past.

On the other hand, it could also be argued that Austria would be very much the junior partner in the event of Anschluß. Pasvolsky argued it was very possible that once incorporated into the German system, Austria would assume a decidedly secondary position and gain comparatively little. Even an Anschluß friendly article in the Neue Freie Presse accepted that union would not solve all of Austria's problems:

The fusion will not be possible without sacrifices on both sides. The sacrifice which German-Austria will have to make will be more apparent, and felt more keenly. After all, it is a leap from the at least apparently leading position in the Habsburg monarchy to the more modest rôle of the second-largest German state. Self-esteem must suffer, when Austrian history is decided not in Vienna, but in Berlin, and the once so proud Austria disappears from the League of Nations ... The proposed development would demand sacrifices and self-denial particularly of Vienna. In the Reich Vienna would have to take second place ... <sup>71</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Neue Freie Presse. Jg 1919 vom 7 Feber. Nr 19660: Ohne Opfer wird freilich die Verschmelzung auf beiden Seiten nicht abgehen. Die Opfer, die Deutschösterreich zu bringen hat, werden sichtbarer in Erscheinung treten und schmerzlicher empfunden werden. Es ist immerhin ein Sprung von der wenigstens scheinbar führenden Stellung in der habsburgischen Monarchie zu der bescheideneren Rolle des zweitgrößten deutschen Bundesstaates. Das Selbstgefühl muß leiden, wenn die österreichischen

Whereas a Danubian Federation would only ever come about if its member states retained their sovereignty, in an Austrian-German union, Germany would undoubtedly be the dominant partner. Conversely, it was possible to argue that Austria's situation after union with Germany could not be worse than it was before. Anschluß at least held out some hope where otherwise none existed.<sup>72</sup>

One way of countering arguments that a Danubian solution was a betrayal of the German people was to point out that Germany might well benefit from it. Even the union prior to the war had not been a barrier to German trade. Furthermore, if economic prosperity could be secured in the Succession States, Germany would gain larger markets. Economic union could expand to include Germany when the political climate permitted it, and would allow Austria to survive until that time.<sup>73</sup>

As seen, counter-proposals were often presented as treason, as evidence that loyalty was paid to foreign

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*Geschichte nicht mehr in Wien, sondern in Berlin entschieden werden, und das einst so stolze Österreich aus dem Rate der Volker verschwindet. Deutsch Österreich muß ferner die deutsche Sozialgesetzgebung und die deutschen Reichsteuern übernehmen ... Für Wien speziell bedeutet die in Aussicht zu nehmende entwicklung unverkennbare Opfer und Verzicht. Wien mußte im Reiche an die 2 Stelle treten ...*

72 Kleinwächter, for example, argued that union with Germany would ensure Austria economic and cultural viability, restoring that which it had already had to sacrifice and that which it would lose entirely if its situation did not improve. Der deutsch-österreichische Mensch, p186.

73 See, for example, Dr Gustav Gratz; "Verständigung mit Deutschland" in Donau-Europa; see also Das Problem Mitteleuropas and Präferenz, Zollunion, p12: *im übrigen dürften seine Exportschancen durch das Verschwinden der vielen Zollgrenzen nur gewinnen.*

powers rather than to Austria. The Federation was denounced as an English or, more frequently, a French plot, aimed specifically at Germany:

France had planned the entire collapse of the economy of Europe, indeed, the whole world, and is now trying to use the resultant chaos to divide Austria culturally, politically and economically from the German Reich forever. Under the catch phrase "Danubian Federation" Austria's economic future is purportedly to be saved. However unclear this idea is, ... all the related plans are intended to bring to an end Austria's mission as the Ostmark of the German peoples.<sup>74</sup>

According to Karl Hugelmann, a Danubian Federation would be a political construct aimed specifically at providing a counter weight to Germany; Austria would thereby commit national treason. This was an emotive way of arguing that Austria and Germany were but one nation.<sup>75</sup>

Hugelmann's view was not uncommon, based as it was upon the fact that Austria's independence had been insisted

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74 Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht:  
Frankreich [hat] den Zusammenbruch der Volkswirtschaft Europas, ja der ganzen Welt, planmäßig herbeigeführt und versucht nunmehr, das eingetretene Chaos zu benützen, um Österreich kulturell, politisch und wirtschaftlich von deutschen Reiche für alle Zeiten zu trennen. Unter dem Schlagworte "Donauföderation" soll Österreich wirtschaftliche Zukunft gerettet werden. Mag auch dieser Gedanke an Klarheit alles zu wünschen übrig lassen ... alle mit ihm verbundenen Pläne verfolgen den Zweck, der Sendung Österreichs als Ostmark des deutschen Volkes ein Ende zu bereiten.

75 Flugblätter Nr 18: Der Eintritt der Deutschösterreicher in diesen Bund hätte daher politisch nur dann einen Sinn, wenn dadurch ein Gegengewicht gegen das ohnedies so schwer getroffene Deutschland geschaffen werden soll, und die Einbeziehung eines Teiles der Deutschen in eine solche Kombination bedeute eine unnatürliche Schwächung des Deutschtums, vom Standpunkt Deutschösterreichs aus geradezu einen nationalen Verrat.

upon by the Entente in 1918 so as not to strengthen Germany.<sup>76</sup> By extension, the Danubian Federation was a pretext for French imperialism, forcing Austria into a Slav coalition directed against the German Republic. The French were not the only possible instigators, though they were a convenient enemy to denounce because of their identification with the harsh peace treaty. The Danubian Federation could equally be denounced as a heinous plot by the Czechs:

When Dr Benes wishes to bring together the Danubian states, his intention is not the re-establishment of the former Austria-Hungary, but the domination of the Czech people over south-east Europe, comparable to the Bohemian king Przemysl Ottokar II, who once exploited the weakness of the German Reich to unify Austria with Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.<sup>77</sup>

This argument that a Danubian Federation would not be a new monarchy but a "Przemyslidenreich" had the additional advantage that it questioned the historical validity of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, implying that it had been a plot from the start to deny Austria its true mission of unifying with Germany. This struck at the heart of the

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<sup>76</sup> See, for example, Dr Gustav Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt 11 Jahr, Vienna, 23 November, 1918 Nr. 8.

<sup>77</sup> Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht: Wenn Dr. Benesch die Donaustaaten zusammenfassen will, so bezweckt er mit diesem Plane nicht die Wiederaufrichtung des alten Österreich-Ungarn, sondern die Herrschaft des tschechischen Volkes über den Südosten Europas vergleichbar dem Böhmenkönig Przemysl Ottokar II. der einst die Ohnmacht des Deutschen Reiches benützte, um Österreich mit Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien zu vereinigen. Benes of course denied this, arguing that Prague had not attempted to push this solution, but did not oppose it out of loyalty to the Czechs' French and English friends.

argument in favour of Danubian Federation, based as it was upon historical precedent.

Accusations that those opposing Anschluß were betraying their national identity could be and were countered. Straub, for example, denounced the idea that Austrians would have to compromise their national identity in any union with non-Germans as a gross underestimation of the resolution and resilience of Austrian nationalism. This, he felt, had been proved frequently and convincingly in the past. Indeed, Germans would actually benefit through a Danubian Federation because the isolated German minorities within the borders of the Succession States would immediately gain a sturdy champion for their rights.<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, it was simply ridiculous, indeed psychotic, he argued, to present any solution which excluded Germany as being directed against it; history and common sense should show that Austria had never acted against German interests without provocation. The German people would best be served by Austria continuing to play its rôle as European intercessor.<sup>79</sup> Any union between Austria and Germany would merely exacerbate antagonisms with France and with the Little Entente, a consequence which was in nobody's interest.

While the Anschluß could hardly be presented as a foreign plot, it was nonetheless possible to argue that support for union was a denial of Austria. Germany merely wished to exploit Austria, to gain access to

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<sup>78</sup> Präferenz, Zollunion, p20

<sup>79</sup> An idea explored in Chapter Four.



eastern markets for example. The idea that a Danubian Federation could expand to constitute *Mitteleuropa* was denounced by Straub, who argued that any inclusion of Germany would alter the equation entirely:

If the idea of cooperation between the Succession States is intended to fulfil the purpose of ensuring their economic and political viability, a *Mitteleuropa* would mean something entirely different; a central European area under Germany's control.<sup>80</sup>

The debates were therefore not only on whether union would be in Austria's economic interest, but whether it would be in its interest in any respect. A Danubian Federation, for example, would ensure Austria not only economic prosperity, but also be true to its higher cultural mission of conciliation between national groupings. *Anschluß*, on the other hand, would be true to Austria's Greater German calling.

The most effective argument which could be levied against any proposal was that it was simply unfeasible. This approach had the advantage that it side-stepped the validity of all the other arguments raised. Stolper was not alone in believing that if it were possible to recreate the former economic unit of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy so that Vienna and Austria regained their former position, this plan would be worthy of support. However, he argued, such a solution was

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<sup>80</sup> Präferenz, Zollunion, p15: Verfolgt ein Zusammenarbeiten der Nachfolgestaaten den Zweck, diesen wirtschaftliche und politische Lebensfähigkeit zu geben, so würde ein *Mitteleuropa* mit Deutschland etwas Neues, ganz verschiedenes bedeuten; einen *Mitteleuroparaum* unter Deutschlands Kontrolle.

dependent on political and economic preconditions which rendered the ideal of a Danubian Federation absurd.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, the establishment of a Danubian Federation did not, as was apparently assumed, only depend upon Austria. The "psychological preconditions" for a federation with the Danubian territories were simply not present.<sup>82</sup> The Succession States felt, rightly or wrongly, that they had been liberated; from Austria, from Vienna, from the Habsburgs. They were unlikely to re-enter into any kind of relationship with their former "oppressor". Benes, for example, frequently emphasised that the Czechs had fought not only for political but also for economic freedom; a scheme for a confederation of the Danubian States, even a customs union, was therefore out of the question.<sup>83</sup> As Benes wrote:

all have an instinctive aversion to the federal solution, because it is reminiscent of the former Monarchy; some are against a similar new structure in the form of a federation because this reminds them of their previous subjugation under the Habsburgs, others, who were the top dogs in the Habsburg Empire, reject the Federation because they know that they would be a disappearing minority in such a structure, and they fear that they will be oppressed by those who had once been oppressed themselves. All conclude that there is no knowing where it all would end politically ...<sup>84</sup>

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81 Der Österreichische Volkswirt 11 Jahr, Vienna 14 December 1918, Nr 11.

82 Die Anschlußfrage. p209

83 See for example, Benes quoted in The Economic Problem, p65.

84 Das Problem Mitteleuropas, p51: alle haben gegen die föderative Lösung einen instinktiven Widerwillen, weil sie jeden im anderen Sinne an die alte Monarchie erinnert; die einen sind gegen ähnliche neue Gebilde in Form einer Föderation, weil sie diese an die frühere unterdrückung im Habsburger-Reiche erinnert, die anderen, welche seinerzeit im Habsburger-Reiche die Herren waren, lehnen die

Pavlovsky argued that a customs union would not have the same effect on every member country. The industrial countries might well benefit, but the agricultural ones would suffer. Only Austria and Czechoslovakia would gain from the establishment of freer trade relations because they could compete successfully with the under-developed countries of the Danubian basin. Even then,

Of the five Danubian States ... four - Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Hungary - do not feel impelling reasons for amalgamation into a larger economic territory ... Austria alone of the countries of this group, feels impelling reasons for its incorporation in a larger economic territory.<sup>85</sup>

A compelling argument against the Danubian Federation was that within a relatively short period, the pieces of the shattered empire had developed a life of their own. As Kleinwächter argued,

The pieces of the destroyed Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are not lying on the ground like the lifeless shards of some shattered vase, that one could if need be restore to their former whole. The majority of the pieces have already joined with developing state organisms and have started a new life there.<sup>86</sup>

Three years later, in 1929, Kleinwächter argued that the ten-year survival of the Czechs, South Slavia, Poland,

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Föderation ab, weil sie wiessen, das sie nunmehr in dieser Gestaltung in einer verschwindenden Minderheit sein werden, und sie fürchten sich vor der Unterdrückung seitens der ehemaligen Unterdrückten. Alle sagen sich schließlich, das man nicht wisse, wo es politisch enden würde ...

85 Economic Nationalism, p577

86 Der deutschösterreichische Mensch, p183 Die Bruchstücke der zerstörten Österreich-ungarischen Monarchie liegen nicht wie die leblosen trummer einer Vase auf dem Boden, die man zur Not noch in die alte Form bringen kann. Die Mehrzahl der Bruchstücke haben sich mit bereits entstehenden staatlichen Organismen zusammen-gefügt und dort ein neues Leben angefangen.

Romania and Hungary had proved their viability. Austria could not emulate these countries because they all had more natural preconditions for economic prosperity than did Austria. They would have no interest in uniting with a country which could offer them nothing economically except competition.<sup>87</sup> However he also felt the need to point out that even if Austria was viable, this did not constitute a reason not to unify with Germany.<sup>88</sup> Dr Karl Jonovsky similarly argued that the Succession States had developed quite different methods in terms of industry, trade, customs, tax and customs: Austria and Germany on the other hand had been working towards co-ordination of such matters.<sup>89</sup>

The Anschluß, however, could be denounced as equally unfeasible. Just as it was argued that a Danubian economic union was unlikely because it was not in the Succession States' interest, it was equally possible to argue that it would not be to Germany's advantage to unite with Austria. Raun asserts that certain capitalist

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<sup>87</sup> Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich, p42: Aber die bisher zehnjährige Dauer ihrer Selbstständigkeit hat bewiesen, das sie wirtschaftlich durchaus lebensfähig sind. Wenn sie mit Schwierigkeiten kämpfen, so ist dies darauf zurückzuführen, das ihre innerpolitischen Verhältnisse noch nicht in Ordnung gekommen sind. Die Tschechen, Südslawien, Polen, Rumänien, Ungarn besitzen alle natürlichen Voraussetzungen, um wirtschaftlich gedeihen zu können. Welches wirtschaftliche Interesse sollten sie haben, sich mit Österreich zu vereinigen, das ihnen wirtschaftlich nichts anderes zu bieten hat als höchstens Konkurrenz.

<sup>88</sup> Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich, p24

<sup>89</sup> Dr Karl Jonovsky: "Anschluß oder Donauföderation" in Die Anschlußfrage, p209. In 1930, for example Germany and Austria had agreed a unified treatment of patents and industrial patterns and harmonized their insurance systems.

circles in Germany believed that Austria would be a millstone because of its debts; there were fears that German tax-payers would suffer. Austria's need for food supplies and coal were also cause for concern. Certain professions, such as the medical profession, feared that German cities would be swamped by the unemployed.<sup>90</sup> German industry also feared Austrian competition, for example, from Viennese quality industries.<sup>91</sup>

Above all, those in favour of a Danubian Federation could argue that it was apparent that the Anschluß would simply not be possible given the opposition of the outside world. The provisions of the Treaty of St. Germain, the independence clause of the Geneva Protocols,<sup>92</sup> and the failure of the plan for customs union in 1931 all provided evidence for this view. A Danubian Federation could therefore be presented as an interim solution which would not prevent German inclusion at a later date. In the meanwhile, the Anschluß movement

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90 Katzenstein points out that despite Austria's high unemployment rate in the interwar period, the migration of Austrian labour to Germany was small and diminished over time. While in 1925 13% of foreigners in Germany were Austrians, this figure had dropped to 11% in 1933. Peter Katzenstein: Disjoined Partners; Austria and Germany since 1815. University of California Press, Berkeley/London, 1976. (Hereafter cited as Disjoined Partners), p4

91 Deutschland und Deutschösterreich p11

92 Austria had to accepted three protocolls as part of the foreign loan (1922): in Protocol I, Austria had to commit itself to independence for twenty years; in Protocoll II the conditions for the loan of 650 Million Gold Crowns were stipulated; and in Protocol III Austria had to commit itself to reforming its budget within two years. After the Geneval Protocols reaffirmed the prohibition of the Anschluß, Austrian references to themselves as a German people diminished sharply. Disjoined Partners, p5

merely constituted a foreign political embarrassment to Germany, which had enough problems already.

There were some theorists who pointed out that the two solutions were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Anschluß adherents argued that union proffered some hope to those who wanted to regain control over the nationalities formerly part of the Empire - the Anschluß could be the first step towards re-establishing control over the succession states. Austerlitz asserted that the Anschluß did not necessarily entail the dissolution of all economic bonds in the Danubian area. The chancellor Ignaz Seipel, whose attitude to this question was ambiguous, agreed that the proposals of Federation or Anschluß were not necessarily mutually exclusive alternatives, as did Gustav Stolper.<sup>93</sup> Der Fremdenblatt proposed in 1919 to unify Austria politically with Germany, and economically with the Succession States.<sup>94</sup>

As is intimated in the quotation from Benes above, one of the major concerns was the political implications of any solution. The Anschluß was more politically feasible in so far as the integration of a single smaller territory into a larger one was simpler than a union in which many territories would have to come to an agreement. However the situation was more complicated than that. A pamphlet on "Das österreichische Wirtschaftsproblem" (The Austrian economic problem)

<sup>93</sup> Von St. Germain p24. Stolper discusses Austria's relationship with Germany in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, 23 November, 1918 Nr. 8.

<sup>94</sup> Reported in Der Österreichische Volkswirt 11 Jahr, 18 January, 1919, Nr 16.

confirmed that Austria's economic problems would always constitute a political problem; trading policies, for example, would never solve Austria's economic situation because the Succession States would always put nationalism before economic reasoning.<sup>95</sup> A publication by the *Schulverein* agreed, pointing out, for example, that in an economic union, Czechs would still seek their energy requirements within their own borders first. Austria would therefore always be at the mercy of political and economic foreign pressures. It concluded,

Everybody who wished to force German Austria into a so-called economic Danubian Federation would be committing economic and political suicide.<sup>96</sup>

The question of sovereignty was of vital importance in discussions on a Federation. According to Pasvolsky, the Succession States had learnt in the monarchy that economic factors and political matters were closely

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95 This was published by the *Österreich-Deutsche Arbeitsgemeinschaft*, whose goal it was to create similar conditions in Austrian and German cultural, economic and political fields in preparation for union (*Angleichung*). Its economic branch discussed the question of Austria's viability in "Das österreichische Wirtschaftsproblem" published in the *Österreichischen Volkswirt* Nr 42, 17 Jahrgang, 18 Juli 1925.

96 Merkblätter für deutschösterreichisches Recht: Wirtschaftlichen und politischen Selbstmord beginge jeder, der Deutschösterreich in die sogenannte wirtschaftliche Donauföderation zwingen wollte. In Der Österreichische Volkswirt, Stolper agreed with this analysis, arguing that Austria could be forced to accede with the political will of Czechoslovakia if it were dependent on Czech coal, for example. Czechoslovakia was not dependent on Austria for any vital supplies: only if Austria were unified with Germany would it be able to take adequate counter measures - denying Czechoslovakian trade access to British markets or to the coast. Der Österreichische Volkswirt 11 Jahr. 11 January, 1919, Nr 15.

intertwined. Union therefore depended upon members forfeiting elements of their sovereignty, and could not be replaced merely through trading agreements. However, it was obvious that representatives of the Succession States did not believe that economics and politics could be kept apart, and that this did not act in Austria's interest. Benes, then the Czech foreign minister, declared in 1920 that a political union with Austria and Hungary was out of the question also because it would mean that "these countries would gain influence in our internal affairs: Austria by way of the Germans living in our State, Hungary through the Magyars in Slovakia".<sup>97</sup>

Different versions of the Danubian solution placed differing emphases on the political component of the union. Those who suspected that there could never be a political union because of the antagonism against Austria emphasised that they had no political motivations; the sole goal was to restore economic prosperity to all the areas involved. This economic prosperity, in its turn, would ensure peace.<sup>98</sup> Attempts to assuage fears of loss of sovereignty emphasised that each nation would retain its national identity and political independence.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Benes quoted in The Economic Problem, p65

<sup>98</sup> Dr Gustav Gratz argued in Donau-Europa II Jhg, 1933, for example: *Die Anhänger der Bestrebungen aus den in Mitteleuropa derzeit bestehenden, verhältnismäßige kleinen Wirtschaftsgebieten eine größere Einheit zu schaffen, haben keinerlei politische Nebengedanken. Ihre Bemühungen entspringen ausschließlich der Erkenntnis, daß sich ein gesundes Wirtschaftsleben in diesen Ländern von viel zu kleinem Format nicht denken läßt.*

<sup>99</sup> See for example Dr Hellmuth Boller's article "Österreich und Donau-Europa" in Donau-Europa II Jhg Jan 33, N 1. p10: *Das österreichische Volk will*



Where political matters were stressed in the pro-Federation publications, they played on the desire for status. It was argued that an integrated European unit would be better placed to compete in terms of power politics. A representative of the Yugoslavian government in Austria, Dr Miroslav Spalajkovic, illustrated both ideas when he argued that

the main task of the present must be *rapprochement* and the rebirth of trust. Today the individual countries of the Danubian basin are more or less the subjects of the politics of the Great Powers. Let us unite and stick together, so that we ourselves become a Great Power, which would help to keep the balance and peace in Europe and could also contribute to greater understanding between Germany and France.<sup>100</sup>

This view was also held by Benes, who argued that political peace in Europe would only be possible when the economic fragmentation between the Danubian States had been brought to an end.<sup>101</sup>

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*leben und sich entwickeln, es verzichtet darauf, "in Schönheit zu sterben" - in einer Schönheit, die Elend und Not bedeutet. Österreich muß mitarbeiten am Neuaufbau Europas, nicht widerwillig und unter dem Drucke von außen, sondern aufrecht vorangehend, eingedenk seiner durch Jahrtausende erprobten völkerverbindenden Mission.*

100 Dr Miroslav Spalajkovic, "Die Notwendigkeit Donau Europas" in Donau-Europa II Jhg, April 33, No 4. p13: Die Hauptaufgabe der Gegenwart muß in einer Annäherung und in einer Wiedergeburt des Vertrauens bestehen. Heute sind die einzelnen Länder des Donaubeckens mehr oder weniger Objekt der Politik der Großmächte. Vereinigen wir uns und halten wir zusammen, damit wir selbst eine Großmacht werden, die ein Element des europäischen Gleichgewichtes und des Friedens bilden würde und auch zur deutsch-französischen Verständigung wirksam beitragen könnte.

101 Eduard Benes; "Neue Hoffnung für Österreich." Donau-Europa II Jhg 1933, No 9: Ich glaube, daß das Problem der Donaustaaten nur durch Schaffung einer wirtschaftlichen Gruppierung gelöst werden kann, die der wirtschaftlichen Zersplitterung in diesem Teile

Conversely Anschluß adherents could argue that such a Federation could only lead to increased tensions between the Succession States and was a threat to European peace. In the Anschluß debate, the political question was again the extent to which Austria would retain independence. In the debates in 1919 it was unclear whether each province would join Germany independently, or whether the provinces of Austria would enter the Reich as one unit. To counter arguments that Austria would be dominated by the Prussian form of government Dr Hugelmann argued that Austria's union with Germany would in fact provide a counterbalance to the latter's north-German\Prussian\Protestant character, restoring a natural balance in German politics.<sup>102</sup>

There is little consistency in the arguments pertaining to sovereignty. Although Anschluß proponents argued that it would be impossible for Austria to join into any economic union with the Succession States and retain its sovereignty, this was precisely the argument used when Austria and Germany attempted customs union in 1931. The rejection of the union by the International Court of Justice was not in fact a rejection of this argument, as it was agreed that a customs union did not

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*Europas ein Ende bereitet. Ein solches Wirtschaftsbandnis würde die Bedeutung einer Großmacht besitzen, gegründet auf die wechselseitige wirtschaftliche Abhängigkeit der Donaustaaten, ihre Zusammenarbeit und auf die politische Befriedigung ganz Europas.*

<sup>102</sup> Flugblätter Nr. 18. p9: Dieser Zwiespalt wird organisch geschlossen, wenn durch den Eintritt Deschösterreichs in den deutschen Bundesstaat die süddeutschen Stämme ihr natürliches Gleichgewicht in der deutschen Politik zurück erhalten.

interfere with a nation's sovereignty. Austria however was considered an exception, the implications of which are considered in Section IV.

In conclusion, a picture of the components of Austrian identity is already emerging. Unsurprisingly, it is complex: a conglomeration of factors. Any discussions regarding Austrian identity or Austria's future had to recognise the legacy of the Dual Monarchy. Austria's location at the heart of Europe had clearly not only played a rôle in the past but would continue to be decisive in the future. The sense of cultural identity was highly developed, though not unambiguous. Finally, there was an Austria to which loyalty was believed to be due.

This corporate identity receives most emphasis in arguments which discuss betrayal. This would substantiate the argument that a national identity is fed by a sense of "other-ness", in this case, the idea, for example, that Austria was surrounded by foreign enemies, such as France, or the Succession States. Germany is rarely cast in the rôle of an enemy, even by those opposing the Anschluß. The situation in which the two countries found themselves was too similar, there were better contenders. Furthermore, Austria's German identity, however problematic, would have rendered such an argument implausible.<sup>103</sup> Betrayal was measured according to whether the perceived interests of Austria

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<sup>103</sup> Once Hitler had come to power, such an argument might also have provoked unfortunate consequences.

were being furthered, not according to the degree of support for independence, however. As argued in the introduction to this thesis, an independent Austrian state was not seen as an imperative condition for Austrian national identity.

Based as it was upon the assumption that Austria was not viable, the debate between those in favour of Anschluß and those in favour of a Danubian Federation helped to reinforce the impression that the country could not survive. If leading economists could not agree in their analyses of Austria's economic future (for example, reaching opposite conclusions on the dangers/merits of German industrial competition, as outlined above), whom and what was the general populace to believe? The strategy to bring about change by presenting it as inevitable did not make any solution inevitable, but did discourage objective analysis of the economic situation. However it would be inaccurate to imply that the economy was interpreted entirely negatively: the following section discusses where strengths were perceived.

### III. Austrian Viability

Objections to the argument that Austria was not viable mirrored a more optimistic judgement of Austria's economic potential. As Kienböck said of Austria's viability in the discussions concerning the first Geneva Loan of 1922: "I would definitely confirm it. The question of viability is a question of adaptation".<sup>104</sup>

<sup>104</sup> Kienböck quoted in Heinrich Benedikt: Geschichte der Republik Österreich, Verlag für Geschichte und

At times it appeared as though the economic situation could be resolved, with successes such as the stabilisation of the currency by 1926, and the improved production rates up to 1929. Other successes, for example in 1930 at the Hague when Austrian reparations were discontinued, were achieved under the shadow of the impending depression, however.<sup>105</sup> Accomplishments of the past were called upon to emphasise that Austria could achieve economic success. Franz Heidereich, for example, who published a pamphlet on Austria's economic forces in 1919, drew attention to the fact that it had been Austria which had built the first mountain railways, whose construction and running had been exemplary.<sup>106</sup>

Observers such as Friedrich Hertz pointed out the potential of industrial equipment, the qualified workforce, Austrian banking services, railroad and river transit services, tourism, emigrant remittances, and water-power. Certainly, Austria was in an awkward

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105 Politik, Wien 1977. (Hereafter cited as Geschichte der Republik Österreich.) p510: *Ich will sie unbedingt bejahen. Die Frage der Lebensfähigkeit ist eine Frage der Anpassung.* Incidentally, Bruno Kreisky (the Social Democrat prime minister of Austria 1970-1983) wrote his dissertation in 1929 on "Die Wirtschaftsverhältnisse und ihre Entwicklung in Österreich" in which he affirmed Austrian viability. France attempted to have the cessation of reparations linked with a renewed ban against Anschluß. See Walter Goldinger: "Das Projekt einer deutsch-österreichischen Zollunion von 1931" in Österreich und Europa: Festgabe für Hugo Hantsch zum 70. Geburtstag. Herausgeben vom Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung und von der Wiener katholischen Akademie. Verlag Styria Graz, Wien, Köln, 1965.

106 Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs, p9: *Deutsch-österreich hat die ersten Gebirgsbahnen der Welt gebaut und bau= wie betriebstechnisch waren diese lange Zeit vorbildlich.*

economic position, but not an unsolvable one. Dr. Heinrich Mataja, who became Foreign Minister, wrote in a memorandum to the German foreign ministry in 1920 that Austria had to adapt to economic independence, and was capable of doing so. The harvest yield could be increased considerably, water power could solve Austria's energy problems and Vienna could regain its position in the east through its trade and banking network.<sup>107</sup> Ernst Broda similarly concluded his series of articles in the *Volkswirt* in May 1920 with the words:

We possess an agricultural sector which, although temporarily run down, is capable of great development. We also possess a completely intact industry which has not been damaged materially by the war, but whose productivity has in many ways been considerably increased, and, moreover, a trade for which quite new opportunities are opening for the future.<sup>108</sup>

As far as agriculture was concerned, the expert Kalkbrunner argued that Austria would be able to meet 75% of its grain needs and would be able to cover all its requirements for potatoes, vegetables and dry feed. Having solved its coal problems, Austria would be able to

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<sup>107</sup> Von St. Germain, p61. Repeated banking scandals and inflationary problems did little to inspire confidence in Vienna's banking future, however. Certain areas of industry tried deliberately to decrease their dependency on foreign suppliers: the chemical industry, and the textile industry, for example. Christliche Demokratie, Schriften des Karl v. Vogelsang-Institutes. 3 Jahrgang, 4/85. p289

<sup>108</sup> Ernst Broda quoted in Von St. Germain, p60: Wir besitzen eine, wenn auch vorübergehend verwahrloste, so doch im ganzen zu einer großen Entwicklung, fähige Landwirtschaft und eine völlig intakte, durch die Kriegereignisse nirgends materiell geschädigte, sondern vielfach in ihrer Leistungsfähigkeit beträchtlich gesteigerte Industrie, ferner einen Handel, dem ganz neue Zukunftsmöglichkeiten offenstehen.

export breeding cattle and wood to cover imports of grain, sugar and foodstuffs.<sup>109</sup>

Thus all aspects of the Austrian economy were shown to have potential. Franz Heiderich argued that despite Austria being an alpine country, which created problems for settlement, production and transport,

being a land of great variety it offers rich and varied opportunities for employment, industry and commerce, and given these good physical attributes does not condemn us by any means to indigence. We are spiritually and materially rooted in the valuable earth of home and through the improved use of its eternal strengths we will stride towards a happier future, becoming freer and richer.<sup>110</sup>

Friedrich Hertz agreed that Austria's geographical position would always provide economic possibilities, however attenuated its borders were. Austria would always be an important transit land for trade between east and west, and south and north. Despite all the changes, this rôle was constant and pertinacious.<sup>111</sup>

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109 Kalkbrunner quoted in *ibid.*.

110 Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs, p4: *Trotzdem bietet das mannigfaltig gebildete Land reiche und verschiedenartige Erwerbs und Wirtschaftsmöglichkeiten und verurteilt uns nach seiner guten physischen Ausstattung keineswegs zur Dürftigkeit. In dem Boden der teuren Heimatserde wurzeln wir geistig und materiell und in der immer besseren Auswertung seiner ewigen Kräfte werden wir immer freier und reicher und einer glücklicheren Zukunft entgegenschreiten.* He then concluded that the only way forward for Austria was through *Anschluß*.

111 The Economic Problem, p10: *Diese geographisch-historische Stellung ist zwar in der Folge wiederholt geschmälert worden, erhält sich aber im wesentlichen doch mit großer Beharrungskraft.* Hertz pointed out that the largest positive items on the balance of payments were tourist traffic (244-254 million), transit trade (120 million) and transit traffic (71.3 million). The largest negative item was interest and amortisation on State loans (108.6 million A.S.). See p62.

Austria's natural resources included rich deposits of raw materials such as iron ore, magnesium and graphite, as well as huge reserves of wood. Furthermore, Austria had 60% of the Empire's industrial workers, with high percentages from the wool, linen, jute, paper, wood and glass industries. These statistics led Heidereich to conclude, "German-Austrian industry has a respectable position and counters vigorously the view that we are only a poor agricultural state of farmers" - a view he obviously considered insulting, and which might have impeded Anschluß.<sup>112</sup>

Stolper showed that the high percentage of the workforce involved in tertiary industry could also be interpreted positively:

The new state has at its disposal the best personnel from the Austrian civil service, and the intellectual elite of all nations of Austria [note how "Austria" is used to refer to Cis-Leithania] and can count on the lasting support from the German Reich.<sup>113</sup>

Austria's multinational past could also be presented as an economic advantage, as the debates on Vienna as a doorway to the east show (see above). In Wirtschaftsberichte aus dem Osten, a publication aimed at

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112 Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs. p7 :So nimmt die deutschösterreichische Industrie eine achtungsgebietende Stellung ein und widerlegt kräftig die Anschauung, als seien wir nur ein armer Agrar- und Bauernstaat.

113 Dr Gustav Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, October, 1918, Nr 4. p52: Unlösbar ist die Aufgabe, die Deutschösterreich gestellt ist, in keiner Weise. Der neue Staat verfügt über die besten Kräfte der österreichischen Beamtenschaft, verfügt über die stärkste Intelligenzschicht unter allen Nationen Österreichs und verfügt ueber den unverlierbaren Rückhalt in dem deutschen Reich.



paving the way towards economic relations between Austria and the east, Fritz Schlesinger (director of the Austro-Russian Industry A.G.), expressed the opinion that Austria's past permitted its workforce to co-operate well with foreign nationals and adapt to their needs.<sup>114</sup> According to an article on the film industry in the same publication, the dissolution of the Empire had not cost Austria its economic and cultural position in Central Europe.<sup>115</sup> Here, it was claimed, Vienna was slowly taking on the rôle abroad which it had formerly had for the Crown-lands; that of the spiritual and economic centre of Europe, and as a bridge between east and west. In the cultural sphere, for example, Pasvolsky included the earnings of Austrian musicians, actors and scientists as providing income for Austria.<sup>116</sup> In 1923, the Wirtschaftsberichte argued that Austria had a prime asset in its poets, authors, intellectuals and artists, who had contributed greatly to the integration of the new Austria into Europe. The verb tense employed implied that this integration was complete. The article concluded that the words "Made in Austria" were the greatest advertisement for music and operetta abroad.<sup>117</sup>

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114 Dr Fritz Schlesinger: "Die österreichische Industrie und Rußland" in Wirtschaftsberichte aus dem Osten. Herausgegeben von der Ukrainischen Telegraphen Agentur (U.T.A) Wien Kiew, Redaktion und Administration, Wien vii. 1 Jahrgang, 11 August 1923, Nr 23

115 Wirtschaftsberichte aus dem Osten. Nr 2 (31) "Vorzüge und Mängel der österreichischen Filmindustrie"

116 Economic Nationalism, p138

117 Wirtschaftsberichte aus dem Osten. Nr 2 (31) "Vorzüge und Mängel der österreichischen Filmindustrie"

Stolper also argued that Vienna had potential if it could meet the challenges of the present through modernisation: its geographical position could allow it to be the trade centre for German-Czech-Polish trade with Hungary, Rumania and Yugoslavia: although the political ideal of Central Europe might have been destroyed with the break up of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, its economic manifestation was as topical as ever, and could indeed exist under better, freer conditions than had been possible in the past.<sup>118</sup>

Comparisons with Switzerland were used to show that a predominantly alpine nation was capable of living an independent and viable life. Indeed, Austria was larger, had more arable land, had high deposits of iron, and some of coal, it had unique scenery; in short "the foundations for a viable state were found more frequently in Austria than in Switzerland".<sup>119</sup> Friedrich Hertz concluded in a similar fashion:

Austria is by nature richer than Switzerland. Its inhabitants need only to believe in their future, and make active use of the natural preconditions.<sup>120</sup>

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118 Stolper in Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 11 Jahr, Vienna, 2 November, 1918 Nr. 5.

119 Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich, p31

120 Friedrich Hertz: Ist Österreich wirtschaftlich lebensfähig? Mitteilungen des Verbandes der Banken und Bankiers. 4. Jhg Nr5/6 p15: Österreich ist von Natur aus reicher als die Schweiz. Seine Bewohner müssen nur an ihre Zukunft glauben und die natürlichen Voraussetzungen aktiv nützen. Most frequently this viewpoint was challenged with reference to the different historical development of the two countries, as both Hertz and Kleinwächter argue. Austria could develop along Swiss lines (intensifying her agricultural sector, adapting industry and expanding tourism), but it would have to do this at a time when the rest of Europe was in

A long term view needed to be taken which would show that despite the severe structural difficulties and the current overwhelming economic problems, Austria was capable of economic recovery.

Certain economic successes in the interwar period could provide evidence that Austria had economic potential, and help it regain some pride. Vienna under the Social Democrats could point with pride to its extensive housing programme. The Wiener Messe (the Vienna Trade Fair) illustrated that Austria could still perform on the world economic stage:

One of the most important links which Vienna has established between eastern and western Europe, is the Vienna Trade Fair, the second largest sample trade fair of Europe, which is held twice yearly after the Leipzig Trade Fair. It accommodates exhibitors from twenty states and receives buyers from 72 nations, who not only see the high quality and therefore cheap Austrian products, but who also have the desired opportunity to make valuable business contacts with the representatives of the other states. How indispensable the Viennese trade fair has become for the economic life of the entire Central European area can be judged by the fact that the fair survived all the hindrances and difficulties created by the world depression without a reduction in the numbers of its exhibitors or visitors.<sup>121</sup>

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disarray (and could therefore not provide capital) and without having the luxury of time to permit gradual development.

121 Direktor Felix Stransky, Präsident der Wiener Messe-aktiengesellschaft; "Die Wiener Messe im mitteleuropäischen Lebensraum." in Donau-Europa II Jhg März 33, No 3. p21: *Eines der wichtigsten Bindeglieder, die Wien zwischen Ost und Westeuropa errichtet hat, bildet die Wiener Messe, die als zweitgrößte Warenmustermesse Europas alljährlich zweimal im unmittelbaren Anschluß an die Leipziger Messe abgehalten wird. Sie beherbergt Aussteller aus zwanzig Staaten und empfängt Einkäufer von 72 Nationen, die hier nicht nur die hochwertigen und daher billigen österreichischen Erzeugnisse sehen, sondern auch die gewünschte Gelegenheit haben,*

A further indication that Austria's economic situation was not quite as dire as it was presented was the *Trefferanleihe*, the "target" loan. Amongst the deflationary measures of the final foreign loan (see below), the government had to commit itself to finding an internal loan of at least 4 billion schillings to parallel the foreign one. This so-called *Trefferanleihe* raised by October 1933 was a substantial success, bringing in roughly 5 million schillings - not much less than the loan itself. It showed that the financial dependency of Austria on foreign countries was not as high as some circles liked to present.<sup>122</sup>

These arguments were supported by foreign findings. In their report for the League of Nations in 1925, the economists Walter Layton and Charles Rist argued strongly that the Austrian economy was distinctly viable. They too, however, confirmed that Austria needed to be

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*nutzbringende Geschäftsverbindungen mit den Vertretern der andern Staaten anzuknüpfen. Wie unentbehrlich die Wiener Messe heute bereits für das gesamte mitteleuropäische Wirtschaftsleben geworden ist, kann aus der Tatsache ermessen werden, dass die Wiener Messe alle durch die Weltwirtschaftskrise entstandenen Hemmnisse und Erschwerungen ohne Verringerung ihrer Aussteller und Besucherzahl zu überstehen vermochte.*

122 Areas which had already attained high standards in the Empire were better able to adapt quickly, to maintain their traditional position in the market, and to find new export markets. The stainless steel industry, for example, competed successfully abroad, while leather and rubber also brought in vital foreign currency. The paper industry was exporting 60% of its production by the 1920's and dominated the market in the Succession States. In general exports changed emphasis and products, however: from the Succession states to Italy and Western Europe; from finished goods to raw materials and semi-finished products

integrated into a larger economic system; it was the League of Nation's task to work towards the breaking down of customs barriers to give Austria the freedom of movement it needed to survive. As Friedrich Hertz argued, "a wide scope of freedom of international trade is a question of life or death for Austria".<sup>123</sup>

Anschluß adherents discounted such findings as biased, arguing that they revealed a complete lack of understanding of the economic relationships within Europe.<sup>124</sup> Trading policies had become political weapons, used to strengthen foreign advantage over Austria. As outlined above, it was argued that Austria would be risking too much if she became dependent on potentially antagonistic markets.

Although the debate on Austria's future was based on the assumption that the Austrian economy was not viable, economic potential was sometimes identified even here. Raun, countering arguments that Austria would only be a burden on Germany, pointed out the significance of water power in the alps.<sup>125</sup> He also drew attention to the

<sup>123</sup> The Economic Problem, p63

<sup>124</sup> Der deutschösterreichische Mensch und der Anschluß, p181: *Das sich aber auch Leute finden - auf beiden Seiten - , die an die Möglichkeit einer solchen Lösung glauben, zeigt die ganze Kenntnislosigkeit wirtschaftlicher Zusammenhänge, die sich heute in der europäischen Öffentlichkeit breit macht.*

<sup>125</sup> Deutschland und Deutschösterreich, p18: *On the basis of exact measurements and very careful predictions, it is assumed that, given a nine month running period, 3 million hp. could be won yearly from water works. Es wird auf Grund genauer Messungen und sehr vorsichtiger Schätzungen bei Vorraussetzung einer neunmonatigen Wasserführung angenommen, das 3 Millionen PS jährlich aus Wasserkraftwerken gewonnen werden können. (Figures which were confirmed in other publications.)*

tourist industry, in particular that of the Austrian alps which was experiencing an upswing; with investment and advertisement, he argued, Austria could make profits similar to Switzerland.<sup>126</sup>

Similarly, Heidereich reiterated a common argument when he underlined Austrian economic strength by pointing out that the areas left to Austria had contributed three fifths of tax revenue in the Monarchy. He concluded:

In calm consideration of these objectively presented facts, should we fear for our future? Are our people not a highly talented and hardworking people, with achievements in all areas of human ability, who have gained the recognition and admiration of the whole world?<sup>127</sup>

These positive assessments of Austria's economic potential did not go unrecognised by the state. In a speech to the League of Nations on 12 September, 1934, Prime Minister Dr Schuschnigg recognised Austria's viability. He concluded, "Austria can survive, as long as it is permitted to".<sup>128</sup>

Nonetheless, as could be expected given the different nature of the union proposed, emphasis on economic assets occurred more frequently amongst the adherents of the Danubian Federation solution, than

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126 Ibid.

127 Die Wirtschaftskräfte Deutschösterreichs: Bei ruhiger Würdigung dieser ganz objektiv hingestellten Tatsachen sollte uns um unsere Zukunft bange sein? Und haben wir nicht ein hochbegabtes und fleißiges Volk, das auf allen Gebieten menschlichen Könnens Leistungen geschaffen hat, die sich die Anerkennung und Bewunderung der ganzen Welt errungen haben?

128 "Österreich kann leben, vorausgesetzt das man es leben läßt." Schuschnigg quoted in Arnberger, Dr Heinz; Garscha, Dr Winfrid: Anschluß 1938 - eine Dokumentation. Österreichische Bundesverlag, Wien, 1988. p190

amongst Anschluß proponents. Austrian unviability was the main card to be played to win national self determination and achieve unification. Statements revealing confidence in Austrian viability were therefore often simultaneously aimed against the Anschluß. In "Austria will succeed alone!" (1929), Oswald Straub declared the economic viability of contemporary Austria and combined this statement with a comparison between the average taxation in Germany and Austria, pointing out the rise in taxes which would follow Anschluß.<sup>129</sup> Industrie spoke out in favour of a Danubian Federation:

The gentlemen are always telling us that German Austria cannot live alone, that it must therefore seek the Anschluß to Germany. They don't even take the trouble, however, to explain or prove this assertion to us. Why shouldn't German-Austria be able to live as an independent State and trade with all those states with which it used to trade? The question would at least be worth examination, and we would suggest that the gentlemen use the energy they are using for their vulgar insults to examine this question. We mean a purely objective examination. They might come to a different conclusion.<sup>130</sup>

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129 Dr Oswald Straub: Österreich schafft's allein! Gedanken über das Anschluß Problem, Wien, 1929.

130 "Industrie", January 1919. Quoted in Christliche Demokratie, 3 Jahrgang, 4/85. p302: Die Herren erklären uns immer, daß Deutschösterreich allein nicht leben könne, daß es daher den Anschluß an Deutschland suchen müsse. Sie nehmen sich aber nicht einmal die Mühe, uns diese Behauptung zu erklären und zu beweisen. Warum soll Deutschösterreich nicht als selbständiger Staat leben können und mit allen jenen Staaten Handel treiben, mit denen es früher Handel getrieben hat? Die Frage wäre jedenfalls der Untersuchung wert, und wir würden den Herrn empfehlen, die Energie, die sie für ihre wüsten Schimpfereien verwenden, zu einer Prüfung dieser Frage heranziehen. Wir meinen eine rein sachliche Prüfung. Sie würden vielleicht zu einem anderen Resultat kommen.

As in the debate over Anschluß or Danubian Federation, the feasibility of any alternative to independence also influenced the conclusions reached. If neither option was feasible then Austria had to remain independent; if Austria had to remain independent, then economic solutions had to be found which permitted independence. A lengthy discussion of the different possibilities open to Austria was published by Edward Benes in Das Problem Mitteleuropas und die Lösung der Österreichischen Frage.<sup>131</sup> His favoured option was

the solution in the form of the absolute independence of Austria from all its neighbours, with certain international guarantees by all or the majority of the European great powers, and perhaps some of Austria's neighbours. Apart from the Anschluß solution, this solution is the only one which has been given a concrete form and a clear international political-legal expression in the Geneva Protocol of 4 October, 1922 ...<sup>132</sup>

Benes justifies this suggestion for Austrian independence as "positive and constructive" and argues that no solution which appeared to be directed against Germany would ever be acceptable or durable. Italy would no longer need to fear that Austria would be incorporated either into Germany, nor into an anti-Italian federation. Austria should not be dependent on any major power for

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<sup>131</sup> Das Problem Mitteleuropas

<sup>132</sup> Das Problem Mitteleuropas, p59: *Die Lösung in Form der völligen Unabhängigkeit Österreichs von allen seinen Nachbarn mit gewissen internationalen Garantien aller oder der Mehrheit der europäischen Großmächte und vielleicht auch einiger Nachbarn Österreichs. Neben der Anschlußlösung hat diese Lösung bisher einzig und allein eine konkrete Form und einen ganz klaren internationalen politisch-rechtlichen Ausdruck, in dem bekannten Genfer Protokoll vom 4 Okt 1922 erhalten ...*



protection, nor should it become a political tool. A solution which avoided this option would assuage the fears of Central Europe. Above all,

In the battle over the question whether Austria should be German, Italian, French, belong to the little Entente, or join Hungary, the truth must prevail that Austria should remain Austrian ...<sup>133</sup>

Only then would Austria be certain of its rights and its sovereignty, and only then would it guard its independence, and avoid being an object of foreign political manoeuvrings. Anschluß was not possible given the opposition from France and its allies, Danubian Federation was also impossible because of fears in the Succession States of a Habsburg revival, economic and political rivalries, and because of historical grudges.

Straub also argued that Austria had to remain independent, and that a system of preferential customs agreements were the only realistic solution to Austria's problems.<sup>134</sup> Indeed Straub published widely on the question of Austria - his attitude expressed clearly in the title of his 1929 publication Austria fara da se! Österreich schafft's allein (Austria will succeed on its own). In the nineteen thirties he was outspoken on Austria's economic strengths, arguing that

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133 Ibid. Im Kampfe um die Frage, ob Österreich deutsch, italienisch, französisch, zur Kleinen Entente gehörig oder Ungarisch sein soll, muß schließlich die Wahrheit siegen, das Österreich österreichisch bleiben soll ...

134 Präferenz, Zollunion, p6: Soweit die Angelegenheit überhaupt für die Öffentlichkeit überblickbar ist, scheint heute nur mehr ein System von Präferenzzöllen in Frage zu kommen.

Austria's economic development shows in essence a picture little different from that of other states. Austria is suffering like all states under the consequences of the world depression and - this must be said - Austria in particular has shown remarkable power of resistance. Not every state can assert as the Austrian minister of finance did "that despite our limitations we have met all our obligations at home and abroad punctually."<sup>135</sup>

Austria was not only fulfilling its international obligations. It had been showing for months its resilience, its vitality, and its desire to survive. The problems partially lay in attitudes towards it:

Austria may not be treated merely as an object for investment or for economic exploitation, but as a central point for a future solution of the central European and the European economy. This is the stand-point from which Europe should consider the problem of Austria.<sup>136</sup>

Austria should not be treated as a beggar by other countries, but should be offered enough to create the foundations of a genuine revival, with conditions which would not exacerbate the problems but were the usual conditions between business associates. Straub pleaded that Austria should not be treated as second rate, and

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p22: Österreichs wirtschaftliche Entwicklung zeigt kein wesentlich anderes Bild als jene anderer Staaten. Österreich leidet wie alle Staaten unter der Auswirkung der Weltkrise und - das muß gesagt werden - gerade Österreich hat eine ganz außergewöhnliche Widerstandskraft bewiesen. Nicht jeder Staat kann so wie der österreichische Finanzminister feststellen, "das wir trotz unserer Bedingtheit bisher allen unseren Verpflichtungen im In- und Auslande pünktlich nachgekommen sind.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p23: Das Vertrauen muß fundiert sein auf der Rolle und auf der Funktion Österreichs in der europäischen Gesamtwirtschaft. Österreich darf nicht bloß als Investitionsobjekt oder als Objekt wirtschaftlicher Ausbeutung angesehen werden, sondern als Angelpunkt für eine spätere Lösung des Mitteleuropäischen und in weiterer Folge der europäischen Wirtschaft. Von diesem Standpunkt aus muß Europa das Problem Österreich betrachten.

put under foreign control: its vital function in establishing European peace had to be recognised. This was in fact broadly the case: Pasvolsky confirmed that the economic problems of Austria and the Succession States had to be considered in the context of Europe as a whole, and that solutions would have implications on a European, not merely regional, scale.<sup>137</sup>

There was a recognition in many publications, both domestic and foreign, that the Austrian question was a European question, that a solution for Austria was vital for peace in Central Europe. Benes, for example, described the Austrian problem as a question of the political equilibrium of the whole of Europe, a view not unsubstantiated by later events.<sup>138</sup> It was therefore not merely a question for Austria, but one for its neighbours, indeed, for the whole of Europe.<sup>139</sup> This brings us to the final section of this chapter, namely the question of outside influences.

In conclusion, while debate over Austria's future was based upon the supposition that Austria was not viable, there were indications that its economic situation was not as negative as presented. There were economic successes in the interwar period; Austria required time, support from the outside world, and innovative economic policy at home to secure economic

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137 Economic Nationalism, p576

138 Das Problem Mitteleuropas, p68: *Wir glauben im Gegenteil, das das österreichische Problem je länger destomehr eine Frage des allgemeinen europäischen politischen Gleichgewichtes wird.*

139 See also Benes' article "Neue Hoffnung für Österreich" in Donau Europa II Jhg 1933, No 9.

stability. As the following section shows, none of these factors were forthcoming.

#### IV: The rôle played by other countries

Fears that Austria's economic situation would lead to its vassalage were substantiated by the course of events. Austria was under the financial control of the League of Nations until 1936 at which point it theoretically achieved economic autonomy for the first time. In practice, the First Republic was subject to the whims of its neighbours throughout its short life span. Austria was not a sovereign state, but a protectorate of the League of Nations, then of Italy, finally of Germany. It was through Austria's economic situation that foreign powers were able to take this degree of control.

Foreign attitudes towards the proposed solutions had a profound effect on the history of attempts to implement them. The Anschluß was anathema to all the European powers other than the two involved (and even then, German attitudes towards the Anschluß were ambiguous), and all attempts to put it into practice were blocked.

The Danubian Federation, on the other hand, received some foreign support in particular from France. However a customs union would have robbed foreign industries of their advantages when competing with Austria and Czechoslovakia. Opposition therefore came not only from the Danubian States. As Hertz pointed out, "neither Germany, nor Italy, nor Russia liked the idea of a Danubian Confederation, and Britain and other Powers

discouraged the idea of a preferential system".<sup>140</sup> Opposition was not only economic. Italy, the main antagonist, feared a revival of its greatest enemy, the Habsburg monarchy, and interference in its interests in the Danubian area and the Mediterranean.<sup>141</sup> The Czechs were especially afraid of an Austrian move towards the Little Entente, not eager to find themselves allied to Vienna once again.

Austria's economy could not exist in utter isolation. If Austria was to survive, it needed to rebuild the economic relationships destroyed together with the Empire.<sup>142</sup> On the one hand, the Succession States required time to consolidate their new territories, on the other, it was in their interest to ensure that Austria should survive, weak, but independent. The 1926 Layton-Rist report on the state of the Austrian economy condition identified the economic nationalism of the Succession States as the main cause of economic insecurity in Austria.<sup>143</sup>

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140 The Economic Problem, p68

141 Economic Nationalism, p565: The other industrial countries of Europe, while they are not as outspoken on the matter as Italy, are also loath to forego their advantages. Italy's attitude in the matter simply saves them the necessity of voicing their objections, while making it possible for them to look askance at any trade arrangement among the Danubian countries which may also include Italy.

142 See Stephan Verosta's article "Die österreichische Außenpolitik 1918-1938 im europäischen Staatensystem 1914-1955" in Erika Weinzierl; Kurt Skalnik: Österreich 1918 - 1938; Geschichte der Ersten Republik. Styria Verlag, Graz, 1983. (Hereafter cited as Österreich 1918 - 1938)

143 W. T. Layton, Charles Rist: Die Wirtschaftslage Österreichs, Wien, 1925.

Nonetheless, many traditional economic relationships were retained. The argument that the customs policies of the new states robbed Austria of its markets and condemned it to economic doom was an exaggeration. The new customs barriers, apart from during the immediate post-war period, were not directed specifically at restricting Austria's trade policy, but at protecting the home economies from foreign competition, which included Austrian competition. After all, Austria also sought to free itself from traditional economic dependency, with the ultimate goal of autarky. Had the protectionist measures of the Succession States been aimed at the destruction of Austria, then Austrian exports to Czechoslovakia (which came under special criticism) would not have reached the level of 765 million schillings between 1923 and 1929.<sup>144</sup>

However the restoration of trade relations with the Succession States did not solve Austria's problems. Pasvolsky highlighted a major problem:

Austria's interests lie overwhelmingly in the direction of freer trade intercourse. Yet its policy has been developing in exactly the opposite direction, because of its feeling that in the absence of a concerted agreement and action the only thing that remains is bargaining for trade advantages.<sup>145</sup>

Trade agreements had little permanent character. Pasvolsky pointed out that Austria and Czechoslovakia signed a trade agreement in 1921, a commercial treaty in

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<sup>144</sup> Karl Bachinger in Christliche Demokratie, Schriften des Karl v. Vogelsang-Institutes. 3 Jahrgang, 4/85. p291

<sup>145</sup> Economic Nationalism, p251

1924, a supplementary convention some time later, and were in 1927 again engaged in negotiations for a revision of the treaty.<sup>146</sup> This permitted little long-term planning or security.

One great problem lay in the fact that the protectionism of the Empire had shielded Austrian markets, which now had to compete on the world market. These problems help to explain why so much reliance was placed on integrating Austria into some kind of protected market. Until this was possible, the solution to Austria's economic situation was perceived to be foreign aid. The greatest hold which the allies had over Austria was the latter's belief that she could not survive without foreign loans. Austria received three loans in the interwar period - the first in 1922, the last in 1931.<sup>147</sup> The loans were accompanied by demands for guarantees of Austria's independence; demands which would have been unnecessary if there had been any faith in the durability of the Treaty of St Germain. Paradoxically, all involved some diminution of Austrian status, and foreign control through a General Commissioner acting as watch-dog over all Austrian expenditure (in effect, controlling all aspects of policy).

The first Commissioner, Hans Zimmermann, formerly mayor of Rotterdam, was responsible only to the League of Nations. If he disagreed with the measures proposed by

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<sup>146</sup> Economic Nationalism, p188

<sup>147</sup> By chance, the meetings were held in Lausanne rather than Geneva, so the third loan is known as the *Lausanne Anleihe*. (Lausanne is in West Switzerland, the capital of the Vaud Canton on Lake Geneva).

the government, he could simply suspend loan payments. Zimmermann did not relinquish control over Austrian matters of finance until 30 June 1926, although his rôle should have finished by December 1924. The monthly reports, in which he accused the Austrian government of failing to fulfil its obligations, and of being incapable of bringing order into its own house, (justifying why controls had to be extended or increased), did not help to improve Austria's credit rating abroad, or to instil confidence at home.

Penetration of the Austrian economy permitted interference in matters which could only be seen as domestic. In the second loan, in return for 659 million Gold Kronen, Austria was expected to commit itself to waiving parliamentary control over finances for the next two years. The government was to be permitted to take any steps it thought appropriate to restore the budget without having to seek ratification from parliament. The "reconstruction" law also gave the government an enabling law through which it could rule by decree, provided that any measures taken did not contravene the constitution. This was clearly intended to exclude parliament from the most serious decisions the country would have to make, placing the entire national economy in the hands of a few individuals, who were themselves under extensive foreign control. Owing to Social Democrat opposition, parliament retained more power than had originally been intended. The episode did not augur well for parliamentary



democracy in Austria, however. Foreign control was never only exerted in economic matters.<sup>148</sup>

The debate over Austria's viability was used as a means of exerting pressure abroad, as is shown by the history of the first loan. In 1922, following the denial of financial aid by the major European powers, Seipel presented Austria's economic problems as a serious threat to the European political order, thus manipulating foreign fears. He visited key European cities (Prague, Berlin, and Verona), and having established the unlikelihood of Anschluß, Seipel played on Italian/Czech rivalry, arguing that as an internal solution to Austria's problems was impossible, it would have to seek close economic ties with a neighbouring country. Bowing to Czech pressures, France and England agreed to financial aid from the League of Nations by the autumn of 1922. Similarly, the 1931 loan discussed below was preceded by the attempt at customs union with Germany.

This is not to argue that the attempted customs union was purely a cynical exercise in manipulation. There was a genuine belief that Austria had been forced by foreign powers into an impossible position, and could only be freed from this by foreign powers. However, the manner in which foreign fears were manipulated in

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<sup>148</sup> Article III of the Geneva Protocol originally contained a stipulation which required the Austrian government to present parliament with a draft for a law which allowed any government in power during the next two years to take any steps rising from the loan necessary to balance the budget, without consulting parliament. See XXIV Bericht Des Generalkommissärs des Völkerbundes für Österreich; Zeit vom 15 Nov bis 15 Dez 1924, p6

Austria's favour does indicate that some of the Anschluß proclamations have to be taken with a grain of salt, particularly once it was clear that the German government was not impatient for union. Threats of Anschluß were frequently a tool in foreign political negotiations, not expressions of serious intent.

The closest Austria and Germany came to union was in 1931 when the Austrian Foreign Minister Dr. Schober and his German counterpart, Dr Curtius, published their plans for an Austro-German customs union. The attempt to pass the agreement off as the first step towards Pan-Europe, or as the first economic treaty of a European customs union (as supported by the French Foreign Minister Briand on 1 May, 1930), was unacceptable to a Europe torn by economic nationalism and mutual hostility. Italy, France and Czechoslovakia protested.<sup>149</sup>

Austria and Germany argued that a customs union could not be equated with a union of states; that Austrian economic independence would not be endangered any more than it had been in the 1922 Geneva Protocols, which had permitted Austria control over customs matters. Abroad, however, the Curtius-Schober plan was seen as the precursor of the Anschluß, a view narrowly supported by the International Court in the Hague. On 5 September, 1931, the court voted that a customs union between

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<sup>149</sup> Katzenstein points out in 1930, Austria's trade with the five successor states of the Austrian Empire was about twice as important as her trade with Germany. Peter J. Katzenstein: Disjoined Partners; Austria and Germany since 1815 University of California Press, Berkeley; London, 1976. p134

Austria and Germany was possible under the stipulations of Article 88 of the Treaty of St Germain, but contravened Austria's commitment in the Geneva Protocol of 4 October, 1922.<sup>150</sup> This is a curious decision given that the relevant clause of the Geneva Protocols had been seen as simply reiterating and confirming Article 88.

The final decision was based upon the theory that a customs union did not interfere with a nation's sovereignty, but that Austria constituted an exception in the post-war system. Germany and Austria interpreted this as meaning that, as during peace making, international law only applied when the Entente chose. It had been clear from the outset that France and Czechoslovakia meant to oppose the scheme whether it was deemed legal or not and whatever gains it might have brought to the faltering Austrian economy. Their opposition to a scheme publicly supported in both countries did not encourage Austrian belief in the efficacy of constitutional government, of which France and Czechoslovakia had set themselves up as the chief

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<sup>150</sup> Article 88 read: "The independence of Austria is inalienable otherwise than with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Consequently Austria undertakes in the absence of the consent of the said Council to abstain from any act which might directly or indirectly or by any means whatever compromise her independence, particularly, and until her admission to membership of the League of Nations, by participation in the affairs of another Power." (Temperley, H. W. V.: A History of the Peace Conference of Paris Volume 5, London, 1921. p201 I am indebted to Dr Paul Vysny for this source.) Although the union is frequently summarised as having been defeated by eight votes to seven, the voting was actually not quite this simple. Only six of the fifteen judges actually vetoed the customs union; two simply had reservations.

exponents. This encouraged attempts to bring Austria and Germany closer to move into unconstitutional channels, a development not in Europe's interest.

European behaviour over the subsequent third loan was heavily criticised. The *Neue Züricher Zeitung* underlined the hypocrisy of France and its allies in an article of 24 June 1931, which spoke of

the great contradiction, which lies therein, that in Geneva pretty words are spoken on the independence of Austria, while simultaneously the unfavourable financial and economic situation is seduced into making the country into a debt slave, cutting new strips from the skin of the tax payers.<sup>151</sup>

Independence was obviously an empty word. The *Linzer Tagespost* outlined the new foreign controls Austria was to find itself under once more:

Austria is getting a General Commissar again, a foreign controller of its financial policy, that is, in addition to the political ties it must enter in the Lausanne Treaty, the most shaming condition in that Austria has to submit to the League in order to receive a modest foreign loan. Once again we have been financially incapacitated and placed under a tutelage, just as in the days when Dr Seipel brought us the great loan from Geneva; only this time the conditions are harder, as the new financial adviser not only determines the budget of the Federation, but also the initial proposals from the provinces and municipalities and even the finances of the Federal Railways will come under scrutiny. Hence a restriction

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<sup>151</sup> Neue Züricher Zeitung 24 June 1931 quoted in Horst Zimmermann: Die Schweiz und Österreich während der Zwischen-kriegszeit. Wiesbaden, 1973. p355: *Den großen Widerspruch, der darin liegt, das in Genf schöne Schälmeien über die Unabhängigkeit Österreichs geflötet werden, indessen gleichzeitig die ungünstige finanzielle und wirtschaftliche Lage dazu verführt, das Land zum Schuldklaven herzbzudrücken und neue Riemen aus der Haut seiner Steuerträger zuschneiden.*

and supervision of financial needs in all areas.<sup>152</sup>

Austria's independence was formally pronounced in the loans. In practice, they established Austria's vassalage.

Foreign penetration of Austrian industry was widespread. As the necessary capital was lacking within the country, the Austrian economy came under the influence of foreign capital to a greater extent than its neighbours. Fear of nationalisation also increased the extent of foreign penetration of Austrian industry, as companies sought outside capital and investment in the belief that the government would be less likely to nationalise a business in which foreigners had invested substantial sums.<sup>153</sup> In 1919, for example, the Alpine Montangesellschaft, Austria's largest company, was bought

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152 Linzer Tagespost quoted in Die Schweiz und Österreich p355: Österreich bekommt wieder einen Generalkommissär, einen Auslandskontrolleur seiner Finanzwirtschaft, das ist neben den politischen Bindungen, die es im Lausanner Vertrag eingehen muß, die beschämendste Bedingung, der sich der Bund unterwerfen muß, um eine bescheidene Auslandsanleihe zu bekommen. Wir sind also wieder finanziell entmündigt und unter Kuratel gestellt worden, wie zu jener Zeit, als uns Doktor Seipel die große Sanierungsanleihe aus Genf heimbrachte; nur sind diesmal die Bedingungen härter geworden, da der neue Finanzberater nicht nur das Budget des Bundes, sondern auch die Voranschläge der Länder und Gemeinden und auch jene der Bundesbahnen genau unter die Lupe nehmen wird. Also eine Einengung und Beaufsichtigung der finanziellen Bedürfnisse auf allen Gebieten.

153 On 21 May 1919, the coalition agreed upon a common programme which foresaw nationalisation in the coal industry, in iron ore and finishing plants, forestry, wood, electrical plants, and some branches of the chemical industry. This resulted in low investment and a huge flight of capital which made it very difficult for Austria to receive credit for foreign raw materials. Many businesses had a large amount of capital from war profiteering, but this was not reflected in investment, which remained low.

by a consortium of Italian banks. The substantial gains made from the sale were used to pay for food and coal imports - a typical example of capital wealth that had to be consumed. Two years later, the company fell into the hands of the German Hugo Stinnes. Much of Austrian industry had come under foreign control; the *Anglobank* (England), the *Länderbank* (France) had been taken over entirely, up to 50% of other banks' stock was held abroad.

As Germany recovered from the economic devastation following the First World War, German economic penetration of Austria increased.<sup>154</sup> Financial penetration played a useful rôle in permitting Germany to circumvent the peace treaty. Three forms of penetration can be identified: political subvention of *Anschluß* movements (such as through the funding of the *Anschluß* plebiscites in the Tyrol and Salzburg); private capital investment through the German economic organisations and combines; and state controlled investment in the private organisation of the *Ossa* (which permitted penetration into those areas where private investment was too risky). This latter organisation, the *Ossa-Vermittlungs und Handelsgesellschaft*, was commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1926. Organisations financed publicly

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<sup>154</sup> See Norbert Schausberger's article "Österreich und die Deutsche Frage nach 1918. Anschlußideologie und Wirtschaftsinteressen 1918-1938" in Heinrich Lutz und Helmut Rumpler: Österreich und die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Probleme der politisch-staatlichen und soziokulturellen Differenzierung im deutschen Mitteleuropa. Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Wien, 1982.

or by private industry often worked with the specific goal of preparing for the Anschluß (*Gleichschaltung*) and enabling German capital to penetrate southeastern Europe. The customs union was also intended to further this aim.

German investment played a particular rôle in heavy industry and in the electro-industry; for example, 56% of the stocks of the *Österreichischen Alpine Montangesellschaft* were controlled by the *Deutschen Vereinigten Stahlwerke AG*. After 1933 German penetration expanded to banking (*Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank*) and the chemical industry. According to Friedrich Hertz, Germany exploited Austria's economic vulnerability. For example, Seipel's negotiations with Czechoslovakia over a preferential trade agreement (which might have served as the first step for a broader economic arrangement among the states of the Danubian Basin), failed "only because Germany threatened economic reprisals which the Austrian government thought to be too costly".<sup>155</sup>

The 1932 French plan to strengthen ties between Austria and the Little Entente, the so called Tardieu plan, failed.<sup>156</sup> From 1932, alarmed at German economic penetration of Austria and spurred on by the success of National Socialism, Rome began to work towards an alliance between Italy, Austria and Hungary. The history of Austria's subsequent relationship with Italy shows how economic issues became political ones; Italian foreign

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<sup>155</sup> The Economic Problem, p161

<sup>156</sup> Its main feature was a preferential tariff between the Danubian States, consisting of a reduction of customs by 10%. The Economic Problem, p68

policy hoped to influence Austrian decisions both from without and within.<sup>157</sup> In the summer of 1933, Dollfuß visited Prague and Paris to attempt to find an agreement upon a Danubian Confederation between Hungary and Austria. Hungarian objections blocked this and Austria was forced to turn to Italy. In 1934 a "mini Danube Federation" under Italian patronage was agreed between Austria and Hungary (the *Dreier Pakt*, signed in Rome and renewed in February 1936).

Austria was a pawn in the Italian game intended to balance the Little Entente. Until the Anschluss in 1938, this was the most comprehensive measure implemented that successfully broke down some of the barriers erected after the War. The Rome Protocols were acceptable to the Little Entente and the Western Powers because they served the survival of an independent Austria. The agreements did reap certain economic benefits. The value of trade between Austria and Italy rose from 35.3 million A.S. in 1933 to 70.5 million in 1936, for example. However the treaty had been at the expense of Austrian manoeuvrability in foreign policy matters.

Just as Seipel had used foreign intervention to force through measures he alone would have been too weak to implement, Dollfuß used foreign power to support his

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<sup>157</sup> Mussolini coupled incitement to destroy the Austrian left with encouragement to the powers of the right. Dollfuß and Mussolini argued that the destruction of the socialists, particularly in Vienna, would divide the National Socialists and lose them support. This was a delusion. The destruction of the left robbed Austria of the main pillar of support for parliamentary democracy and left the path to National Socialist seizure of power open.



dictatorship. While his open support came from Italian and Hungarian fascism, the silent help from the Geneva finance committee also aided his cause. This time the representative of the League of Nations was Rost van Tonningen, who later became the founder of the Dutch Nazi party. Van Tonningen wrote in his diary "Together with Chancellor Dollfuß and Kienböck we considered the elimination of parliament necessary, as this parliament was sabotaging the reconstruction".<sup>158</sup> With the support of the various foreign advisers and their commissioners, Dollfuß was not dependent on parliamentary support.

However, Italy proved a fickle protector against Nazi Germany. Mussolini's foreign policy was above all a policy of dynamism. Once it was felt that Austria's situation was a deadlock, the country's security and borders were no longer a priority. Austria had served as a pawn in Italian negotiations with the powers most affected by Austria's fate, i.e. France and Germany, and had been used as a counterbalance to Yugoslavia. When Austria's security could not be guaranteed without sacrificing a dynamic foreign policy then the path of greater prestige was chosen. The Roman alliance existed *de facto* until March 1938, but its original function to limit German expansion was lost long before.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> *Zusammen mit Kanzler Dollfuß, und Kienböck haben wir die Ausschaltung des Parlaments für notwendig gehalten, da dieses Parlament die Rekonstruktionsarbeit sabotierte. Quoted in Ausch, Karl: Als die Banken fielen. Zur Soziologie der Korruption. Europa Verlag, Wien/Frankfurt/ Zürich, 1969. (Hereafter cited as Als die Banken fielen), p412*

<sup>159</sup> *Wandruszka Adam & Jedlicka, Ludwig: Innsbruck - Venedig: Österreichisch-italienische Historiker-*

Attempts to play its neighbours off against one another had brought Austria under increasing foreign control.<sup>160</sup> Efforts to balance commitments to other nations invariably brought some measure of external control into Austrian borders. Attempts to balance creditors invariably broke down to some degree, bringing Austria closer to one neighbour than the other. Why did Austria itself encourage foreign involvement in Austrian affairs? There are several possible reasons. The first was to do with tradition. As Chancellor Ignaz Seipel wrote in 1928:

Contemporary Austria has never lived for itself alone, Austrians are by their history and nature inhabitants of great states (*Großstaatsmenschen*).<sup>161</sup>

According to a League of Nations review of monetary experience in Europe after World War I,

The initial stabilization of the national currencies was achieved by a return of confidence due to the inception of the financial reconstruction schemes of the League of Nations, even before the foreign loans provided under those schemes were issued and before the government budgets were balanced.<sup>162</sup>

- 160 treffen 1971 und 1972, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1975.  
For example, during the negotiations for the Treaty of Lana between Austria and Czechoslovakia, Italy accused Austria of breaking the 1920 Renner-Nitti agreement, in which Italy had promised support for Austrian claims to the Burgenland in return for which Austria had to guarantee that she would not join any union which was similar to that of the former Monarchy.
- 161 "Das heutige Österreich hat niemals für sich allein gelebt, die Österreicher sind ihrer Geschichte und Art nach *Großstaatsmenschen*". Seipels Reden. Also quoted by Kurt Skalnik in Österreich 1918 - 1938, p15
- 162 -, The Course and Control of Inflation: A Review of Monetary Experience in Europe after World War I League of Nations, 1946. p69

The quest for foreign support can thus be seen as a further consequence of reduction shock, and the belief in shared security.

Foreign aid was seen as being in Austria's interest. The Greater German member of parliament Clessin argued on 17 October, 1922 that: "The pressure of foreign countries was necessary and healthy, because without it we would not have been strong enough to carry through, with help from credits and our own resources, that which needed to be carried through".<sup>163</sup> There was also an element of realism in the emphasis on the need for foreign protection. In 1918, Austria was a starving, vanquished country. Forced to exist in a form dictated from outside, the country sought to ensure that the victors did not avoid their responsibility for its plight.

Reliance on abroad had another motivation. Austria's economic difficulties were subsumed in the political debate and were used as an excuse to take steps to weaken the opposition. Each of the foreign loans were accompanied by internal political warfare. The government was accused of selling Austria abroad, indeed, in 1931, of giving Austria away.<sup>164</sup> Alternative options

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<sup>163</sup> From his speech at the *Sitzung des Sonderausschusses für die Vorbereitung der Genfer Konvention*. Quoted in *Als die Banken fielen*, p95: *Der Druck des Auslandes war notwendig und gesund, weil wir ohne ihn nicht stark genug gewesen wären, um mit Hilfe von Krediten und aus Eigenem durchzuführen, was durchgeführt werden muß."*

<sup>164</sup> The loan brought little economic improvement - Austria simply repaid old debts by making new ones, leading the *Volkswirt* to comment: *Dr. Seipel hat im Jahre 1922 eine furchtbare Not des Landes dazu benützt, dessen aussen- und handelspolitische Bewegungsfreiheit zu verkaufen. Dr. Dollfuß*

to foreign aid had been devised. In 1922, there were three reconstruction schemes proposed by people of very different backgrounds: by Alexander Spitzmüller, at the time Governor of the Austro-Hungarian Bank;<sup>165</sup> by Gustav Stolper, the liberal national economist and editor of the *Österreichische Volkswirt*;<sup>166</sup> and by the Social Democrat Otto Bauer.<sup>167</sup> All came to similar conclusions. Rather than converting the substantial gold and foreign currency reserves in the country into worthless paper, the programmes worked on the premise that the reserves should

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übertrifft ihn noch. Er will diese Freiheit verschenken. (Dr Seipel used the terrible need of the country in 1922 to sell its manoeverability in foreign policy and trade policy. Dr. Dollfuß goes one better. He wants to give this freedom away.)

Der Österreichische Volkswirt, 16 July, 1932

165 See Alexander Spitzmüller: "und hat auch Ursach, es zu lieben." Wilhelm Frick Verlag, Wien, München, 1955.

166 Der Österreichische Volkswirt 14 October, 1922

167 Der Genfer Knechtungsvertrag und die Sozialdemokratie. Party Conference, Vienna, October 1922. In 1931, the Social Democrats and Free Trade Unions devised another self-help programme. On 13 September, 1931, the Arbeiter Zeitung published the "Programm zur Bekämpfung der Arbeitslosigkeit", which contained suggestions for the work market, foreign trade, agriculture, credit, investment and countering monopolies." These were overshadowed by the Heimwehr Putsch in Styria. The Arbeiter Zeitung wrote sadly "In diesen Tagen, in denen die österreichische Regierung schwere Kreditverhandlung in Genf führt, deren Mißlingen den Druck auf unsere Volkswirtschaft furchtbar verschärfen, die Arbeitslosigkeit in unserem Land furchtbar vergrößern mußten; in diesen Tagen, in denen all guten Österreicher ihre Kräfte vereinigen müßten zur Abwehr des schamlosen Diktats der internationalen Hochfinanz, die sich in unsere engsten Verhältnisse hineinmischt; in diesen Tagen, in den ein verantwortungsbewußter Mensch keine andere Sorge haben dürfte als die, die schwere wirtschaftliche Not unseres Landes zu lindern, in diesen Tagen hat eine Bande von Verbrechern den Versuch gemacht, durch einen gewaltsamen Umsturz der republikanischen Verfassung Österreich in eine Katastrophe zu stürzen." Quoted in Als die Banken fielen. p399

be placed at the service of currency and budget reform. Details differed, but Bauer and Stolper came to the conclusion that foreign currency to the value of 220 to 230 million Goldkronen could have been raised internally.

The adoption of any one of these plans, however, would have depended upon co-operation between the Social Democrats and the Christian Socials. To those in power, dependency on foreign aid was preferable to political and social compromise.<sup>168</sup> At the party conference in October 1922, Bauer argued that Austria's problems stemmed not from the economic situation, but from the lack of desire to find an internal solution:

This really is a quandary. Not in the way the middle classes are insisting, that it wouldn't be possible to save the country with our own strength. It is economically possible! ... This quandary is not based on the fact that this country is incapable of self-help, but on the fact that the middle class parties have betrayed their country.<sup>169</sup>

Foreign financial dictatorship was acceptable if it allowed the government to force through economic and social shifts of power that they had wanted to redress since the "revolution" of November 1918, to "get rid of

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<sup>168</sup> For further discussion of the effects of the political rift on economics see Fritz Weber's article "Die Weltwirtschaftskrise und das Ende der Demokratie in Österreich" in Erich Fröschl, Helga Zoitl (eds.): *Der 4 März, 1933; Vom Verfassungsbruch zur Diktatur*. Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, Dr. Karl Renner Institut, Wien 1984.

<sup>169</sup> *Das ist wirkliche eine Zwangslage. Nicht so wie es die Bürgerlichen behaupten, daß es nicht möglich wäre, das Land aus eigener Kraft zu retten. Es ist wirtschaftlich möglich! Eine Zwangslage ist da, weil die Kraft nicht da ist, die diese Rettung in Angriff nimmt. Diese Zwangslage hat ihren Grund nicht in der ökonomischen Unfähigkeit des Landes zur Selbsthilfe, sondern in dem nationalen Verrat der bürgerlichen Parteien.*

the revolutionary trash".<sup>170</sup> In parliament on 14 September, 1922 Otto Bauer spoke of the people in Austria

whose hatred against the workers is so great, whose feeling of impotence vis-a-vis the workers burns so fiercely, that they long for such control, because they believe that the foreign controller will be able to dictate to and force upon the Austrian workers the things which they are too weak to force upon them.<sup>171</sup>

In the 1920s popular theory posited that wages and social measures were too expensive to permit economic recovery. The crippling financial controls and the extensive circumvention of parliament were formally demanded by the foreign creditors, but according to the Social Democrats, the initiators came from within Austria, from the government, high finance, industry and aristocracy.

What were the consequences of foreign involvement in Austrian affairs? Above all, as Hertz pointed out, economic problems were considered from the point of view of power politics, not from that of economic interests.<sup>172</sup> In consequence, economic problems were not only left largely unsolved, but also created new problems. Although outside pressures can encourage internal cohesion, national pride was not aided by the

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170 *Beseitigung des revolutionären Schuttes* The revolutionary refuse included all the political, social and economic measures taken in the coalition period 1918-1920, including the eight-hour day, and the *Betriebsrätegesetz*.

171 *Nationalratssitzung* of 14 September, 1922, stenographisches Protokoll, p4337: deren Haß gegen die Arbeiterschaft so groß, deren Gefühl der Ohnmacht gegenüber der Arbeiterschaft so brennend ist, daß sie eine solche Kontrolle geradezu herbeisehnen, weil sie glauben, daß der ausländische Kontrollor den österreichischen Arbeitern die Dinge diktieren und aufzwingen könnte, die sie selber ihnen aufzuzwingen zu schwach sind.

172 *The Economic Problem*, p68

feeling that Austria was merely a pawn in a game over which its nationals had no control, as the repeated references to Austria as a slave or a beggar indicate. Indeed, one way of understanding the Austrian responses to the problems of the interwar period is to consider the issue of control and helplessness. The findings of psychologists are helpful here. In 1976, Langer and Rodin tested "benign intervention". Their experiment sought to encourage in residents of a nursing home in Connecticut a sense of control over certain aspects of their lives. One group were given ways of exercising choices over their life, the second group had choices made for them.<sup>173</sup> Of the patients in group two, in three weeks 71% were rated by the staff as having become more debilitated. Of those urged to take control and responsibility 93% were actually rated as improved. In a follow-up eighteen months later, of the responsibility group 15% had died, of the comparison group 30%.

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<sup>173</sup> As Roger Brown describes, "the residents of four chose to see a movie or not and if they wanted to see it, they chose the night; the residents of two were assigned nights - in accordance with standard procedure in most nursing homes. Residents of four were offered a small gift, a plant, which they might want or not (all did) and then each had to make his or her selection. The plant, once chosen, had to be looked after by its owner. Residents of two had plants handed to them and were told the nurses would look after watering them." Roger Brown: Social Psychology; The Second Edition. The Free Press, London, New York, pp 653-4. There are important lessons to be learnt for national identity from individual identity. The importance of choice, the relationship between the inner world and the outer world, the manner in which an individual builds up a sense of personal identity and the manner in which a nation creates a collective identity have important parallels, which remain relatively unexplored in theoretical literature.

What light does this shed on Austria's position? Austria could not respond to its lack of independence and choice through ending its existence. As Victor Kienböck pointed out in 1922:

Austria is not asked by the world if it is viable in its present form. It exists and is forced to live.<sup>174</sup>

However the consequences could only be negative. The dangers of treating Austria as a pawn in the political game did not go unnoticed. Le Matin published an interview with Dr Mataja in May 1925, in which the Foreign Minister pointed out that this game was a grave psychological error: "A state which has neither a sense of, nor pride in its independence cannot survive long".<sup>175</sup> In Austria's case, independence would not depend upon the Austrians. Foreign intervention had ensured the survival of an Austria, foreign intervention would end it. When the Anschluß was imposed on a hesitant Austria, the outside world could absolve itself of responsibility on the basis that Austria's wishes to be integrated into a larger economic unit, repeatedly expressed, had at last been recognised.

Heated debates over Austria's future were going to change little if the outside world could not be persuaded

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<sup>174</sup> Geschichte der Republik Österreich, p510: Österreich wird von der Welt nicht gefragt, ob es in seinem jetzigen Umfang lebensfähig sei. Es steht da und ist gezwungen zu leben. Wie immer man über die Zukunft Europas denken mag, Österreich muß alles daran setzen, eine andere, bessere Zukunft in Europa ohne zwischenzeitige Katastrophe zu erleben.

<sup>175</sup> (Speech reported in the Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 26 May 1925). Ein Staat, der weder das Gefühl, noch den Stolz seiner Unabhängigkeit besitzt, kann sich nicht lange behaupten.



to agree. Whatever conclusion was reached about Austria's economic viability, it would change little in its international position, laid down in the Treaty of St. Germain, the Geneva Protocols, and at the Hague Convention. But if Austria was independent in name only, this name could have little value. Austria's impotence in the face of foreign opposition was repeatedly brought home to the Austrian people. In 1919, for example, as a vanquished power dependent on foreign aid, Austria could not insist on Anschluß, it could only demand its right to self-determination. Foreign opposition to the Anschluß continued to make Austria's dependence on foreign agendas all too clear. From 1918 to 1938, it was repeatedly brought home to the Austrian people that they were not in control of their own destiny.

This is not to absolve Austria of all responsibility for the defeatist approach which was taken, particularly in the field of economics. A belief in government non-intervention in economic affairs was widespread in Europe despite the lessons of the war. It was argued that the increased interference of the state in the economy in 1918 (a dig aimed at the taxation and social measures taken in the first two years of the Republic when the Social Democrats shared power) was to blame for all subsequent difficulties. The state had thereby imbalanced the perfect world of the economy which had previously regulated itself. It was imagined that the primary source of all evil was the speedily growing state deficit, an idea accepted by governments, banking experts

and economists alike. The state therefore only intervened in water power and the electrification of the rail network. This approach worked in expanding sectors, but did little to help the floundering ones.

Furthermore, Austria's history of inter-parliamentary battle based on polemics rather than practicalities did not encourage co-operation. The extreme antagonism between the two major parties precluded any constructive and unifying attempts to deal with Austria's economic problems. Once the post-war coalition between the Social Democrats and the Christian Socials had broken down, debates over solutions to Austria's economic problems would always be coloured by antagonistic political agendas.

However the consequence of these domestic problems in conjunction with foreign interference was cynicism, a lack of belief in parliamentarism and in the effectiveness of any domestic efforts to improve Austria's lot. Responsibility for the future could therefore be abdicated. Many modern authors criticise the irresponsibility of Austria's political parties, many contemporary authors commented on the Austrian characteristic of lethargy. If the conclusion that people who feel they have some control over their lives are healthier and live longer can be applied to countries, then the actions of the outside world were not conducive to that which it sought to ensure: Austrian survival.

#### IV. Conclusion

The state of the economy provided the justification for the debate over Austria's future and the associated question of Austrian identity. As Austria's case has shown, the economy of a country is dependent on a variety of factors: geographical and climatic conditions; natural resources; government policy; the relationship between the country and the outside world. In turn, its economic situation influences a country's status abroad, and has significant internal social and political ramifications.

Austria was faced with the restructuring of its economy at a time when the entire European economy had been disrupted by the war and the governmental economic intervention this had involved. The First World War and its aftermath led to structural distortions (over-capacity of European heavy industry, agricultural over-production exacerbated by new producers entering the market from abroad), and also to inflation, currency disorders, and huge financial problems (inter-allied war debts, reparations). High unemployment rates were an international phenomenon and the catastrophic postwar inflation was not specifically Austrian.

To have eradicated the problems of the economy would have required radical change and systematic exploitation of Austria's resources. The new country had to adapt the structure of its economy to the new conditions: develop its agricultural potential; increase the internal energy sources, notably water-power; develop an industrial sector capable of processing the internal raw materials;

and finally reduce state administration and tertiary industry to a size proportionate to the reduction of geographic area.<sup>176</sup>

Although this was recognised, the unwillingness to achieve these goals through massive state intervention, planning and direction contributed to Austria's poor economic performance in the interwar period. Other factors also mitigated against success. The adaptation process required time, and depended on various other factors also: the world economic situation, the trade policy of the Succession States, and adequate foreign loans to fund the transition. Instead, the external trade difficulties of the Republic were complicated by the high customs duties of the Succession States, the internal ones through the *Laissez-faire* attitude of the state. Furthermore, instead of taking internal measures to improve Austria's economic situation, the major interest groups and parties concentrated on the question of Austria's viability, and the comparative merits and demerits of a Danubian Union or of *Anschluß*. Austria's economic plight also permitted alternatives to Austrian independence to be presented to the outside world as vital and inevitable, rather than simply desirable. This proved unproductive: no serious discussions of the former solution ever went beyond the scope of some sort of trade arrangement, with a customs union as the ultimate limit; open moves towards the latter also failed until 1938.

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<sup>176</sup> For identification and exploration of these factors, see Stephan Verosta: "Die österreichische Außenpolitik" in Österreich 1918 - 1938.

Both solutions required either time to evolve or the backing of a determined and powerful proponent.

The problematic economic situation provided the justification for the debate on Austrian viability and the associated problem of its identity. As seen, there were sufficient economic catastrophes to keep the viability debate alive throughout the First Republic's twenty year existence. In terms of the question of whether there was an Austrian national identity in this period it is instructive to note that all proposals were based on the assumption that there was an Austrian identity worthy of salvation. The debate reflected two aspects of Austrian identity: its German character, and its multinational, European character. Like all aspects of its new existence, Austria's economic situation was open to interpretation. However, the fact that the conclusions reached were predominantly negative, and that Austria was denied any chance of survival, does not necessarily reflect an accurate understanding of Austria's economic situation. It indicates that the dissolution of the Empire had left Austria with an identity crisis: one which would be considered in all facets of its identity.

Negative interpretations of Austria's economic situation were not necessarily the cause but the justification for questioning Austrian identity. The Austrians, believing themselves to be in a state of crisis, cast around for a plausible causal mechanism for their condition. The state of the economy in 1918, and

the beliefs surrounding what constituted a healthy economy, meant that this was an obvious area to light upon, and one more easily presented to the outside world than sheer existential angst.

The economic discourse provides the first indication that Austrian national identity was not seen necessarily to require the existence of a nation state. The interaction between national identity and economics in the First Republic must be understood against the background of the interpretation of the nation as a cultural construct. Thus it was perfectly possible to believe in an Austrian identity, but to support a proposal which would have ended the existence of an independent Austrian state. Ironically, corporate identity was unwittingly reinforced by even the most negative predictions of Austria's chances of survival: even the statement "Austria cannot survive" presupposed the existence of an Austria.

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## Chapter Three

THE BATTLE FOR THE PASTHISTORY AND AUSTRIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

*Time present and time past  
 Are both perhaps present in time future,  
 And time future contained in time past.*  
 (T. S. Eliot: Burnt Norton)

## Introduction:

While examination of a country's economic position emphasises its existence in space, the nation exists also as a construct in time. A sense of whence the nation has come, a sense of continuity with the past, helps to define the present and augur the future. Through knowledge of their ancestors, individuals gain roots; through knowledge of its ancestry, the nation of the present finds its foundations in the nation of the past.

As Ivo Duchacek argues, the purpose of "embellished memories, myths, and legends" is to "transform an aggregate of human beings into a collective person, endowed with feelings, memories, pride, sorrow, and hopes - briefly with a "soul".<sup>1</sup> Analysts of the rôle of history in national identity have stressed the manner in which history is invented, or at least deliberately constructed within nationalist literature.<sup>2</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Ivo D. Duchacek: Nations and Men; International Politics Today. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. New York, Chicago, 1966. p75 (Hereafter cited as Nations and Men).

<sup>2</sup> See Eric. J. Hobsbawm; Terence Ranger (eds.): The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983. For a critique of the theory of invented traditions see Anthony D. Smith: "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" in Marjorie Ringrose; Adam J. Lerner: Reimagining the Nation. Open University Press, Buckingham, Philadelphia, 1993.



manipulation of the past does not, however, necessarily involve invention so much as selection. In Austria's case, for example, as Peter Katzenstein points out, history could support the argument that Austria and Germany had shared a common historical experience, beginning with the colonization of eastern Europe by Germans and Austrians, continuing through the German Confederation of 1815 to World War I and the subsequent demand for Anschluß. Alternatively, dissimilar experiences could be emphasised: the expansion of the Habsburg dynasty, the Counter Reformation, the break up of the Holy Roman Empire, and defeat at Königgratz, for example.<sup>3</sup> Thus history was ideally suited to the debate over Austria's future

This chapter is organised into five areas in which history and national identity interact. First, a nation's history has ramifications in the present. The immediate past, in Austria's case the unsuccessful war and the dissolution of the Empire, will colour the present most distinctly.<sup>4</sup> Second, the shared experience of the past can have a bonding effect on the members of

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<sup>3</sup> Peter, J. Katzenstein: Disjoined Partners: Austria and Germany since 1815. University of California Press, Berkeley; London, 1976. p10

<sup>4</sup> Here too it is important to distinguish between theory and practice. In some nationalist movements, the future is a more important ingredient than the past. As Duchacek argues, "some nations have assumed their station among other nations of the world by more or less denying the immediate past. This certainly was the case of English colonies in America; the history of the American nation obviously did not start in England but in New England." Nations and Men, p76 Recognised by nationalist movements or not, the immediate past has ramifications in the present.

the nation. The longer a nation has existed, the more likely it is to continue to exist, to self-perpetuate. Manipulated or not, a common history can serve to draw individuals together.<sup>5</sup> Third, movements with an agenda pertaining to nationhood seek legitimation in history, claiming continuity between the past and their version of the future, and tracing their ideals back to the distant past. Fourth, the lessons of the past are interpreted to provide justification for the claims made by such movements. Here the past is not merely a guide to the future, although this is an important function also. History can be interpreted as predetermining the future. Finally, in competing variants of national identity, history is also used to discredit the opposition and undermine their arguments.

While Austria's past was a predominately a passive source of pleasure to the general population in Austria (in terms of the Empire rather than the war), it played an important rôle in the debates as to which future path Austria should take. There were two main interpretations of the past in the Austria of the interwar period: one placing the emphasis on a common German history, serving the Anschluß ideal; the other concentrating on Austria's

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<sup>5</sup> The flaws in the idea of a "common" history are discussed below. It is important to note, however, that as Deutsch points out, "members of different peoples may live through the same events for generations and yet merge from this supposed "community of fate" quite dissimilar in behaviour, or even bitterly opposed." Karl W. Deutsch: Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, 1966., p96. The Austro-Hungarian Empire is a case in point.

multi-national past to justify a modern version of the Empire, or the restoration of the Emperor. The "truth" behind the constructions is not under scrutiny: it is the existence of a debate at all, and what this debate indicates about Austrian national identity, which provide the focus for this discussion.

### I. Where the past meets the present

The immediate past is most vividly in a population's memory. There is a striking illustration of this in a story quoted by Walter Fritz, about a film version of the last adventures of the Habsburg Emperor Karl.<sup>6</sup> The first scenes were set in the First World War, and the actors were therefore dressed in authentic court-dress (*Hoftracht*), or as soldiers from the ranks. Genuine costumes, furniture, and props were found, and in addition fifty officers were needed for the film:

the main director insisted upon these being "real", because a real officer can be recognised immediately by his face and his movements, which no acting can reproduce.<sup>7</sup>

To the consternation of the director, however, the entry of the Emperor on to the set brought the production to a standstill. A young unknown had been cast as Emperor Karl because of his close physical resemblance. But on his appearance on the set, despite the director's curses, the officers froze:

This ceased to be acting. Ghosts were walking ... They stood there shocked, with quaking

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<sup>6</sup> Walter Fritz: Geschichte des österreichischen Films Bergland Verlag, Wien 1969. p120

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

lips in front of their "ruler", they, who had formerly never had the opportunity to stand before him. This was the greatest moment of their lives. It was not a comedy, it was mass psychosis. The costumes which they were wearing surrounded their souls. The uniform was still warm from the grave, this past still too alive.<sup>8</sup>

Clearly, the immediate past had not yet been assimilated. Furthermore, with Austria's humiliation in contemporary life and the loss of status of the individual along with his country, the uniforms, the order, the clear hierarchy of command in the monarchy, and, above all, its familiarity, must have seemed doubly appealing.

For the Austria of 1918, dissolution and defeat had gone hand in hand. As the previous chapter has shown, the legacy of the war was the single greatest influence on the Austrian population's interwar existence. Similarly, the Empire and its monarch might have gone, but their legacy still remained. This legacy was not unproblematic, associated as it was with defeat. In the immediate aftermath of the war it was politically expedient to distance the new Austria from the Empire and its war guilt, although the attempt to claim discontinuity proved ineffective in terms of the Treaty of St Germain.

On the other hand, disenchantment with the present encouraged looking to the past. This is illustrated in a joke from 1924 in which a monarchist is heard to complain:

A Republic is but the rubbish heap of peace, which hasn't been swept away yet. I admit, mistakes were made in the Monarchy as well, but

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

in those days only Archdukes, Generals and Bishops could do what they wanted; nowadays anybody can.<sup>9</sup>

Dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy was deep rooted. The association of the Republic with defeat, and the perceived ineffectiveness of democracy at solving the economic and foreign political problems of the day, the lack of strong leadership, and the widening gulf between political parties more concerned with filibustering than cooperation, all created growing disenchantment with democracy; a disenchantment which found its logical conclusion in Austro-Fascism. Disaffection with the present made the past appear in a more positive light and the system of government of the Empire as having had its advantages. Furthermore, however, the past had an emotional appeal. As George Steiner has argued,

Most history seems to carry on its back vestiges of paradise. At some point in more or less remote times, things were better, almost golden. A deep concordance lay between man and the natural setting. The myth of the Fall runs stronger than any particular religion.<sup>10</sup>

The light in which Austria's past was perceived by the general population can be surmised from a reminiscence of

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<sup>9</sup> Cited in Wolfgang Broer: Wort als Waffe. Politische Witz und politische Satire in der Republik Österreich (1918-1927). Diss, Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, Wien, 1973. (Hereafter cited as Wort als Waffe) p645: *Monarchist: Eine Republik ist ja doch nur der nicht weggekehrte Misthaufen des Friedens. Ich gebe zu, es wurden auch in der Monarchie Fehler gemacht, aber damals konnten nur Erzherzoge, Generäle und Bischöfe tun, was sie wollten, jetzt macht ein jeder, was er will.* (Der Morgen, 17.11.1924) In another joke, a husband defines the word "Republic" to his wife after some difficulty, as a "replacement monarchy". (Muskete 5.12.1918).

<sup>10</sup> George Steiner: In Bluebeard's Castle; Some Notes Towards the Re-definition of Culture. Faber & Faber, London, 1971. p13

the leader of the Heimwehr, Count Starhemberg, who recalled of his speeches

Passages in which I exposed National Socialist activity in Austria and severely criticised the Nazis were greeted with loud applause. Strange to relate, I also received applause when speaking of Austria's past.<sup>11</sup>

Was such applause really strange? The dissolution of the Empire had not had the support of most of those who inhabited the First Republic. The glorious days of the Empire, as established in nostalgia and selective memory, were an appealing contrast to Austria's interwar position. Charles Magris and Franz Trommler have analysed the obsession with the imperial past in Austrian literature.<sup>12</sup> In his introduction to "Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur" Magris outlined his central theory:

The Austro-Hungarian monarchy fell in 1918. However, for its intellectuals and poets, who saw in its destruction the destruction of the foundations of their life and culture, for the Austrian authors, who now had to contend with a new political climate, whose demands they were not shaped to meet, for them the old Habsburg Austria was - and to a certain extent still is - a period of happiness and harmony, of an ordered and fairy-talelike Central Europe, when time did not fly, and when people were not so eager to forget the things and emotions of yesterday. In their memories, this Austria became a "golden age of security".<sup>13</sup>

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11 Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: Between Hitler and Mussolini - Memoirs of Ernst Rüdiger, Prince Starhemberg, Hodder and Stoughton Limited. London, 1942. p74

12 Claudio Magris: Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur. Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1966 (Hereafter cited as Der habsburgische Mythos); Frank Trommler: Österreich im Roman. Disserations Druckerei, München 1965.

13 Der habsburgische Mythos, p7: *Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie ging 1918 unter. Doch für ihre Intellektuellen und Dichter, die mit ihr auch ihre*

Preoccupation with the past had various manifestations, ranging from sheer escapism to the desire for a Habsburg restoration.<sup>14</sup> In its weakest (but most pervasive) form, this obsession was simply nostalgia, which proved a commodity with high marketing potential based on mass appeal.<sup>15</sup> Historicism and marketing potential thus went hand in hand. This does not necessarily undermine the sincerity of the themes; the fact that a financial

*Gesellschaft und damit das Fundament ihres Lebens und ihrer Kultur zerstört sahen, für die österreichischen Schriftsteller, die nun in ein neues politisches Klima geworfen wurden, dessen Anforderungen sie ihrer Formung nach nicht völlig gewachsen sein konnten, für sie stellte sich - und stellt sich mitunter noch heute - das alte habsburgische Österreich als eine glückliche und harmonische Zeit, als geordnetes und märchenhaftes Mitteleuropa dar, in dem die Zeit nicht so schnell verging und in dem man es nicht so eilig hatte, Dinge und Empfindungen des Gestern zu vergessen. In ihrer Erinnerung wurde dieses Österreich zu einem "goldenen Zeitalter der Sicherheit". (This final quote is from Stefan Zweig's autobiography "Die Welt von Gestern".)*

14 C. E. Williams has suggested that the frequency with which Austria's Habsburg past comes up as a theme is deceptive, that it was frequently used merely to provide exotic settings or local colour (for example in Hofmannsthal's "Der Turm" and "Arabella", Zweig's "Ungeduld des Herzens" or Musil's "Tonka") - "such works show rather the peripheral nature of the Habsburg influences". C. E. Williams: The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss, Paul Elek, London, 1974. p159.

15 Nostalgia was not the only motivation behind recollections of Austria's past. In 1934, for example, Erich Engel directed the film "Hohe Schule" the plot of which centred around the difficulties experienced by a former officer of the k.u.k. army, with his antiquated moral code, when trying to adapt to life in the thirties. Despite its anti-authoritarian flavour, the film passed the Austrian and German censors because the director set the action in the Rococo period. However, directors such as Engel and Hochbaum, who analysed the problems of the thirties such as authoritarianism and militarism, were the exception rather than the rule.

incentive often under-ly self-definition does not make that definition any less valid.

In the cinema, for example, which dramatically increased its viewing figures in this period,<sup>16</sup> gentle romances and sentimental reminiscences of historical personalities (Beethoven, Schubert, Radetsky, etc.) abounded.<sup>17</sup> A prime example of which themes were popular is provided by "*Frühjahrsparade*" (Spring Parade, 1934), whose recipe for success a review summarised as follows:

Take the most well-known and popular performers, combine the comedy of a military farce with a romantic view of pre-war Vienna, let the old Emperor appear, and base all this around the creation of a well known and very popular march, add a major military manoeuvre, then one has the concept of this film.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Although Austrian production fell after the immediate post-war boom (142 Austrian films were produced in 1920; by 1924 this figure had fallen to 32), after 1923 1,200 films were submitted before the Austrian censor per year. Between 300 and 350 films were shown per year in 750 cinemas). See Fritz, Walter: Entwicklungsgeschichte des österreichischen Spielfilms. Wien 1966 (Hereafter cited as Entwicklungsgeschichte des österreichischen Spielfilms.)

<sup>17</sup> The musical soundtrack was a vital element which was seen as providing films with a particularly Austrian flavour and became identified with the Austrian genre of film-making.

<sup>18</sup> Quoted in Entwicklungsgeschichte des österreichischen Spiel-films, p80: *Man nehme die bekanntesten und publikums-wirksamsten Darsteller, verbinde die Komik eines Militärlustspiels mit einem romantisch gesehenen Vorkriegs-Wien, lasse die Gestalt des alten Kaisers erscheinen und lege all dem die Entstehung eines bekannten und überaus populären Marsches zugrunde, man fuge zu all dem noch ein großes militärisches Schauspiel, dann hat man etwa das Konzept zu diesem Film..*" Note particularly that an appearance by the Emperor (Franz Joseph) was seen as contributing to a film's success, a conclusion which the success of the operetta "*Zum Weißen Röhl*" would seem to support. Standing ovations at the entry of the Emperor usually stopped the show.



An Austrian film was likely to be a success, at least at home, if it could blend music, nostalgia and stars. This was true of other forms of entertainment too - the ballet, for example. Cicely Hamilton in 1935 was much taken during her visit to Austria with the ballet "Fanny Elssler". Fanny Elssler was an Austrian ballet dancer who introduced a free style of dancing into the Austrian ballet world - this ballet, however, concentrated on the "fate of the Duc de Reichstadt, and his legendary love for the dancer, Fanny Elssler, intertwined with another legend - of the waltz and the manner of its birth".<sup>19</sup> This production thus managed to combine three popular themes all at once - thwarted aristocratic love, a romantic heroine of the past, and the symbolic Viennese Waltz. Aristocrats and members of the Imperial army in general were a quick way of symbolising the good old days and catching the popular imagination. Their inclusion especially as tragic, romantic figures was, however, perhaps motivated as much by a need to exorcise the pain of the war as by the desire to resurrect the past.

While the practical ramifications of the immediate past in the present were felt most keenly in the economic field, the legacy of the monarchy was particularly strong in cultural fields. There, the past was quickly transmuted into a golden age. This legacy was one which no proposal for Austria's future could ignore. However,

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<sup>19</sup> Hamilton, Cicely: Modern Austria as seen by an Englishwoman J. M. Dent and Sons, London & Toronto, 1935.

the manner in which this legacy was interpreted varied considerably.

## II. A common history?

One of the main arguments used against Austria's viability in its 1918 form was the fact that the provinces of the Republic had never together formed an independent unit. The provincial secessionist movements immediately after the war underlined their disunity.<sup>20</sup> Dr Rudolf Raun, Professor at Hamburg University, argued that the divisive nature of Austria had thus been revealed from the outset. He also criticised the fact that, although the Republic had been under heavy attack from outside enemies after the war, it was still only organised as a loose federal state, without strong central powers to control the particularist tendencies of the recalcitrant provinces.<sup>21</sup>

Conversely it was claimed that solutions for Austria's future did have historical precedents: Anschluß adherents posited that Austria and Germany had always been historically united, Danubian Federationists argued that a multi-national future was the only logical legacy of Austria's multi-national past. Both arguments conveniently ignored the fact that the provinces had co-

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<sup>20</sup> In 1918/19 there were movements for Vorarlberg to join Switzerland, Bavaria or Württemberg and for the Tyrol to join with Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Styria and Carinthia to form an independent state, for the Tyrol to form an independent state alone, to unify with Bavaria, or Anschluß with Germany or Switzlerand.

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Rudolf Raun: Deutschland und Deutschösterreich Verlag von Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin, 1921. p22

existed under the Empire and were thus not entirely without any common history. Their relationship was therefore not so different from that claimed for Austria and Germany.

The most famous analysis of the rôle played by a common history in national feeling was made by the French historian Ernest Renan, who wrote:

A nation must have suffered and rejoiced and hoped together; all these things are worth more than common borders; all these can be understood in spite of diversities of race and language. Suffering in common is a greater bond of union than joy.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, in one of his many tracts against Anschluß agitation, Oscar Schmitz argued,

One cannot overemphasise in response to the nationalist mania that it is not a common language which creates nations, but a common fate.<sup>23</sup>

With whom Austria had shared a common fate was open to interpretation, however.

The concept of a "common history" is problematic. The further back in history a common national history is sought, the more problematic it becomes, particularly if sought in pre-media days.<sup>24</sup> Furthermore, experience of

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22 E. Renan. "What is a nation": in G. William (Ed): Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Studies. Kennikat Press, London, 1970. (Hereafter cited as "What is a nation?")

23 Oscar A. H. Schmitz: Der Österreichische Mensch: Am Anschauungsunterricht für Europäer, insbesondere für Reichsdeutsche Wiener Literarische Anstalt, Wien, 1924. p26 "Man kann dem nationalistischen Wahn nicht eindringlich genug entgegenhalten, das nicht die gemeinsame Sprache Völker schafft, sondern das gemeinsame Schicksal."

24 See Benedict Anderson for the rôle played by the printing press in the creation of collective identities.

historic events can differ, not only from their later interpretations, but also from the experience of national contemporaries. This is easily illustrated through class difference - did a foot soldier experience the same war as a Viennese aristocrat? Differing experiences of history do not necessarily depend on class, however. The dramatic events surrounding the burning of Vienna's Palace of Justice in 1927, for example, are interpreted by historians as a watershed, in which the national rift between the left and right which could not be bridged during the Republic's existence was illuminated and reinforced. Stefan Zweig, however, who was living in Vienna at the time, was not even aware that anything out of the ordinary was happening.<sup>25</sup>

The problem of the concept of a "common history" arises when "common" is interpreted as an absolute. It is more likely that certain histories are more common than others, and it is this that can have a bonding effect, rather than that nationals will share identical experiences. For instance, Zweig may not have been aware of the problems taking place at the Palace of Justice at the time, but even this lack of knowledge was significant enough for it to merit a mention in his autobiography. Thus the event has some significance in Austrian national history, but does not feature large in British consciousness, for example. Although the past is reconstructed, and can be experienced in different ways,

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<sup>25</sup> Stefan Zweig: Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers, Bermann Fischer Verlag, Stockholm, 1947.

it can still constitute a common history for one group as compared with another which has little or no experience of that past.

In the debate over Austria's future, a common past was represented as the precursor for a common future. The lack of a common past in the case of the provinces was used as evidence that Austria could not survive as a federation of those provinces. For those in favour of Anschluß, Austrians and Germans had shared a common history because Austria had always been a part of Germany. Union would therefore merely constitute Austria returning "*Heim ins Reich*" (back home to the Reich). Dr B Kumsteller discussed the rôle of the history teacher in preparing for Anschluß, suggesting that children should be accustomed to considering the entire living space of the German people (rather than *Heimat*/particularist history) and that it should be emphasised how often the centrepiece for German activity was "here in the South-East March".<sup>26</sup> Austrians were frequently equated with Bavarians: thus it was stated in an article in the Arbeiter Zeitung of 26 February, 1933, "We consider the German-Austrian people as much part of the German nation as Bavaria ...".<sup>27</sup>

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26 Dr B Kumsteller quoted by Viktor Fadrus in his article "Unterrichtswesen und Volksbildung" in Friedrich F.G Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as Die Anschlußfrage.)

27 Arbeiter Zeitung, 26 February, 1933 (Jahrgang 46; No 67): "*Wir halten den Deutschösterreichischen Stamm so gut für einen Teil der deutschen Nation wie Bayern ...*")

In counter-arguments to the historical theories of the Anschluß adherents, Anschluß argumentation was frequently broken down into its component parts, in an attempt to destroy its assumptions piecemeal. This approach had four thrusts. First, the racial arguments were refuted by comparing national character. The broader ramifications of this are discussed in Chapter Six, but there was an historical dimension. The legitimist newspaper Österreichs Stern, for example, objected strongly to the equation of Austrian with Bavaria [sic]. While accepting similarities of territory and dialect, and that Bavaria had also had her troubles with Prussian dictatorship, the paper pointed out that these Bavarian "brothers" had treated the Tyroleans with barbarity - the reference is to Andreas Hofer - and had had to be expelled from the country along with the invading French.<sup>28</sup> Thus the different characters of the Austrians and Germans had been revealed through history.

Second, even if Germany and Austria had shared some common history, it did not necessarily follow that they could not have separate identities. As Fidelis pointed out, for example, French and English history had been similarly interwoven between the eleventh and the

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<sup>28</sup> See Österreichs Stern, 11 Sept, 1934, No 36; 3 Jahrgang. In 1805 the Tyrol came under Bavarian rule. However in 1809 Tyrolean "freedom fighters" under Andreas Hofer were originally successfully leading to the establishment of a "farmers'" government. Hofer was killed, however, and the Tyrol remained Bavarian until 1814, when it came back under Habsburg rule.

fifteenth centuries, without this leading to a confusion between their modern identities.<sup>29</sup>

Third, it was posited that the view of Austrian history as German history ignored the fact that Bohemia and Hungary had been as much part of Austria's past as the (German) areas which she retained in 1918.<sup>30</sup> Precisely this association gave Austria (particularly Vienna) its unique identity, and prevented it from being a mere extension of Bavaria. In the anthology by Nadler/Srbik discussed below it was emphasised that the history of Austria can be considered part of a much wider orbit than the German orbit, and that the relegation of Austrian history into German history results in distortion.<sup>31</sup>

Fourth, and most frequently, the view of Austrian and German history as interwoven was challenged through emphasis on the historical tension between Prussia and Austria. While the pro-Anschluß tendency to identify Austrians with Bavarians was vigorously criticised, Danubian Federationists were equally likely to equate all Germans with Prussians. The Catholic Monarchist Ernst Karl Winter identified the Prussian spirit with the spirit of "modern militarism and industrialism"<sup>32</sup>.

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29 Otto Maria Fidelis: Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. p17.

30 This is a modern complaint also, as shown in the introduction to this thesis.

31 Josef Nadler; Dr Heinrich Ritter von Srbik: Österreich, Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum. Verlag Anton Pustet. Salzburg-Leipzig, 1936.

32 See his articles in Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum.

According to Winter, whereas German history had been coloured greatly by the rôle of the entrepreneurial middle classes, Austrian history had been more greatly influenced by the preponderance of an agricultural farming class. The implication is that Austria lived in greater harmony with nature, and had avoided the degeneration and abominations associated with industrialisation.

In the analysis of the historical relationship between Austria and Germany two key dates were repeatedly referred to: the 1866 Austro-Prussian War, and the War of 1914-1918. The former defeat could hardly be interpreted positively for the Anschluß. The year 1866, and its implications for the Greater German ideal, was analysed as the ultimate betrayal of Austria, a fortunate escape, or as the betrayal of true German ideals through the victory of Prussian militarism. In his article "*Die Donaudeutschen und das Reich*", for example, the history lecturer Dr H Rüdiger pointed out that it was after 1866 that the Germans of the Reich had pejoratively labelled the German inhabitants of the Danubian Monarchy as foreigners, Austrians, and Austro-Hungarians.<sup>33</sup> The Legitimist newspaper "Österreichs Stern" drew upon the Austro-Prussian war for evidence that the two nations could never be reconciled:

Could an Austrian patriot ever find more burning evidence than that provided by Germany itself than the bestiality with which it fought

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<sup>33</sup> Dr H Rüdiger, "*Die Donaudeutschen und das Reich*" in Dr J. Soelch (Ed): Der Donauraum - Eine geographische Betrachtung. Heidelberg, -.



against us? History knows well occasions in which a brother fought and slayed brother, but the hatred with which Germany persecuted us, the inhumane brutality and treachery shows not only us but the rest of the world the abyss that lies between the Austrian and the German Volk - the incompatibility of character.<sup>34</sup>

The legitimist vehicle Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum was similarly disgusted at the Austrian celebrations for Hindenburg's eightieth birthday, organised by the nationalist groups as part of Anschluß agitation:

Is there really no Austrian sense of pride left? In 1866 Hindenburg fought against Austria, despite his personal integrity he is still the representative of Prussian militarism which has always been aimed against Austria and always will be. As the General on the Eastern Front, Hindenburg sacrificed tens of thousands of our best soldiers to his ambition, which put a Prussian victory above the interests of the wounded.<sup>35</sup>

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34 Österreichs Stern, 11 Sept, 1934, No 36 3 Jahrgang: "Könnte je ein österreichischer Patriot flammendere Beweise dafür finden, als uns Deutschland selbst dafür gab, als die Bestialität mit der wir bekämpft wurden? Wohl kannt die Geschichte Beispiele dafür, dass ein Bruder den Anderen bekämpfte und tötete, der Hass aber mit dem uns Deutschland verfolgt, die unmenschliche Brutalität und Heimtücke zeigt nicht nur uns selbst, sondern auch der Welt den Abgrund, der zwischen dem österreichischen und dem deutschen Volk liegt - die Wesensfremdheit!"

35 Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. Sept/ Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 3 Heft. p94: "Gibt es wirklich keinen österreichischen Stolz mehr? Hindenburg hat 1866 gegen Österreich gekämpft, er ist trotz persönlicher Integrität doch der Representant des preußischen Militarismus, der immer gegen Österreich war und sein wird. Hindenburg als Feldherr der Ostfront hat zehntausende unserer besten Soldaten dem Ehrgeize geopfert, der einen preußischen Sieg über die Interessen der Verwundeten stellt." Once the Nazis came to power in Germany, "Prussianism" and National Socialism were frequently identified as two sides of the same coin.

Far from sharing a common past in the traditional sense, the Austrian and German pasts were shared in so far as the two countries had been historical antagonists. According to an article in the monarchist paper Vaterland, where their histories had been interwoven, the Prussian influence had never been positive:

Prussia's name is ... closely linked with the saddest chapters of Austrian history. The Prussians [*Das Preußentum*], as personified in *Ordenshochmeister Albrecht von Preußen*, who betrayed his faith, his order, and his Emperor; in Friedrich II, the gravedigger of Germanness; and in Bismarck, who provoked the murderous war between brothers for Prussia's "greatness" - Prussia is not only Austria's most dangerous enemy, but the enemy of all peace loving peoples.<sup>36</sup>

Prussia had first betrayed German ideals in the Reformation. For the Federationists, true German ideals were identified with supra-nationality and humanitarianism (as was Catholicism), but Protestantism was denounced as parochial and particularly Prussian. After the Reformation, the existing differences between Austria and Germany were further underlined by the use of a different Bible and liturgy, and a contrasting relationship to Rome. Germany continued her distinct political development with sovereign principalities,

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<sup>36</sup> Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 1 Heft, p3: Preußens Name aber ist innig verbunden mit den traurigsten Kapiteln österreichischer Geschichte. Das Preußentum, wie es im Ordenshochmeister Albercht von Preußen verkörpert ist, der seinem Glauben, dem Orden und dem Kaiser die Treue brach, in Friedrich II, dem Totengraber deutschen Wesens und in Bismarck, der für Preußens "Größe" den mörderischen Bruderkrieg entfachte, ist nicht nur Österreich, sondern aller friedensliebenden Völker gefährlichster Feind.

whose development was to be determined by the Protestant Prussians. As will be seen, Hans Kohn's analysis that "in 1866 the *kleindeutsch* solution had triumphed not only on the battlefield and politically but also in historiography" was accurate.<sup>37</sup>

Where militarism entered the discussion, the First World War followed close behind. Adherents of the *Anschluß* ideal drew upon the shared experience of war. The immense changes subsequent to the war had re-awakened the dream of union:

Now our people realised that our national identity was not simply an ideal, an emotion existing in our souls, but that it could already be embodied in reality, namely through union with the Reich. All of a sudden a German state stood before us that was attainable, without the treason that would have been involved in the old Austria, a state through which our sense of Germanness can be fulfilled. What had been impossible and what one had therefore no longer considered, had now become possible. That is the most profound reason why the desire for *Anschluß* flared up with such strength after the dissolution of the monarchy.

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37 Hans Kohn: "AEIOU: Some Reflections on the meaning and mission of Austria" in the Journal of Modern History. Volume XI, Dec, 1939, No 4 (Hereafter cited as "AEIOU").

38 Die Anschlußfrage, p235: Jetzt erkannte unser Volk, das unser Volksbewußtsein nicht bloß ein ideales, in unser Seele lebendes Gefühl ist, sondern das es dafür eine Verkörperung in der Wirklichkeit gibt, nämlich in der Vereinigung mit dem Reiche. Mit einem Male stand ein deutscher Staat vor uns, der für uns erreichbar war, ohne sogenannten Hochverrat, wie im alten Österreich, and dem sich unser Deutschgefühl verwirklichen kann. Was man für unmöglichkeit hielt, und woran man infolgedessen nicht mehr gedacht hatte, war nun Möglichkeit geworden. Das ist die tiefste Ursache, warum nach dem Zerfalle der Monarchie der Anschlußwille mit solcher Kraft aufflammte."

Danubian Federationists argued that the experience of fighting the First World War together had not had a unifying effect on Austrians and Germans. In an essay in a reader on Austria "Das Herz Europas",<sup>39</sup> Hans von Beder argued that the war had in fact served to divide Austria from her German ally. In the former monarchy, Beder wrote, Austrian youth had been encouraged by national movements to become German nationalists. (The state had done little to discourage this development by failing to emphasise the idea of the *Abendland*, of the Holy Empire uniting different peoples.) These young people had made fun of their parents' hatred for the Prussians, instilled in young officers and students in 1866. Beder posited that the next war had showed them the error of their ways:

The war came, the great war! The young Austrian experienced his first great disappointment. The war comrades in flat caps were buttoned up; they exuded a barely concealed arrogance; the tendency to know it all, the desire continually to preach, was repellent...<sup>40</sup>

In consequence, youths had had to reconsider their view of Germans, and had come to the conclusion, "I get on with Austrians straightaway, but it is difficult to make

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39 Hans von Beder: "Österreicher im Ausland" in Robert Lohan; Walther Maria Neuwirth; Viktor Trautzl (eds): Das Herz Europas. Ein österreichisches Vortragsbuch. Saturn Verlag, Wien - p213.

40 Ibid.: "Es kam der Krieg, der große Krieg! Zu seinem Erleben wuchs die erste, herbe Enttäuschung für die jungen Österreicher. Die Kriegskameraden mit der Tellermütze zeigten sich zugeknöpft; ein schlecht verhehlter Hochmut sprach aus ihnen, die Gewohnheit, alles besser zu wissen, stets belehren zu wollen, sties ab."

contact with Germans".<sup>41</sup> The young had therefore come to realise that Austrians were distinct among the German *Stämme* after all, for they were of a different nature. Beder supported this argument by identifying certain characteristics shared by Austrians: the ability to understand others; to be sympathetic; inventive; to display excellent taste; and to meet life's troubles with a light humorous temperament. This analysis of Austrian character was related to Austria's distinct historical development; for all these characteristics were dependent on

the historical development of your home country, your people are the natural gift of a former culture which always turned first to tools for peaceful penetration, rather than swords, which even fought wars for the spirit rather than for aggressive reasons. To be Austrian is to be more than German. Germanness is fully included in the Austrian. But there is additional greatness; the understanding of the Latinate and Slavic souls.<sup>42</sup>

Thus Austria was not denying its German nature, but the latter represented only one part of the whole. Austria could not deny its past, in which Germans, Czechs, Slavs, and many other nationalities had shared a common fate.

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41 Ibid., p214: "Mit Österreichern verstehe ich mich sofort - mit Deutschen ist es schwer, Kontakt zu finden." Also schien der Österreicher unter den deutschen Stämmen doch etwas Besonderes, anders Geartetes zu sein!

42 Ibid.: "alle diese Eigenschaften sind bedingt aus dem geschichtlichen Werdegang deines Heimatlandes, deines Volkes, sind das selbst verständliche Geschenk einer alten Kultur, die immer zuerst zum Werkzeug, zur freidlichen Durchdringung und dann erst zum Schwert griff, die selbst Kriege um des Geistes und nicht der Gewalt willen führte. Österreicher sein ist mehr als deutsch sein. Das Deutsche ist voll im Österreicher enthalten. Aber es kommt noch Größeres dazu. Das Verstehen des lateinischen und des slawischen Geistes."

Even in pro-Anschluß polemics, the perceived differences between Austrians and Germans had to be addressed. Anschluß adherents sought to show that Austria could also exhibit the characteristics associated with the Prussians, such as efficiency, rather than to disprove the theories about the German character. Kleinwächter, for example, accepted that Austrians were different, but hastened to show that this need not be a permanent flaw:

It is true, the German Austrian is, when compared with his fellow comrades (*Stammesgenossen*) from the Reich, especially with the Prussians, less energetic, less self-confident, less methodical; he is jollier, more hedonistic, more modest when it comes to success, more demanding as regards the comforts of life. But this is not a racial peculiarity of the German-Austrian. It is the product of his history; a different history will allow him to change.<sup>43</sup>

Thus the Austrian ability to adapt would be to Germany's advantage. If Bavarians and Prussians could live together as fellow peoples under the same state, there could be little doubt about Austria's ability to do so. After the Austrians had lived in union with their German counterparts, German energy and decision-making abilities

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<sup>43</sup> Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter: Der deutsch-österreichische Mensch und der Anschluß. Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. p110 "Es ist richtig: der Deutschösterreicher ist, wenn er mit seinen Stammesgenossen aus dem Reich, insbesondere mit dem Preußen, verglichen wird, weniger energisch, weniger selbstbewußt, weniger planvoll; er ist heiterer, genußfreudiger, einerseits bescheidener, was den Erfolg betrifft, andererseits anspruchsvoller, wenn es sich um die Behaglichkeit des Lebens handelt. Aber das sind keine Rasse-eigentümlichkeiten des Deutschösterreichers. Daß er so geworden ist, liegt in seiner Geschichte; eine andere Geschichte wird ihn anders werden lassen."

would be instilled in the Austrians, who in turn might temper the German character with a little humanity (*Menschheitswerte*)<sup>44</sup> At any rate, if German Austrians were permitted to unite with these fellow members of the German race, then within a generation there would be no more talk of an "Austrian" character, recognisably distinct from the German. As is obvious, consistency of argument was not a prerequisite for this debate. Despite having shared a common history with Germans since time began, Austrians were still permitted peculiarities as a product of their distinct history. There was nothing in this which a little more common history could not eradicate.

Opposition to the Greater-German version of Austrian history could be found amongst various groupings, otherwise not necessarily in agreement. Legitimists, Danubian Federationists, and Catholics challenged the idea that Austria and Germany shared a common history, as did the Communist Alfred Klahr, who is frequently cited as one of the first individuals to speak out in favour of an independent Austrian national identity. Klahr argued that it was a myth that Austrians had ever been part of the German nation. Such a unified nation did not exist in the present and had not ever existed in the past. Through examination of Austrian history, Klahr concluded that Austria had had an independent national development,

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<sup>44</sup> Erich Gebert: "Wirtschaft" in Friedrich F.G Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. p531

which could be traced at least as far back as 1848. Austrian history was the product of the tension between the German national movement and a pro-Austrian orientation.<sup>45</sup>

In March 1937, Klahr published an article on Austrian national identity in the illegal party newspaper "Weg und Ziel",<sup>46</sup> in which he argued:

German Austrians have experienced a national development distinct from that of the German nation, built on decades of state independence. Their struggle to retain state independence is a struggle to preserve national individuality, a struggle to preserve Austrian national independence. It is a national struggle, a struggle for national self-determination of the Austrian people.<sup>47</sup>

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45 (Comparable on the one hand to the German nationalism of the Saar region, and on the other to the independent Swiss German identity.) Klahr based his argument around Stalin's definition of the nation, in which the nation is the product of an historically created community of language, territory, economic life, and character (as expressed through national culture). This contrasts with the Austrian Social Democrat Otto Bauer's definition which concentrated on the cultural/spiritual community, over the Marxist materialist definition.

46 The article had been commissioned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ). The Communist Party had been banned since 1933. Klahr was deported to Auschwitz after the Anschluß where he was shot at the age of forty when attempting to escape.

47 Weg und Ziel, Monatsschrift für Theorie und Praxis des Marxismus-Leninismus. 37 Jhg. Sondernummer Dez 1979. Pub. Kommunistische Partei Österreichs, Wien. p30: "Die deutschen Österreicher haben auf der Grundlage der jahrzehntelangen staatlichen Selbständigkeit eine eigene nationale, von der deutschen Nation verschiedene Entwicklung durchgemacht. Ihr Kampf um die Aufrechterhaltung der staatlichen Selbständigkeit bedeutet den Kampf um die Erhaltung der nationalen Eigenart, um die Erhaltung der nationalen Unabhängigkeit Österreichs. Er ist ein nationaler Kampf, ein Kampf für die nationale Selbstbestimmung des österreichischen Volkes."



Thus the first analysis of the rôle of the state in national identity was rooted in Austrian history. By 1934 when the independence of the Austrian state was under threat from an aggressive Germany, there was a growing recognition in publications which discussed Austrian national identity that independent statehood might be a vital precondition for the survival of Austrian national identity, indeed possibly even German national identity.

Thus a "common history" could be interpreted to imply unique links between Austria and Germany, between Austria and other nations, or even between Austrians themselves. Historical precedence was used to render an uncertain future predictable. This emphasis also catered to any natural aversion to change, by presenting it as continuity. There is a joke in the form of a conversation which illustrates this aversion nicely:

So why don't you want a republic?

I'll tell you why: firstly, because I don't know it, secondly because of the Jews, and thirdly, because it isn't a monarchy.<sup>48</sup>

If a solution could be presented as having existed in the past, then the aversion to the unknown could perhaps be overcome. The third complaint above might reflect the political attitudes of the speaker, but also shows the

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<sup>48</sup> Also warum wollen sie keine Republik?  
Does wer i Ihna glei sagen: erstens amal, weil I's net kenn,  
zweitens weg'n de Juden und drittens, weil's ka Monarchi ist. Der Morgen, 13.1.1919 in Wort als Waffe, p664. If this was a common attitude then parliamentary democracy in Austria had its work cut out for it.

attraction of the known, however flawed, over the unknown.<sup>49</sup>

As is apparent above, a history shared is most probably a history constructed, a selective history. Different interpretations of the past are not only possible, but probable. These interpretations are likely to serve a specific agenda, however objective they purport to be.<sup>50</sup> Nonetheless, no source challenged the concept of a "common history" in interwar Austria, merely its interpretation. The motivation behind the emphasis put on a "common past" must be understood in the context of the further uses made of history, to legitimate and justify.

### III. Legitimation through history

In order to legitimise and underpin solutions, the roots of whatever brand of Austrian identity was under discussion were sought as far back in the past as possible. So, for example, supporters of the Anschluß argued that Austria had been part of the German Empire "since time immemorial"<sup>51</sup>; now the time had simply come

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49 The identification of the Republic with Jewry is because of the strong rôle played by the Social Democrats (denounced as Jews) in its establishment.

50 Consider, for example, the myth surrounding Britain's "Blitz experience" in which the shared experience of bombing is supposed to have overcome class barriers as never before.

51 Kleinwächter, for example, argues : "*Die Österreicher haben eine mehr als tausendjaehrige Geschichte mit den übrigen Deutschen gemeinsam.*" Friedrich Kleinwächter: Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich. Reichs Propaganda Ausschuß der Deutsch Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. d. Reich, Stuttgart, 1929. p22

for her to return home. The period of the Holy Roman Empire was a popular choice on both sides of the argument. Otto Maria Fidelis, who wrote in favour of the Danubian Federation, argued that the Holy Roman Empire, which had included the area of the German Reich, had been ruled from Austria, and by the Austrian dynasty (Haus Österreich). Rather than being part of a German Empire, Austria had therefore been the Empire itself.<sup>52</sup> Of the two, it was Austria who had been the stronger: "Austria had in almost all times been Germany's leader, backbone and protector".<sup>53</sup>

Anachronistic attempts to identify an Austrian national identity in eras before the nation was a relevant construct were also popular: the historian K. J. Heilig, for example, argued that the writing of annalists in the Middle Ages were permeated with a sense of Austrian national identity.<sup>54</sup>

Typically, attempts to claim individuals for a national ideal would also be based on claiming continuity

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52 A similar idea was also quoted by the legitimist vehicle Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 1 Heft, p20, which printed the Czech historian Palacky's speech of 29 April 1848 in which he argued that rather than Austria should join Germany, which would be suicide, Germany should instead unite with Austria. He sees Austria as neither German nor Slav, but based on the equality of all nationalities. This is the same speech in which Palacky coined the famous phrase that if Austria did not exist, it should be invented for the same of humanity.

53 Introduction by Wilhelm Schmid in Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum 1 Jahrgang, Mai/Juni 1927, Heft Nr 1: "Österreich war fast zu allen Zeiten Deutschlands Führer, Rückgrat und Beschützer."

54 With the usual confusion in the use of the term "Austria".

with the past. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, for example, described Dollfuß as the latest individual in a line of great individuals loyal to Austrian ideals.<sup>55</sup> Thus he was defined by the company in which he was kept. The reputation of his ancestors was intended to bestow automatic status on Dollfuß, who became the First Republic's martyr after his assassination.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, the monarchists had a long lineage of royal blood on their side when they argued that the only possible leader for Austria was the heir to the Habsburg throne (Otto, following Karl's death in Madeira).

Although the roots of every solution were sought in the past, defenders of the Anschluß ideal could draw upon academic support. Historians including Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, Joseph Nadler, and Ludo Moritz Hartmann<sup>57</sup> argued that Austrian history could only be understood in the context of the German people as a whole.<sup>58</sup> The Danubian areas should thus receive the same attention in histories as, say, north-eastern Germany. Hugo Preuss, the father of the Weimar constitution, went so far as to

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55 This approach to history is reminiscent of Thomas Carlyle's statement that "the history of the world is but the biography of great men" (in Heroes and Hero Worship, i. The Hero as Divinity) or Ralph Waldo Emerson's dictum that there is no history, only biography (*Essays i. History*).

56 Not all references to Dollfuß were necessarily that respectful. He was labelled a "milli-Metternich", a deliberately ambiguous reference to his diminutive stature.

57 Who worked predominantly on Italian history, but gave lectures at Vienna University on the history of Greater German ideology.

58 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl (1866-1930) gave lectures at Graz university on a similar theme, but with decidedly anti-Prussian overtones.

suggest that the two countries should be presented in atlases as a single geographical unit.<sup>59</sup> Certainly German nationalists were preponderant amongst teachers at both school and university level.<sup>60</sup>

Austrian histories which did not assume the Greater German perspective were few and far between. The novelist Herman Bahr identified Joseph Redlich's historical analysis Das Österreichische Staats- und Reichsproblem (1920) as the first attempt at an Austrian history. Ernst Karl Winter's biography of Rudolf IV of Austria (dedicated to Dollfuß) analysed the origins of the Austrian concept of state (*Staatsidee*).<sup>61</sup> Winter identified Rudolf as the creator of the Austrian consciousness, who loosened Austria's ties with the German orbit and was open to political organisation which could encompass the different peoples of the Danubian area.<sup>62</sup> Here Austria's independent existence was granted an historical basis. Analysis of and emphasis on Austria's past was encouraged by the Corporate State after 1933, which sought in this way to legitimise its

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59 In Slanar's Atlas für Österreichische Haupt und Mittelschulen a scaled comparison map shows Austria and Germany as one.

60 The second strongest contingent were the Catholic teachers, whose organisation was closely related to the Christian Socials. For an extensive examination of political education in Austria in the interwar period, see Dachs, Herbert: Schule und Politik, Die politische Erziehung an den österreichischen Schulen 1918-1938. Jugend und Volk, Wien, München, 1982.

61 Ernst Karl Winter: Rudolf IV von Österreich. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1934-6.

62 See Hans Kohn's discussion of Winter's Rudolf IV in "AEIOU", p525.

policies and existence.<sup>63</sup> The title of an article by Konrad Josef Heilig shows the two possible interpretations of Austrian history under the Corporate State: "Gesamt-deutsche oder christlich-österreichische Geschichtsauffassung im christlichen und deutschen Österreich?" (Greater German or Christian Austrian understandings of history in the Christian and German Austria).<sup>64</sup> Under the Corporate State, Austria could be presented as the only true representative of German historical inheritance once it had been perverted within Germany by National Socialism. The success of this insistence was limited, largely because the protestation of Austria's independent mission was accompanied by paradoxical reiterations that Austrians were indeed Germans and part of the greater Reich. The inherent contradiction of this assertion reflected the tension between the two concepts.

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63 This was also a deliberate attempt to distance the state from the politics of the preceding regime which had in turn broken with its immediate past (Imperial Austria) at least in superficial ways. Central authors of the interwar period including Heimito von Doderer, Franz Werfel, Robert Musil and Karl Kraus, criticised the fact that the First Republic wasted time and effort changing superficial inheritances of the Empire, such as street names, rather than seeking genuine social and political reform. Dollfuß later labelled these changes a betrayal of Austria's past.

The Vaterländische Front encouraged three regular publications: "Der christliche Ständestaat" edited by Dietrich von Hildebrand, Karl Lugsdayer's "Pause" and Meßner's "Zeitschrift für Österreichische Kulturpolitik". Both the "Christliche Ständestaat" and the "Schönere Zukunft" (edited by Josef Eberles) were intended to cultivate the Austrian ideals of state.

64 Article in Der christliche Ständestaat, August 23, 1936

For opponents of the Anschluß, the concept of "Heim ins Reich" was the specious product of one-sided German historical writing. Nonetheless, it would be inaccurate to assume that academic interpretations of history entirely undermined the idea of a distinctly Austrian national identity. The leading Viennese historian Heinrich Ritter von Srbik (1878-1951) saw the Anschluß as the logical conclusion of Austrian history, and Austrian history as a part of Reich history.<sup>65</sup> However Srbik emphasised Austria's historical achievements from within German history as a whole. Austria was both German and supra-national, its European cultural mission could serve and enrich the entire German nation:

German history without Austrian history is a torso; I recognise in this history of what is more narrowly my homeland one of the greatest German historical achievements, and I perceive in the strength of the soul, the spirit and the actions of the German race in former Austria a great all-German value.<sup>66</sup>

Another author who should be mentioned in this context is the literary historian Josef Nadler (1884 - 1963). In his history of literature in the German language, Nadler showed the individuality of the Austrian *Stamm* and the

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<sup>65</sup> His main works include the four volumes "Deutsche Einheit", and two volumes on Metternich. His views were explored in the newspaper Schönere Zukunft.

<sup>66</sup> Quoted by Walter Wiltschegg: Österreich - Der "zweite Deutsche Staat"? Der Nationale Gedanke in der Ersten Republik Leopold Stocker Verlag. Graz, Stuttgart, 1992. p516: "Ich sehe in der deutschen Geschichte ohne die Geschichte Österreichs einen Torso: ich erkenne in dieser Geschichte meiner engeren Heimat eine der gewaltigsten deutschen historischen Leistungen, und ich erblicke in der Kraft der Seele, des Geistes und der Tat des deutschen Stammes im ehemaligen Österreich einen hohen gesamtdeutschen Wert."

effects of the Austrian landscape on a unique and incomparable Austrian culture which formed a continuum from the early middle ages. Nadler and Srbik edited Österreich - Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum ("Austria - inheritance and mission in the German orbit", published in 1936 in collaboration with sixteen authors). This was a collection intended to show Austria's contributions to German history, which was often neglected within Germany. Although the authors argued from a Greater German perspective, their goal was to gain recognition for Austria's contribution to Greater German history; a distinct contribution which, they argued, tended to be overlooked by German historians.<sup>67</sup>

In the area of legitimation, the problem remained that the same history could be interpreted in very different ways. It was perfectly possible to claim that Austria had had strong ties with Germany over the centuries, or that it had been a distinct entity with its own history. The past was not as unambiguous as debaters would have liked their readers to believe.

The desire to legitimise present ideals and individuals by seeking their precedents in the past was not merely manipulative. Indeed, it has precedence itself: the concept of lineage as found, for example, in the Old Testament is based on a similar premise, that history bestows legitimacy. In the case of an individual, a lineage, be it based on blood or on ability, presents a picture of steadfastness and implies

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<sup>67</sup> Erbe und Sendung.



that the achievements of the predecessors will be replicated in their latest representative. In the case of a concept, its acceptance will be dependent on several factors: its practicability; its source (in which case the legitimacy of the individual is again relevant); but also on past experience. If an idea has been put into practice in the past, then its lessons can theoretically be adapted to the present.<sup>68</sup> In these ways, history can provide legitimation. Closely related to this concept is the manner in which continuity can be used to justify an idea, the subject of the next section.

#### IV. Justification through history

As seen in the preceding chapter, there were attempts to make the form Austria should take in the future appear inevitable. If a solution - Anschluß, Federation, or independence - could be presented as historically logical, it could also be inevitable; individuals could only hasten or postpone but not prevent its arrival.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> The idea that humans learn from history is perhaps somewhat optimistic. As Hegel argued "What experience and history teach is this - that people and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it." (Georg Wilhelm Hegel, introduction to Philosophy of History)

<sup>69</sup> This is very reminiscent of Gogol's image of Russia as a troika in Dead Souls: "Is it not like that that you, too, Russia, are speeding along like a spirited troika that nothing can overtake? The road is like a cloud of smoke under you, the bridges thunder, and everything falls back and is left far behind. The spectator stops dead, struck dumb by the divine miracle: is it not a flash of lightning thrown down by heaven? What is the meaning of this terrifying motion? And what mysterious force is hidden in these horses the like of which the world has never seen? ... Russia, where are you flying

At a time when Austria's future seemed so insecure, such historical predestination was an appealing prospect.

Thus if it were possible to show that the dissolution of the monarchy was the outcome of an ineluctable historical process, Austria's future must be similarly pre-determined by fate. According to Kleinwächter, the dissolution of the monarchy was due to a natural historical process for the non-German nationalities, the Succession States were the logical conclusion of this process, and re-union in any form whatever would therefore go against this process.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, Dr Karl Jonovsky suggested,

The desire for Anschluß which flared up after the collapse of the Monarchy did not originate from political goals, but was the natural instinctive eruption of national feeling, the desire to arrive at the place where racial origin and experienced history logically lead.<sup>71</sup> (my emphasis)

Conversely, the new Austria was denounced as an historical abomination, not the product of time, but the

to? Answer! She gives no answer." Nikolai Gogol: Dead Souls Penguin Books, Middlesex, England, 1967, p259

70 Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter: Der deutsch-österreichische Mensch und der Anschluß. Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. p201

71 Dr Karl Jonovsky's article "Anschluß oder Donauföderation" in Friedrich F.G. Kleinwächter; , Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung. Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. p240 "Der mit dem Zerfall der Monarchie aufflammende Anschlußwille entsprang daher nicht irgend welchen politischen Absichten, sondern war der selbstverständliche Instinktive Ausbruch des nationalen Gefühls, das Verlangen dorthin zu kommen, wohin man nach Abstammung und durchlebter Geschichte hingehört."

result of French machinations.<sup>72</sup> Such an illogical and artificial construction could not survive.

The counter-attack took a slightly different approach, using historical development to justify the argument that Germany and Austria were in fact very different. Whereas German unity had been welded through blood and iron, for example, Austria had sought peaceful expansion and unity.<sup>73</sup> Ernst Karl Winter argued that already the Babenbergers had followed a foreign policy distinct from that of the Prussians, based on marriage rather than conquest: or as one state publication put it, "the early populations did not experience the heavy fist, they were assimilated, slowly, peacefully, but surely".<sup>74</sup>

Anschluß adherents naturally interpreted the consequences of this "peaceful" history differently, arguing that the resultant loose relationship between the provinces constituted yet another reason why Austria could not survive. The new Austria could not be considered to constitute a nation because of internal rifts, not only between capital and province, but between the alpine provinces themselves. Thus there was no Austrian national identity to stand in the way of union;

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72 The French influence was universally decried as evil; monarchists argued it would have to be destroyed before any descendant of Karl V could agree to return to the throne.

73 As expressed in the famous line *Bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube!* (Other nations wage war, you, happy Austria, marry!)

74 Wold, Julius; Heilig, Konrad Josef; Görden, Matthias Hermann: Österreich und die Reichsidee. Österreichischer Verlag für Kunst und Wissenschaft. Wien, 1936. p67: *Nicht die harte Faust spürte die Vorbevölkerung; sie wurde assimiliert, langsam, friedlich, aber sicher.*

only provincial identities which could exist within the Reich. Regional particularism was identified as a particularly German trait and was thus in itself evidence that Austrians were part of the German race.

Opponents to the Anschluß solution countered by identifying Germany with conquest, an incapacity to understand the links between peacefully assimilated peoples. Otto Maria Fidelis, for example, pointed out the contrast between the peaceful, patriarchal culture of the Danube lands with the violent, dynastic, military civilisation of what he called the "Elbe-Oder" land:

The struggle between Austria and Prussia for supremacy in Germany did not begin under Maria Theresia, and did not end with Bismarck. One has to place the battle between the Greater German and the Little German idea in its broader historical context, as Raimund Kaindl [an Austrian historian] has done, to recognise that Austria and Prussia had conflicting ideas on empire and state, Catholic-universal and Protestant-territorial perceptions of the state, German federalism and French-influenced centralism, patriarchal and military aims, and that they still have conflicting ideas.<sup>75</sup>

Note the identification of Germany with France, the focus of much Austrian enmity since the Treaty of St.

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75 Otto Maria Fidelis: Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. p52: *Der Kampf zwischen Österreich und Preußen um die Vorherrschaft in Deutschland hat nicht erst unter Maria Theresia begonnen und ist mit Bismarck nicht zu Ende. Man muß, wie Raimund Kaindl es getan hat, den Kampf zwischen der großdeutschen und der kleindeutschen Idee in größeren geschichtlichen Zusammenhängen erfassen, um zu erkennen, das in Österreich und Preußen sich Reich und Staat, katholisch-universale und protestantisch-territoriale Staats-auffassung, deutscher Föderalismus und französisch beeinflusster Zentralismus, patriarchalisches und militärisches Wollen gegenüberstanden und noch heute gegenüberstehen.*

Germain.<sup>76</sup> Germany's ability to defend German culture had been irrevocably weakened by Prussian domination. These arguments are reflected in the debate over "common history". However, here the emphasis is a little different. In the arguments surrounding the concept of a shared past, historical precedents were emphasised. If Austrians, for example, had shared a common history with their German counterparts, then the future need not be so uncertain, but could build on past experience.

In its "justification" slant, predictability became stronger still, so that the past actually predestined (not merely adumbrated) the future. The attraction of this specious picture of predestination was that it provided a blueprint for the future. Thus a solution could be presented not only as the present embodiment of traditional ideals, but as the only possible outcome of historical development.

This type of argumentation was not universally accepted. Kleinwächter argued against the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* school of historical interpretation. He saw little predestination in historical developments arguing that it was only with hindsight that there appeared to be a purpose in history. He argued, for example, that it would be perfectly possible for Europe to fall apart in

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<sup>76</sup> This accusation was levelled against any solution. As discussed in the chapter on economics, Dr Oswald Straub had complained that anybody who spoke out against the Anschluß was denounced as a "frenchie" (*Französling*), and as anti-German. See Dr. Oswald Straub: Präferenz, Zollunion und Donauföderation Gedanken über das Problem Österreich Eigenverlag. Wien, ---.

nationalist chaos, and that later historians would see the purpose of Europe in a similar light to the manner in which contemporaries viewed the Roman Empire.<sup>77</sup>

#### V. Discreditation through history

In its final manifestation in the debate on Austria's future, history was used to discredit the opposition. So, for instance, the poster "Austrians learn your History", published by the Fatherland Front, somewhat daringly claimed

Austria was a great German land before the Prussians could speak a word of German and were still sacrificing horse blood to their pagan gods.<sup>78</sup>

It is clear in the sections above that opposing interpretations of history had to be discredited, and that methodical counter arguments were constructed.

The battle for the past was obviously fought heavily in the area of education and academia, for if the justification for any proposal lay in the past, the manner in which history was written was particularly important. In an essay tellingly titled "History writing as a state-destroying force"<sup>79</sup>, the historian Berthold

<sup>77</sup> Die Anschlußfrage, p219. Tolstoy also discusses how historical study sees inevitability in arbitrary decisions which change the course of history.

<sup>78</sup> Poster reproduced in Walter Wiltschegg: Österreich - Der "zweite Deutsche Staat"? Der Nationale Gedanke in der Ersten Republik. Leopold Stocker Verlag. Graz, Stuttgart, 1992. p158 "Österreich war ein großen deutsches land, als die Preußen noch kein Wort deutsch sprachen und Pferdeblut den Heidengöttern opferten!"

<sup>79</sup> "Geschichtsschreibung als staatszerstörende Kraft" by Berthold Dietrich in Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 3 Heft, p107.

Dietrich argued that the stance taken by dynamic Greater-Prussian historians (note the substitution of Prussian for German), such as Treitschke, had been inadequately refuted.<sup>80</sup> Austrian historians including Anton Springer, Ludo Hartmann and Viktor Bibl were denounced as writing "cynical, tired, petty liberal" history which denied Austria. It was only historical ignorance which permitted Austrians to hold the erroneous idea that the Empire had been a German state, for example, rather than a union of nations with equal rights.<sup>81</sup> This ignorance, so Dietrich argued, could only be countered "through constant enlightenment" through history books (including his own) in order to work against "this anti-Austrian, anti-Catholic teaching of history".<sup>82</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Hans Kohn quoted Heinrich von Treitschke as exclaiming: "Denn was ist Österreich anderes als ein Fremder?" (But what is Austria if not a stranger?) a view which Nadler/Srbik's anthology was intended to refute. "AIEOU"

<sup>81</sup> "Geschichtsschreibung als staatszerstörende Kraft" by Berthold Dietrich in Vaterland, Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 3 Heft, p107. See, for example, the analysis of Univ Professor Dr. R Brockhausen in "Österreichs Verfassung und Verwaltung" in Haberlandt, Michael: Österreich - sein Land und Volk und seine Kultur. Verlag für Volks und Heimatkunde in Wien und Weimar. - p182, in which Brockhausen argued that even the Ostmark had had a distinct state identity woven around three ideals: to defend European culture against the East, and ensure internal security; to form an autarky, and finally that its different peoples should share a common ruling house (dynasty). Böhm argued the term "Ostmark" is inaccurate, however, for while the nomenclature "Ostarrichi" can be found documents from the middle ages onwards, the term Ostmark was an invention of the German nationals of the 19th Century who wished to integrate Austria into German history. (Böhm, Dr Wilhelm: Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe. Österreich Institut. Hrsg mit Zustimmung des Bundesministerium für Unterricht. Wien, 1947).

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p109. "durch beständige Aufklärung und Einteilung altösterreichischer Geschichtsbücher ..."

One of the most vigorous warriors in this battle for the past was the Catholic author Joseph August Lux who fought to reclaim Austria's history as her own. After a study of 200 Austrian school reading and history books, Lux published articles and a pamphlet "*Wie sieht Österreich in unseren Schulbüchern aus?*" (1933), and gave lectures on his findings.<sup>83</sup> Lux criticised the Prussian-oriented anti-Austrian view of history; he found and decried party political messages in almost all books (Anschluß propaganda); identified the distortion and destruction of Austrian history; felt that there was a wilful misunderstanding of Austria's supra-national German mission; saw the destruction of religious faith and loyalty to the fatherland among Austrian youth, who were being politicised from an early age; and denounced the complete dearth of great personalities and idols, holy or heroic.<sup>84</sup>

These negative trends were continued at university level.<sup>85</sup> Richard Kralik, an historian and poet much revered by the legitimists, regretted in his

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*diesem antiöster-reichischen antikatholischen Geschichtsunterricht entgegen-zuwirken."*

83 Lux concentrated on the textbooks used in the provinces, assuming that the texts used in Social Democratic Vienna could not be expected to exhibit a deep understanding for Austrian history.

84 Lux, Joseph August: Das goldene Buch der Vaterländischen Geschichte für Volk und Jugend Österreichs. Buch & Kunstverlag Gerlach & Wiedling, Wien, 1934. Lux, Joseph August: Vaterländische Kulturpolitik Kultur und Bildungsinstitut der österreichischen Hochschulen, Wien 1934.

85 See article by Erika Weinzierl in Weinzierl, Erika, Stadler, Karl R.: *Justiz und Zeitgeschichte*. Geyer Edition, Wien, 1977, for an interesting paper on the German national character of Austria's universities.



Österreichischen Geschichte that, dazzled by the adventurist Hohenzollern dynasty, Austria had first betrayed itself in universities and grammar schools where loyalty to the Austrian fatherland had been undermined in the history lesson.<sup>86</sup>

As is evident in an article by "his excellency Count Polzer-Hoditz", cabinet minister under Emperor Karl, the Legitimists hoped to restore Austria's past not only by restoring the Emperor but also by reclaiming its history:

We will not tolerate our fatherland, our Austrian-ness and our traditions being degraded, calumniated and debased by pseudo-national, greater Prussian Fetishists of the Reich and their hangers on in Austria, by means of the deliberate falsification of history and of facts. We see in them also enemies of our fatherland and of our Austrian people. We declare merciless and bitter war on them.<sup>87</sup>

Thus the battle for the past was the battle for the future. Furthermore, only the legitimate heirs to the past would be able to determine the correct course for

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<sup>86</sup> The textbook authors O. Kende, R. Standenat, R. Latzke, A Bohmann, K Czerwenka and L. Pohnert wrote to the Ministry of Education stressing their loyalty to the present state of Austria, emphasising that they were against the politicisation of pupils, but seeing as self evident that pupils should be educated to be "*deutschbewußten Bürger der Republik Österreich.*" (citizens of the Republic of Austria aware of their Germanness).

<sup>87</sup> Count Polzer-Hoditz, "In letzter Stunde" in Österreichs Stern, Legitimistische Wochenschrift Vienna, No 1, November 1932. *Wir wollen es ... nicht dulden, daß unser Vaterland, unser Österreichertum und unsere Tradition durch planmäßige Geschichts- und Tatsachenfälschung von pseudonationalen, grosspreussischen Fetischisten im Reiche und von deren österreichischen Mitläufern immer herabgewürdigt, verleumdet und verhöhnt werden. Wir sehen auch in ihnen Feinde unseres Vaterlandes und unseres österreichischen Volkes, wir sagen ihnen rücksichtslosen und schärfsten Kampf an."*

the future, and only they were being loyal to Austria's past.

The manner in which history was depicted in educational literature was contested because of the belief that it was in the past that the lessons for the future could be discerned. Thus the interpretation of the past might well determine the decisions taken in the present to form the future. This explains why it was so important to discredit the historical viewpoint presented by the opposing view.

#### Conclusion:

George Steiner summarises the links between history and identity when he writes of how

Each new historical era mirrors itself in the picture and active mythology of its past or of a past borrowed from other cultures. It tests its sense of identity, of regress or new achievement, against that past. The echoes by which a society seeks to determine the reach, the logic and authority of its own voice, come from the rear.<sup>88</sup>

Yet history is fluid, it can be written and rewritten. The past is as much a construction as national identity. Thus the interwar debate on Austria's historical development tells us as much if not more about the interwar period than it does about Austria's past. Constructions were sought which served the contemporary agenda. It was precisely because the present was a time of dramatic change that the past had to be re-evaluated. The established order had been swept away, leaving a crisis of identity.

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<sup>88</sup> In Bluebeard's Castle, p13

Austrian history was problematic from many points of view. In its attempts to distance itself from the war guilt of the Monarchy, the Republic inadvertently contributed to "reduction shock" by denying Austria its past. Thus all the factors which had given Austria a sense of identity were lost, or called into question. This is illustrated in the metaphor of the hotel in Joseph Roth's Hotel Savoy (1924). The hotel is a meeting place for the survivors of the war, who are fugitives in a world in which they no longer have a place. At the end of the novel, the beautiful hotel is burnt down in the post-war revolution and the narrator is once again homeless. The Savoy Hotel provides a symbol of the vast spiritual vacuum left after the demise of the Habsburg Empire.

The desire to make 1918 a new beginning was not reprehensible. At this point Austria's past was a burden.<sup>89</sup> But there were too many losses, too many changes in too short a time for the population to be able to adapt. The debate over Austria's future and the deliberate emphasis on history in the Corporate State

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<sup>89</sup> Such circumstances would seem to justify Mary Ann Evans' (George Eliot's) view that the happiest nations have no history. ("The happiest women, like the happiest nations, have no history." The Mill on the Floss, bk vi, ch.3) Goethe made a similar point on American nationalism:  
 America, thou art more fortunate than our old continent,  
 Thou has no ruined castles, and no ancient stones.  
 No useless memories, no vain feuds of the past  
 disturb thee from living in the present.  
 And should thy children start to write poetry, may a  
 kind Providence preserve them from stories of the  
 romantic past. quoted in Nations and Men, p77

permitted Austria's lost history to be reconstructed according to the needs of the present. It would, of necessity, be a gradual process.

The past has the advantage of predictability, an advantage all the more attractive in a period of extreme flux, such as that between the two wars. The past was reassuring, ordered, and led to a known outcome. The present was the exact opposite. Unfortunately history could not provide the surety that was sought of it. The past does not make the shape of the future inevitable. The lessons of the past are ambiguous; and in any case, as is apparent above, the past was being dissected for evidence to prove a point, rather than for guidance. Foraging in the past could be an attractive substitute for dealing with the practical needs of the present. In Austria's case, indeed in any country's case, the nation does not function in a vacuum and does not have absolute control over every contingency. Thus the Anschluß could not come about without Europe's consent or at least disinterest, and the creation of a Danubian Federation had as much to do with the desires of the Succession States as it did with the logical development of Austrian history - the Succession States were equally motivated by their historical development, but reached the opposite conclusion. So the whole idea of historical logic which would inevitably lead to a positive outcome for Austria was flawed.

The debate on what constituted Austrian history, and whether or not it was distinct from the German, reflected

the options the Austrian people were considering, however unrealistically, after the dissolution of the monarchy. Counter-arguments to the interpretations which supported Anschluß were shared by proponents of all the other solutions; thus we see Catholics, Monarchists, and Communists, united if not in purpose then in opposition to a German interpretation of Austrian history. Nevertheless, the opposing camps had more in common than they perhaps realised: both believed that it was necessary to find an alternative to independence (unlike Klahr, for example); both recognised the importance of history in shaping the present; both sought to legitimate their arguments by recourse to the past; neither believed that Austria's identity would be threatened by it being part of a larger structure. Their conclusions simply differed.

The debate over Austria's history was part of the process through which Austria accepted her own independent nationhood. As is becoming apparent, there was a strong sense of an Austrian identity already in the interwar period, in this case rooted in the past. The historical debate illustrates key components of this identity. It was naturally intermingled with questions concerning race, the Austrian character, Austrian culture, and the Austrian mission. The solutions for Austria's future were presented as the only possible future which would be loyal to the past. Loyalty to history meant loyalty to Austrian ideals, and the greatest Austrian ideal was the sense of an Austrian

mission. Ernest Renan describes the relationship between the two when he speaks of how : "In the past an inheritance of glory and regrets to be shared, in the future a like ideal to be realised".<sup>90</sup> This sense of mission is the subject of the following chapter.

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90 "What is a nation?", p81

## Chapter Four

AUSTRIA'S MISSION

*The Austrian was, for a long time, in doubt as to which part of the great inheritance had fallen to his lot in 1918/1919, until he finally discovered to his surprise that he had been named the sole heir.*

(Hugo Hantsch)

## Introduction:

A sense of "mission" in national identity can be described as a "common aim". Such a common aim is a significant feature of nationalism where it is a consequence of protest and a desire for change - for national minority rights, for example. This version of "mission" therefore depends for its definition as much upon the outgroup against which it is directed as on the positive delineation of the ingroup. However the Austrian ideal of mission was a sense of calling, not a form of vendetta. This mission was claimed to be one Austria was in a unique position to fulfil, the mission to draw together different nationalities in peace and understanding.

Contemporary analysis of the Austrian mission must be understood in the context of the quest to identify the path Austria should take in the future. This quest had two manifestations: Austrian history was analysed for clues; and an Austrian mission was defined. The two were closely related, but whereas history was looked to for determinist indications of the path Austria would take, her mission was analysed to explore which path Austria should take - an ethical question. The quest for a mission was an attempt to justify the reason for

Austria's being, to answer the existential questions "Who am I?" "Why do I exist?" (rather than "Where do I come from?" "Where are my roots?"). With the Empire gone, did anything remain of Austrian identity? What function did it have in Europe, if any?

Austria's mission and Austria's history were closely related, for the former stemmed in part from the latter. Thus Austria was the successor to the Roman Empire, and a guardian of the Catholic Church. Franz Trommler argued that in prose,

Felix Austria was presented as the bulwark of Western Christendom, a haven of tolerance during the Wars of Religion, and a commonwealth of nations united in the service of a noble cause.<sup>1</sup>

It was possible to argue that it had been the betrayal of the Austrian mission which had led Austria to its ignominious present situation. In his novel Radetskymarsch, for example, Joseph Roth paralleled the dissolution of the monarchy with the dissolution of Austria's belief in the supra-national mission of its state.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of an Austrian mission was discussed in great depth by non-Anschluß movements; Anschluß adherents tended to refute or neutralise rather than define the agenda in this debate. Their idea of the Austrian mission was simple: Austria existed to serve the Greater

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<sup>1</sup> Frank Trommler: Österreich im Roman, Dissertations Druckerei, München 1965. p18

<sup>2</sup> As the inter-war period aged, Roth increasingly came to see the Empire as embodying humane ideals such as tolerance which were increasingly rarely to be found in contemporary life.



German ideal, a mission which could be fulfilled through an Anschluß. Any other mission would have sat uncomfortably with the idea of union and, if recognised at all, was firmly relegated to the past. Although some of its components are discussed below, Austria's German mission was a nebulous concept, used with the assumption that readers would know what it was, and that it did not therefore need to be defined.

The alternative view of the Austrian mission was in contrast dissected and analysed at length. Both the Legitimist and the Danubian Federationist movements saw Austria as playing a unique function in the reconciliation of European nations. This was not merely an attempt to restore the past. Dualism was to be replaced with a new multi-national structure; federalism was a possible panacea for Austria's ills. But there were echoes of the past: for the Legitimists, for example, it was the restoration of the throne which would go hand in hand with the restoration of Austria's leading position within the countries of the Empire.

The debate surrounding Austria's mission was not restricted purely to adherents of the Danubian Federation or the Anschluß solution to Austria's problems. Not only the Austrian governments, but also other pressure groups and organisations analysed the question of Austria's rôle in Europe. What the alternatives to Anschluß had in common was a strong awareness not only of multi-nationality, but of Austria's relationship to Europe as a whole. This is not to say that there were no differences

even within categories. Legitimists, for example, unlike most Danubian Federationists, argued that only an emperor could ensure that Austria remained true to her mission within Europe and the world. Not only did the Habsburg dynasty have a legal right to govern Austria, but Austria could not possibly hope to survive without an Emperor. Alternatives to Austrian independence which did not involve the restoration of the throne were denounced - Wilhelm Schmid, for example, argued that only an Emperor would be able to join together the disparate peoples of Europe, a rôle which a president of a Danubian Federation could never play.<sup>3</sup>

The debate surrounding the Austrian mission played a large part in actually defining Austrian identity, and many of its themes re-appear in Austria's interwar culture, which is discussed in the following chapters. The arguments and counter-arguments regarding mission fall into four categories which are examined below. Finally, the Austrian mission was also defined by negation. The consequences of the identification of that which was considered "anti-Austrian" conclude this chapter. It will become clear that Austrian national identity was closely interwoven with the ideal of an Austrian mission, most particularly in two ways. First, Austrian national identity and the Austrian mission were defined by Austria's geographical position within Europe.

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<sup>3</sup> Wilhelm Schmid: "Die Vaterländische Aktion" in Vaterland Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang, 1927, 3 Heft.

Second, Austrian self-perception was heavily influenced by her experience of a multi-national structure.

#### Mission and Metaphor:

For Anschluß adherents, the Austrian mission was clear. If Austria was a German nation, determined as such by race, language and a common history, her mission was to remain true to German ideals, whatever these might be. Austria's multi-nationality had existed simply to serve the Greater German ideal:

The unique mission of Vienna and the inner Austrian landscapes was less to produce talent, than to take up the blood currents of Europe and make them useful to the Reich...<sup>4</sup>

Austria's greatness had lain not with the extent of her physical terrain, but with the universality of her spirit and blood. This universality was the product of her ties to the German Reich, a somewhat impenetrable paradox. The influential historian Heinrich Ritter von Srbik summed up the pro-German view of Austria's mission when he wrote, "I saw Austria's 'historic mission', likewise its present and future, as being fulfilled solely in the dissoluble interlocking with the nation in its entirety".<sup>5</sup> Although Srbik ascribed a supranational

<sup>4</sup> Graf Adolf Dubsky: Die Anschlußfrage im Rahmen einer mit Österreichischen Legitimisten geführte Diskussion. 1934. p3: "Die ganz eigenartige Mission Wiens und der inner Österreichischen Landschaft lag weniger darin, Talente zu produzieren, als vielmehr die Blutströme Europas aufzunehmen und sie dem Reiche dienstbar zu machen..."

<sup>5</sup> Heinrich Ritter von Srbik in Deutsche Einheit, I, 10, quoted by Hans Kohn: "AEIOU: Some Reflections on the meaning and mission of Austria" in The Journal of Modern History. Volume XI, December, 1939, No 4: "... und Österreichs 'historische Mission' sah ich ebenso wie seine Gegenwart und Zukunft nur in der

mission to Austria (the unification of many nationalities of central and central-eastern Europe), this was to be accomplished under undisputed German leadership and for the greatness and growth of the German nation.<sup>6</sup>

For the Anschluß opponents, however, Austria and Germany did not have a joint mission, and never had done. So Otto Maria Fidelis was able to state forcefully:

The "Empire" was never German; it was a supranational, a Catholic-occidental, a Holy Empire, a *sacrum imperium*; it did not have a German character to lose.<sup>7</sup>

Far from Austria having been part of the German Empire, if either country had historically been part of the other, then Germany had been part of the Empire which had been ruled from Austria, and by the Austrian dynasty.<sup>8</sup>

Austria should not and could not be associated with one nation because its historically determined mission was supra-national.<sup>9</sup> The Austrian experience of a multi-

unlösbaren Verklammerung mit der Gesamt-nation gegeben." (Hereafter cited as "AEIOU"), p516

6 See Hans Kohn, *ibid.*

7 Otto Maria Fidelis: Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. (Hereafter cited as Österreichs europäische Sendung) p12: "Das "Reich" war nie deutsch; es war ein übernationales, ein katholisch-abendländisches, ein heiliges Reich, ein *sacrum imperium*; einen deutschen Charakter hatte es nicht zu verlieren."

8 *Ibid.*

9 This idea of supranationality was not unconditional. For example, as Jan Papior points out, although seeing its mission as supra-national, while non-German speaking Hungarians, Bohemians and Slavs were identified as organic parts of Austria, Jews were not necessarily accorded the same status. (Jan Papior "Die Österreich-Idee in der Zeitschrift "Vaterland"." in Hans Dieter Heinz (ed): Österreich in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Polnisch-österreichischen Germanisten Symposion 1983 in Salzburg. Adademischer Verlag, Stuttgart, 1985.)



And Bruckner begins to laugh, and all the heroes of all the nations begin to laugh, and the greater and the lesser angels, even St Peter, who has all reason to be cross, even he laughs too. Within seconds the battlefield is transformed into a ballroom, the whole of heaven swaying in three-quarter time, irresistably transported by the magical rhythms of an immortal, true blue Austrian!<sup>12</sup>

Austria is seen here to be the true league of nations, her unique qualities and talents solely capable of providing world (or in this case, heavenly) order. This fable also underlines the manner in which Austrian identity was associated with its music: Strauß is Austria's representative of the "hero of the nation".<sup>13</sup>

Four metaphors were used to analyse this Austrian mission. In these metaphors Austria was described as a greenhouse, a bridge, a heart and a turntable. Each highlighted a different facet of Austria's unique function in Europe.

First, Austria was depicted as the greenhouse of nations, that is, a safe haven where young nations could develop (formerly under the protection of *Haus*

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12 Robert Lohan; Walther Maria Neuwirth; Viktor Trautzi (eds): Das Herz Europas. Ein österreichisches Vortragsbuch. Saturn Verlag, Wien -, (Hereafter cited as Das Herz Europas.) p307: A rumpus in heaven. The last sentence reads "unwiderstehlich hingerissen von den Zauberrhythmen eines unsterblichen, echten Oesterreichers!"

13 A dead Strauß was preferable to a living Schönberg, however. Hannes Androsch points out that Austria to the present day forces its geniuses into emigration or anonymity, only to weave wreaths or name streets after them after their death. (Hannes Androsch: Auf der Suche nach Identität - Österreich Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft: Ein Synthese der Widersprüche. Verlag Christian Brandstätter, Wien, 1988. p94) Schönberg found support in Berlin, Kokoschka in Dresden.

Österreich) until strong enough to stand alone.<sup>14</sup> Austria protected the Danubian area from threats both from the east (Turkey and Russia) and the west (France and Italy). According to Otto Maria Fidelis, Austria's history had been dedicated to protection: it had only been Austria's ability to withstand the Turkish threat, for example, which had permitted the survival of the small nations of Eastern Europe (and of Catholicism). In 1848 the Czech historian Frantisek Palacky had suggested Austria's mission lay with the federation of the many nationalities of eastern-central Europe on the basis of complete equality.<sup>15</sup> Detractors argued that this rôle was superfluous after the events of the First World War. The third volume of *Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreichs* (1937), thus discussed the end of Austria as follows:

The World War taught how powerful the German foundation of the Habsburg empire was. Austria kept the sons of thirty million Slavs in the battle front against Russians, Serbians and Montenegrins for four years. They fought and died, not only for their own state, but also for Germany . . . That was the end of a glorious past, the like of which no other German tribe could show. As Russia broke down, Old Austria also broke down. Because it had fulfilled its mission?"<sup>16</sup>

Not according to anti-Anschluß authors. The Austrian mission might have been betrayed, but it had not been

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<sup>14</sup> Fidelis identifies the Slovene Janez Krek as the coiner of the metaphor of Austria as a greenhouse (*Winterhaus der leinen Nationen.*) Österreichs europäische Sendung, p42

<sup>15</sup> Palacky in a letter to the German parliament at Frankfurt, April 11, 1848. Quoted in "AEIOU", p516.

<sup>16</sup> Hans Pirchegger (ed): Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreichs, Vienna, 1937, quoted *ibid.*

fulfilled. Austria still served to protect not only against Russia (all the more important when it was Bolshevist!) and Turkey, but also against Prussian Germany. Thus Austria could continue to play a unique rôle in drawing together its off-shoots. The consequence, as of Strauß's waltz, would be peace. The conclusion reached by Dr Wilhelm Schmid, a monarchist, on Austria's rôle within a supra-national framework indicates the commonality of ideas between the Danubian Federationists and the Legitimists:

The innermost being of the Austrian idea lies in its supra-national mission. This can be traced back to the beginning of historical writings. Austria was the cradle of all the nations inhabiting this area, and was thereby a great instrument for pacification for the whole of Europe.<sup>17</sup>

C. E. Williams makes an interesting distinction between the imperial idea of the Austrian mission and the post-1918 ideals of supranational unity, for the latter

imply the transcending of local loyalties and the renunciation of nationalism, whereas the Habsburg ideology was designed to forestall the growth of nationalism and to protect an existing power structure.<sup>18</sup>

In a sense, however, the pre and the post Habsburg appeal to Austria's mission can be seen to be based on similar

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17 Dr Wilhelm Schmid in Vaterland; Blätter für Katholisches Österreichertum 1 Jahrgang Mai/Juni 1927, Heft 1. *Das innerste Wesen der österreichischen Idee liegt in seiner übervölkischen Sendung. Dies läßt sich vom Beginne geschichtlicher Überlieferungen an nachweisen. Österreich war die Mutterwiege aller in diesem Raum wohnenden Völkerschaften und damit das große Befriedungs-Instrument für ganz Europa.*

18 C. E. Williams: The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss. Paul Elek, London, 1974, p85.



defensive ideals, even if the object had changed; after 1918 the nationalism to be forestalled was Greater German nationalism, and the existing power structure to be protected was that of the independent Austria. Alternatively, although it was too late to forestall the growth of nationalism, it was not too late to try to supercede it; to find alternative power structures to the nation state.

Whether cradle or greenhouse, the new nations were not seen as mature enough to exist alone. In these metaphors, Austria is akin to a possessive parent, rejecting the possibility that her children could be independent now, and that their bid for independence constituted more than a teenage tantrum. If this were the only metaphor, it would appear to reflect an inability to come to terms with the changed circumstances of the present. However, there is an important shift of emphasis in the analysis of Austria's mission in the remaining metaphors, a shift towards finding a rôle for Austria which did not involve re-creating the past.

The second metaphor depicted Austria as a bridge, a bridge between east and west, and between north and south. By providing a buffer state, in which eastern and western, or German and non-German cultures, could meet in peace, Austria had lit the way for peaceful understanding between nations, for harmony in diversity. Individual identities were not thereby compromised; it was possible for Austria to exhibit a Slavic orientation (that is, to retain her cultural mission to keep Eastern Europe

looking westwards rather than eastwards), and still remain true to her German character. The legitimist newspaper Österreichs Stern presented another version of the same idea depicting Austria as a key, the key to Europe; the "path and method between east and west. Her great European mission has yet to be fulfilled".<sup>19</sup> Until peace was assured in Europe, this mission would not be ended.

The countries between which Austria was required to provide a bridge changed according to European circumstances. Austria could mediate between three cultures; the German, the Slav, and the Roman, representing the same ideals as the Holy Roman Empire. However the emphasis shifted according to necessity. In 1935, for example, when Austria was dependent upon Italian protection, the author Otto Maria Fidelis argued that,

Austria's new mission is to be a bridge between the latinate world, represented by Italy, which has a historical right to the Mediterranean, and the Slavic World, which has a rural, patriarchal culture to defend on the continental territories of the South-East, a culture traditionally most at home in the Danubian-European area.<sup>20</sup>

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19 Österreichs Stern, Legitimistische Wochenschrift. Wien, am 7 Nov 1932 1 Jahrgang, Nummer 1. "Weg und Wege zwischen Ost und West. Seine große europäische Mission harret noch der Erfüllung."

20 Österreichs europäische Sendung, p67: Die neue Sendung Österreichs ist: Brücke zu sein zwischen, der durch Italien repräsentierten lateinischen Welt, die auf das Imperium des Mittelmeeres Recht und Anspruch hat, und der slawischen Welt, die auf dem kontinentalen Boden des Südostens das Erbe einer bäuerlich-patriochalischen Volkskultur zu hüten hat, wie sie im donau-europäischen Raum seit je heimisch war.

The author was here in the unfortunate position of having to pander to Mussolini's expansionism, retain peaceful relations with Yugoslavia, and simultaneously placate Germany. Fidelis was hasty to point out that this mission was nonetheless a German mission, because the German peoples were also placed between the latinate and the Slav world. This Italian phase was particularly linked with the Church; by a logical progression, Austria's mission was simultaneously German and supra-national, just as the Holy Roman Empire had been supra-national, and just as the Holy Catholic Church was supra-national.

Austria's mission as a bridge was defined by her geography - even her capital was situated at the crossing of the two main routes linking North to South and East to West.<sup>21</sup> This idea of Austria as a bridge did find some practical application, for example through the establishment of the *Wiener Messe* and other trade organisations which aimed at encouraging European trade, and encouraging Austria's position, particularly Vienna's, as a focus for economic transactions.

The capital city had a particularly important function if Austria was to be a bridge, both because of its location, and its traditional rôle under the monarchy. According to Ludwig Bauer, Vienna had been founded to unite the people of the Empire; the city had

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<sup>21</sup> See for example the analysis in Das Herz Europas, p72, in which Vienna is said to lie at the crossing of two main arterial roots of central Europe (the Rhine-Donau route to the Balkans, and the Bernstein route from the Baltic to the Adriatic).

survived when the Empire had not.<sup>22</sup> It needed to find a new rôle, and what better than to revise its old one? Fidelis argued that Austria had to recognise that the geographical position of Vienna made it the natural emporium (*Umschlagplatz*) between the German and the Slav nation. The author also argued that in order to do this, the capital would have to drop its arrogance, which manifested itself in the ridiculing of Bohemians, Hungarians and "Krowoten".<sup>23</sup> This is an interesting statement in that it permits a rare reference to the fact that the relations between the different nationalities within Austria had not always been ideal.

The purpose of a bridge is to span a gulf and to link two distinct entities. In the third metaphor, however, the status of Austria itself is emphasised when it is seen as the heart of Europe. This metaphor emphasised that Austria had a powerful position in that it represented the irreplaceable geographical centre of any future European order. Both the metaphor of the bridge and of the heart indicate a strong awareness of Austria's relationship with the rest of Europe.

The Austrian president Wilhelm Miklas coined this metaphor in an interview in 1929, claiming that not only was Austria was Europe's heart, but pointing out that if the heart was suffering, the entire body was ill. It was

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22 Ludwig Bauer: Und Österreich? Ein Staat sucht ein Volk. Im Verlag des Europäischen Merkur, Paris, 1933. p11

23 Österreichs europäische Sendung, p68

therefore in Europe's interest to solve the Austrian problem:

...if this heart of Europe dies, more dies than merely Austria; the continent dies. For centuries Austria has played a negotiating rôle, allocated to it by its geographical position. Naturally, a negotiator should be strong, which contemporary Austria is not. Nonetheless, we shall not fail, and do not wish to give up the mission we have to fulfil in Europe.<sup>24</sup>

This idea of Austria as the negotiator is obviously a similar idea to that of Austria as a bridge. Given that the healthy functioning of the entire organism depends upon the healthy beating of the heart, Oswald Straub pointed out the obvious conclusion was that if the Great Powers were truly committed to solving the tensions within Europe, they could only do so by helping Austria: "Austria can be the beginning of the recuperation of Europe".<sup>25</sup> This metaphor was thus presented for foreign consumption and showed Austrian awareness that her geographical position was a strength which provided her with a basis for bargaining with the outside world.

The military implications of such a position are found in the fourth metaphor, in which Austria was a

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<sup>24</sup> Das Herz Europas, p146; Wilhelm Miklas, quoted from an interview given in 1929 and a conversation in 1930. ...stirbt dieses Herz Europas, so stirbt mehr als Österreich; es stirbt der Kontinent. Seit Jahrhunderten hat Österreich eine Mittlerrolle gespielt, die ihm von seiner geographischen Lage zugewiesen war. Freilich sollte ein Mittler stark sein, was das heutige Österreich gar nicht ist. Trotzdem verzagen wir nicht und wollen auch auf die Mission nicht verzichten, die wir in Europa zu erfüllen haben.

<sup>25</sup> Dr. Oswald Straub: Präferenz, Zollunion und Donau-föderation. Gedanken über das Problem "Österreich". Eigenverlag, Wien, 1932. p24 Österreich kann der Anfang sein für die Gesundung Europas.

turntable. In this case, the sense is of a pair of rings, one rotating within another, as for turning a locomotive:

It may have become a worn out cliché, but it is true to say, and must be quoted, that a French statesman called Austria the turntable of Europe. That is a modern sounding concept for an old matter, namely for Austria's mission. An element of our foreign political duties is to prevent this turntable ever being used for military, peoples-destroying purposes, and to ensure that the wheel of history in south-eastern Europe will only ever turn for the conservation of peoples, and for the linking of peoples, and especially also for economic reasons.<sup>26</sup>

This metaphor recognised that Austria's geographical position made her a potential wedge for a military conquest of Europe, a rôle incompatible with her peaceful mission.

Anschluß adherents used this metaphor to argue that Austria should indeed unite with Germany. While it was possible to see in the former monarchy a bridge between east and west, Austria's reduced status meant she must now have quite other political goals, i.e. self-protection through union with Germany.<sup>27</sup> Those in favour

<sup>26</sup> Österreichs europäische Sendung. p75: Mag es auch schon zum abgebrauchten Schlagwort geworden sein, es ist doch richtig und muß zitiert werden, daß ein französischer Staatsmann Österreich die Drehscheibe Europas nannte. Das ist ein modern klingender Ausdruck für eine alte Sache, nämlich für Österreichs Sendung. Einen Teil unserer außenpolitischen Aufgaben macht es aus, zu verhüten, daß diese Drehscheibe jemals für militärische, völkerzerstörende Zwecke in Bewegung gesetzt werde, und zu erreichen, daß sich das Rad der Geschichte in Südosteuropa immer nur für völkererhaltende und völkerverbindende, vor allem auch für wirtschaftliche Zwecke drehe.

<sup>27</sup> Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter: Der deutsch-österreichische Mensch und der Anschluß. Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. p12

of Anschluß did not deny that Austria was indeed a military turntable, but saw her as a turntable which could be used against Germany. Austria's military weakness was a constant lure to attack, and therefore a constant threat to Germany, and to European peace. The consequences were clear. In an article in the magazine Geopolitik, Hans Stoeger argued:

Given this position, Austria must recognise that it can only fulfil its mission as part of the Reich, and must place itself under the protection of a greater power.<sup>28</sup>

This greater power was, of course, Germany.

Adherents of the Danubian Federation, however, were equally aware that "the protection of a greater power" might not be compatible with Austria's peaceful mission. It was pointed out that Austria had not ever been a wedge into Germany, and that, as history had shown, Austria used her position to mediate, not to dominate. A quote from Hans Karl Zebner-Spitzenberg illustrates how the two elements - exploitation of Austria's military position (the turn-table) and her rôle as mediator (the bridge) - were incompatible. The choice Austria had made revealed her national character:

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<sup>28</sup> Hans Stoeger, "Zur wehrpolitischen Lage Österreichs im Südosten." in Geopolitik Leipzig XI, 11, 1934, quoted in Dr Wilhelm Boehm: Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe. Österreich Institut. Hrsg mit Zustimmung des Bundesministerium für Unterricht. Wien, 1947: *Die außerordentliche militärische Schwäche des österreichischen Grenzraumes bedeutet zugleich eine beständige Lockung zum Angriff, also eine ständige Bedrohung des europäischen Friedens und eine schwere Gefahr für das gesamte Deutschtum. Angesichts dieser Sachlage muß sich Österreich darauf besinnen, daß es seine Mission nur als Reichsland ausüben kann und muß sich dem Schutz einer starken Großmacht unterstellen.*

It is determined that Austria is either a bridge or a citadel. If a glorious and warlike conquering nation were seated here, it would have aggressively subjugated Central Europe, or even all Europe. This was not and is not the case. So Austria became a bridge for cultural and economic trade. Also in the rebuilding of states it became the middle man between the different, a spiritual bridge builder, linking and reconciling potential deadly enemies. So Austria is an important bond between European cultures and states. The Austria people are the carriers of the idea of mediation.<sup>29</sup>

According to Zeßner-Spitzenberg, Austria's mission and Austria's military position were both determined largely by geographical factors: the "fortress of the alps" and the "great cultural current" of the Danube.<sup>30</sup>

For the authors in Vaterland, it was Austria's greatest mission to lead Europe, a mission which Austria had nearly forfeited:

We have not thought as Europeans since Metternich, and that is why we lost our status in Europe. As Prussia's federal comrade we would also be its appendix in our politics.<sup>31</sup>

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29 Dr. jur et phil Hans Karl Zeßner-Spitzenberg: "Österreichs staatliche Geschichte." in Gedächtnis Jahrbuch, Jahrgang 1935/6. Arbeitsgemeinschaft Österreichischer Vereine, 1935. pl: So ist Österreich zur Brücke oder zum Zwingburg bestimmt. Säße hier ein herrliches und kriegerisches Erorberungsvolk, es hätte sich den Raum Mitteleuropas und von da gar fast ganz Europa mit Waffengewalt zum Untertan gemacht. Dies war und ist nicht der Fall. So wurde Österreich Brücke für Kultur und Wirtschafts-austausch. Aber auch im staatlichen Aufbau wurde es Vermittler zwischen Verschiedenen, geistiger Brückenbauer, Verknüpfer und Verbinder und Versöhner einander sonst vielleicht todfeindlich Gesinnter. So wurde Österreich eine wichtige Klammer der europäischen Kultur- und Staatengemeinschaft. Österreichs Volk ist Träger einer Vermittleridee.

30 Ibid. p32

31 Dr Wilhelm Schmid in Vaterland; Blätter für Katholisches Österreichertum 1 Jahrgang Mai/Juni 1927, Heft 1: Wir haben seit Metternich nicht mehr europäisch gedacht und darum verloren wir die Geltung in Europa. Wir waren als Preußens



The emphasis that Austria had to think and act as a European is familiar, as is this view of the consequences of looking to Prussia for leadership. Austria had to be more than a mere adjunct to Germany if she was to fulfil her mission and assure European peace.

The popular author Hermann Bahr argued that Austrians had traditionally sought to preserve their national security by combining with other peoples for mutual guarantees; thus, Austrian history had bequeathed to Austria the function of being the representative of multi-national equality, guaranteeing internal freedom. But the Austro-German abuse of power had betrayed this mission of forming a supra-national Empire, and of providing "the first little model for a future united States of Europe".<sup>32</sup> The old Austria had therefore crumbled.<sup>33</sup> Writing in 1921, Bahr argued that Austria's existence was imperative for Europe, indeed, for the world, but he was sceptical that any outside powers would

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*bundesgenosse auch dieser Appendix in unserer Politik.*

32 Hermann Bahr: Summula. Im Insel Verlag zu Leipzig, 1921. (Hereafter cited as Summula.) p213. Similarly, Oskar Schmitz criticised the Habsburg state for having forced together people who had, in consequence, forgotten that they had originally voluntarily chosen to live together. He argued that German nationalism had been a destructive force, while in fact it would have been better served by supporting an Austrian nation faithful to German cultural ideals. Such a structure, a German structure, it should be emphasised, would have exercised its spiritual and economic attraction to deep within the "Mohammedan orient".

33 Bahr added that Austrians had been most in the wrong when they argued that it was their duty to protect Austria's "German character", which had never existed. Ibid.

be prepared to provide the strength, self-sacrifice and wisdom to help re-erect a multi-national structure.<sup>34</sup>

The moral of the metaphor of the turntable was that Austria's necessity to Europe had to be recognised by the outside world if European peace was to be ensured; an argument which was shown to have some basis in reality. Those against Anschluß argued that Austria was the bastion of peace, not a military fortress. It required protection, not through assimilation, but through Europe in concert.

These ideas had obvious parallels with those of the multi-national structures and pressure groups existant in interwar Europe. The author Otto Maria Fidelis, for example, argued that if Austria represented the supra-national (Catholic) ideal, and was committed to the idea that all nations had the right to self-expression, then its ideals also had a close affinity with those of the League of Nations.<sup>35</sup> In this forum, Austria could meet with other powers as an equal, despite her military and

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p220: *Auch wird selbst das lebendigste Gefühl für Österreichs Unsterblichkeit, für Österreichs Unentbehrlichkeit in Europa, für Österreichs Weltnotwendigkeit doch auf die Frage nicht antworten könne, wer denn Österreich wieder aufrichten soll, welcher Nation denn die Kraft, die Selbstüberwindung, die Zuversicht, nachzuholen, was seit Kremsier versäumt worden ist, zuzutrauen, welche denn jung genug wäre, sich über sich empor ins Übernationale zuwagen. Zunächst sieht keine danach aus.*

<sup>35</sup> According to Fidelis, its exclusion of the Pope (due to its masonic and liberal roots) had cost it Catholic support, despite the fact that Pope Benedict XV had encouraged Catholics to support the League of Nations because of the similiarity between its supra-national ideal and that of the Church. See Österreichs europäische Sendung. p72.

economic weaknesses. The League was dedicated to peace in Europe, an ideal the author associates with the Holy Roman Empire, for which the League was a modern surrogate.

In practice, however, there was little evidence of support for the League of Nations in Austria, especially as time went on, as the following cynical poem "Oh Völkerbund!", ("Oh, League of Nations", roughly translated below) written in 1934 illustrates:

The dear little League of Nations  
 becomes smaller every day;  
 This constant loss of members  
 bothers no one anyway.  
 For what is just a swindle  
 and always was a cheat  
 will not be long accepted  
 by the European on the street.  
 The expense is borne by the little man  
 of each and every nation  
 who fools himself that all this cash  
 will find its proper station...  
 Dissolve, oh League of Nations  
 This all nations condone:  
 Dissolve as soon as possible,  
 You can self-destruct alone!<sup>36</sup>

Negative views of the League of Nations became more widespread as the interwar period aged. The editorial of

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36 Österreichs Stern Legitimistische Wochenschrift  
 Nummer 15 Jan 1934, III Jahrgang, No 3.  
*Es wird der liebe Völkerbund  
 nun wirklich täglich kleiner  
 den armen Mitgleidschaftenschwund  
 den kränkt denn auch nun Keiner.  
 Denn was einmal ein Schwindel ist  
 und immer Schwindel war,  
 das Volk nicht auf die Dauer frißt  
 das von Europa gar.  
 Die Spesen trägt der kleine Mann  
 von jede Nationen,  
 und hält damit sich selbst im Wahn,  
 daß sich das Geld wird lohnen...  
 Drum löse Dich nur recht bald auf  
 du lieber Völkerbund, wir,  
 alle Völker freu'n uns drauf  
 und geh' allein zu Grund!*

Österreichs Stern pointed out that the intentions behind the League of Nations were worthy of some recognition, for example, its desire to be an instrument of fruitful international economic politics, but that it had completely failed to fulfil its promise, and promises. Even Fidelis admitted that the League of Nations was not ideal and needed strengthening, arguing that its roots in liberalism and free-masonry had led to the exclusion of the pope, which cost it great moral support.

In some ways, a revival of the Empire could make such structures superfluous. At Christmas 1932, for example, Österreichs Stern, the newssheet of the Austrian Legitimists' Association, published a sad but hopeful Christmas poem by Richard Kralik.<sup>37</sup> To retain the essence, the poem is included in the original language. The poet is regretting that yet another Christmas is being celebrated without an emperor. There is hope, however, for there are signs that Austria will re-find her greatness, and become more powerful and imperial than ever before. Austria unified people and states in a glorious league; Austria's works and deeds proclaim the wellbeing of mankind:

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37 Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift. Nummer 1, Wien, am 7 November 1932. Subheading: *In der Not und in dem Elende der heutigen Zeit, soll unser Blatt ein Hoffnungsstern sein für das arme österreichische Volk, für die Arbeiter, für die Gewerbetreibenden, kurz für alle Österreicher, die am Wiederaufbau unseres Vaterlandes mithelfen wollen.* (In the want and misery of the present times, our paper is intended as a star of hope for the unfortunate people of Austria, for the workers, for the traders, in short, for all Austrian who want to help with the reconstruction of our Fatherland.)

Österreichische Weihnachten. (Austrian Christmas)

Österreich Du feierst wieder  
eine Weihnacht kaiserlos,  
Doch schon künden hohe Lieder  
Dir das höchste, schönste Los.

Aus der Kleinheit steigst Du sicher  
Noch zur Größe bald empor  
Herrschender und kaiserlicher  
Als Du jemals warst zuvor.

Du vereinigst Völker, Staaten,  
Noch im schönstem Völkerbund,  
Deine Werke, Deine Taten,  
tun das Heil der Menschheit kund.<sup>38</sup>

Austria herself is here identified as the true League of Nations (fourth verse: You unite peoples, states, in the most beautiful League of Nations...). The equation "monarchy = greatness and world power status" is an indication that "reduction shock" still went deep in 1932. Given that it was extremely improbable that Austria would ever play the rôle she had done in the past, such lack of acceptance of Austria's reduced borders stood in the way of a contented national identity being formed.

Nonetheless, to identify the legitimist movement with megalomania or an inability to let go of the past, would be to trivialise the ideology of the movement. More than territory and power, the Legitimists wished to restore to Austria her soul, and her true mission to be multi-national (albeit with Austrian domination). The necessity to overcome national divisions to ensure peace was one which Austria's past had made her extraordinarily well suited to debate.

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<sup>38</sup> Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift.  
Nummer 6. Wien, am 12 Dez 1932. I Jahrgang.

Austria's adherence to supra-national ideals is substantiated by the fact that the Pan-European movement started in Austria, as did Karl Anton Rohans' "Kulturbund" which sought to form cultural ties beyond Europe. Neither of these movements should be termed nationalistic, nor anti-nationalistic; Oskar Schmitz argued that they could not be called international, but that "supra-national" provided the best description.<sup>39</sup> This was not mere pedantry given the different connotations of each of these terms.

Austrian involvement in and support for supra-national structures could be seen as evidence of her distinct mission and character.<sup>40</sup> Oskar Schmitz, for example, argued that only Austrians could formulate such ideas, because "nation" was not a problematic term for them but a secured ideal, a concept which needed neither to be stressed nor denied.<sup>41</sup> The debate surrounding Austria's mission was both part of the construction of an Austrian national identity, and part of understanding of the existant identity.

There is an overlap in ideals between the ideals of the Danubian Federation and those of the founder of the

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<sup>39</sup> According to Schmitz, only Jewry were true supporters of internationalism, but found support only among those who sought economic rather than national gain - the supra-national proletariat and the extra-national (außer-national, as opposed to supra-über) - capitalism.

<sup>40</sup> The first head of Interpol, which was founded in Austria in 1923, was Johann Schober (chief of police, later prime minister).

<sup>41</sup> Strictly speaking, "Cisleithanian" would be more accurate than "Austrian" in this context - Coudenhove-Kalergi was Czech, for example.

Pan-European movement, Dr Richard Nikolai Coudenhove-Kalergi. Coudenhove-Kalergi suggested European union to achieve three practical advantages: economic prosperity through customs union; peace through disarmament and treaties; the eradication of boundaries through respect for the rights of minorities.<sup>42</sup> The first Pan-European Congress was held in Vienna in October 1926, a location justified by the fact that not only was Vienna the seat of the movement, but this was a city "which links the north of Europe with the south, the east with the west, and is so predetermined to be the centre of the movement geographically, politically and economically";<sup>43</sup> a description almost identical with the analysis of Vienna's position in the metaphor of the bridge.

The Pan-European movement provoked similar antagonism as the League of Nations did, albeit on a smaller scale. The Danubian Federation movement and the Pan-European movement shared common objectives, but

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42 Coudenhove Kalergi's openness to racial mixing, his belief that the European of the future would be a "mongrel" (in fact, of course, already was), and his belief that Jews deserved greater support in European society did not aid his popularity in some circles. He was also identified as an enemy of the German nation through his acceptance of the borders laid down at the Paris Peace Conference. See for example Graf Adolf Dubsky: Die Anschlußfrage im Rahmen einer mit Österreichischen Legitimisten geführte Diskussion.--, 1934. p136: In einer seiner zahlreichen Schriften "Adel" (im Sammelbande "Praktischer Idealismus", 1925 neugedruckt) entwirft Coudenhove ein Bild der künftigen nationalen Entwicklung Europas, wie er sie sich vorstellt "Der Mensch der ferneren Zukunft wird Mischling sein."

43 R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi (President of the Union): "Pan-Europa und Österreich" in Österreich; Monatsschrift für alles Österreichische. May, 1927, p17.

Danubian Federationists argued that they - or Austria - could not wait for the Pan-European movement to take hold. As Kleinwächter argued, to convince 460 million peoples divided by history, race, and language that a European union would be beneficial would require patient re-education.<sup>44</sup> Even if Austria herself were ready for such revolutionary ideas, she could not afford to wait for other nations to catch up with her enlightened views. The Danubian Federation or Anschluß could provide Austria with an interim solution, and the Pan-European movement with a foundation on which to build.

For Anschluß adherents, Austria's international past could not be ignored, but it could be neutralised: either by finding in it a uniquely German mission, or by arguing that the pressure of living with other nationalities had actually strengthened German national identity. Although the means were different, the common goal was to turn Austria's past into an asset for a unified Greater Germany. So, for example, the academic Friedrich Kainz argued:

The non-German influences - which were much stronger in Austria due to its location than in Germany within the Reich - were made completely German over the centuries [eingedeztscht], yes, even bavarianised, or at least any cultural relevance was stripped, neutralised or completely assimilated.<sup>45</sup>

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44 Friedrich Kleinwächter: Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich. Reichs Propaganda Ausschub der Deutsch-österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. d. Reich, Stuttgart, 1929. (Hereafter cited as Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich.)

45 Privatdozent Dr Friedrich Kainz: "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Literatur" in Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen



These arguments held that Austria had been able to retain its German identity despite being surrounded by foreign influences because it possessed strong trends towards both assimilation and conservatism. The ability to assimilate foreign influences, to take the best of them and adapt them to the German character, was Austria's unique mission. According to Kleinwächter, because of their contact with foreign nationals, German Austrians had in fact had to struggle to retain their German identity:

Strange as it may sound, it is a fact that we German Austrians in many ways feel more deeply and more strongly German than our brothers in the Reich. That stems from the fact that we as Germans had nothing but our Germanness. We had no state on which to anchor our imagination. We had to fight incessantly for our Germanness, defend it against the foreign nationals but who were fellow members of our state... <sup>46</sup>

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Bedeutung Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as Die Anschlußfrage), p260: Die Rassenstruktur der österreichischen Bevölkerung ist im wesentlichen mit der bajuvarischen identisch und überschreitet nirgends den Rahmenspielraum des in sich Reich differenzierten deutschen Volkstums. Denn was an außerdeutschen Einflüssen vorhanden war - und solchen Einflüssen war Österreich zufolge seiner Grenzmarkstellung weit stärker ausgesetzt als das Binnendeutschtum -, wurde im Laufe der Jahrhunderte vollständig eingedeutscht, ja bajuvarisiert oder zumindest jeder kulturschöpferischen Relevanz entkleidet, neutralisiert, wenn schon nicht völlig assimiliert.

46 Die Anschlußfrage, p235: So sonderbar es klingt, es ist eine Tatsache, daß wir Deutschösterreicher in vieler Beziehung tiefer und stärker Deutsch empfinden als unsere Brüder im Reiche. Das kommt daher, daß wir als Deutsche eben nichts anderes hatten, als unser Deutschtum. Wir hatten keinen Staat, an dem sich unser Phantasie emporranken könnte. Wir mußten unser Reichdeutschtum in unaufhörlichen Kämpfen gegen anders nationale Staatsgenossen verteidigen.

This idea that the German Austrians were more representative of German ideals than the Reich

Since the break up of the monarchy, this feeling had but strengthened, he continued. Furthermore, Raun added to this discussion, it had been the German components of the Empire which had provided the civil servants, judges, officers, and diplomats. Especially in the provinces where three or even five different nationalities or religious confessions met, such as Bosnia, Herzegovina, or Dalmatia, it had been the German officer and civil servant who had stood above party politics and who had fulfilled important civil and administrative duties.<sup>47</sup> These upstanding individuals had returned to Austria after the Empire's collapse and could become useful citizens of a Greater Germany.

Despite her puny size and poverty, Austria was, therefore, able to bring to the union a sum of traditions and experiences which could serve Germany both domestically and internationally:

Broad sections of the German Austrians have in the long centuries of cultural work and in the bitter battles of the past decades won an understanding for the national questions so important today, as is found in Germany only in far smaller circles. The German Austrians have had to learn better than the Germans in the Reich, to empathize with the sense of justice and the living necessities of the opponent, to consider his national sensitivities and vanities, to awaken his interest in peace, friendship and cooperation with the German people, without sacrificing any national ideals of their own.<sup>48</sup>

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Germans was an argument which became all the more important after 1933.

<sup>47</sup> Dr. Rudolf Raun: Deutschland und Deutschösterreich. Verlag von Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin, 1921. (Hereafter cited as Deutschland und Deutschösterreich) p21

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p24: *Die Deutschösterreicher haben in der jahrhundertlangen Kulturarbeit und in den harten*

This understanding and openness to compromise would also serve the German domestic situation:

Austrians also bring more understanding towards the social and political opponents amongst their own people than in the Reich; the contradictions between the classes and between political parties are less extreme, the tendency to consider anybody who thinks differently as a cad is less.<sup>49</sup>

This perception of Austrian character contains the barest hint of criticism of the German way. While here it is argued that Anschluß could solve weaknesses on both sides, it is also apparent that there are arguments put forward here which could be used equally effectively as a foundation for a distinct Austrian identity.

Whatever the differences between the opposing views (Legitimists, Danubian Federationists etc.) there was a strong unifying factor: hostility towards the Anschluß movement. Österreichs Stern identified the day on which Austria declared itself a part of the German Republic in 1918 as the nadir of Austria's mission. On that day, it wrote, Austria had identified itself with nationalism and

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*Kämpfen der letzten Jahrzehnte in weiten Schichten ein Verständnis für die heute so weltbewegende nationale Frage gewonnen, wie es in Deutschland leider nur in viel kleineren Kreisen verbreitet ist. Besser als die Deutschen im Reich haben die Deutschösterreicher lernen müssen, sich in das Rechtsgefühl und die Lebensbedürfnisse des Gegners hineinzudenken, seinen nationale Empfindlichkeit und Eitelkeit zu schonen, sein Interesse an Frieden, Freundschaft und Zusammenarbeit mit dem deutschen Volk zu wecken und zu fördern, ohne doch wirkliche eigene nationale Werte freizugeben.*

49 Ibid.: Auch dem sozialen und politischen Gegner innerhalb des eigenen Volkes bringt man in Deutschösterreich im Durchschnitt mehr Verständnis entgegen als im Reiche, die Gegensätze der Klassen und politischen Parteien sind im allgemeinen milder, die Neigung, jeden andersdenkenden für einen Schuft zu halten, geringer.

Protestantism, both anathema to the true Austrian ideals. 1918 was also the nadir for Austria's supra-national mission, which had linked it so closely to the supra-national Catholic church.<sup>50</sup>

Catholicism was another common feature of Legitimism and movements favouring a Danubian Federation. In keeping with their legitimist principles, the *Vaterländische Aktion* underlined this point by quoting a member of the royal family: as Franz Ferdinand had argued in evidence that Austria and the Church were irrevocably bound together, *Los von Rom ist los von Österreich*.<sup>51</sup> Indeed the Catholic church was the only obvious structure which could provide a supranational focus to replace that of the Empire and the Dynasty.<sup>52</sup> This Catholicism was based on festivity rather than domination, according to Ludwig Bauer, an argument reminiscent of the one seen in the previous chapter that Austria did not seek to conquer, but to assimilate.

Catholicism is seen here as contributing a vital element to the Austrian mission, and, by extension, to Austrian national identity. Wilhelm Schmid, the editor of Vaterland (Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum),<sup>53</sup> emphasised in the first issue that

50 Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift. Nummer 30. Wien, am 5 August, 1935. 4 Jahrgang.

51 Dr Wilhelm Schmid in Vaterland; Blätter für Katholisches Österreichertum 1 Jahrgang Mai/Juni 1927, Heft 1.

52 Ludwig Bauer: Und Österreich? Ein Staat sucht ein Volk. Im Verlag des Europäischen Merkur, Paris, 1933, p10

53 Vaterland reflected the views of "Die Katholische Aktion" and "Die Österreichische Aktion". "Die Katholische Aktion" was founded by Pope Pius XI, who

Austrian belief could be summarised by the phrase "For God, Emperor and the Fatherland".<sup>54</sup> Vaterland hoped to pick up the threads that had brought together the people of the former Empire.<sup>55</sup> The only solution to the atmosphere of distrust and hatred that was poisoning inter-war Europe was seen here as "the national reconciliation concept of the Austrian idea, together with the loving commandments of the Church".<sup>56</sup> Here, "nations" were associated with destructive competition and distrust; while in fact each nation had its place in God's plans, and complemented each other as limbs on a body do, a familiar biblical image.

Vaterland had a strong idea of what it considered Austrian, frequently using terms such as "the Austrian way", "Austrian culture" and even the "Austrian soul" - and therefore recognised the "Austrian nation".<sup>57</sup> An examination of the ideals discussed in Vaterland shows that the Austrian mission was not simply composed of positive elements. It was equally possible to define the Austrian mission by negation. Thus, the Austrian mission opposed Protestantism, clericalism, nationalism, national

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emphasised that the Catholic action movement must be separated from party and politics. This must also have been appealing after the disillusionment with party politics.

54 Vaterland; Blätter für Katholisches Österreichertum 1 Jahrgang Mai/Juni 1927, Heft 1.

55 Ibid. p3: *Die feinen Fäden also wieder anzuknüpfen, die uns mit den Menschen der Völker des alten Reiches verbinden sollen, ist eine der Hauptaufgaben des "Vaterland".*

56 Ibid.: *Der völkerversöhnungsgedanke der österreichischen Idee, in Verbindung mit dem Liebesgebote der Kirche.*

57 See for example, "Österreichische Nation" in Vaterland 3/116.

socialism (including the Anschluß), centralism, Prussianism, militarism, socialism, Marxism and democracy (anathema to a country which should be ruled by an Emperor).<sup>58</sup>

This definition by negation had its most portentous consequences when it met the ideology of the Corporate State. For anti-parliamentarians, the Corporate State could be seen as having rescued Austria, and the Legitimists therefore pledged their loyalty to the Corporate State as long as it remained true to its ideal of "sweeping away the revolutionary rubbish of 1918, supporting Austrian independence and building on the great traditions of Austria's past".<sup>59</sup> The Austrian mission was seen as being under attack from three alien ideologies simultaneously: National Socialism, Marxism (which was equated with Social Democracy), and democracy itself. The government and the anti-Nazi movements did recognise and support Austrian national identity in so far as they called for the state to use "the inexhaustible moral reserves of the people of the Austrian nation, and their prestigious traditions". Such national loyalty was contrasted to the undermining and denial of Austrian national identity, erroneously

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<sup>58</sup> See Jan Papior - Die Österreich-Idee in der Zeitschrift "Vaterland" in Walter Weiss and Eduard Beutner (eds): Literatur und Sprache im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit. Polnisch-österreichischen Germanisten Symposion 1983 in Salzburg Hans Dieter Heinz. Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart. 1985.

<sup>59</sup> Declaration by the Eiserner Ring in Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift. Nummer 23. Wien, am 5 Juni, 1933. 2 Jahrgang.

identified as being the goal of both National Socialists and Social Democrats:

This movement [Anschluß] is an enemy to the Austrian idea, it is out to destroy Austrian independence and fails to recognise the Austrian mission. If it came to power, it would reduce our once so great and powerful Austria to a province. It is not only an obstacle on the path to the creation of a new, and strong Austria, but is also a federal comrade of decaying Marxism.<sup>60</sup>

The defenders of Austrian independence lost themselves a vital ally by refusing to co-operate with the Social Democrats who were in fact anxious to participate in the shoring up of Austrian independence. Equating Social Democracy with National Socialism (in terms of being common enemies) prevented domestic co-operation to defend Austria against her internal and external enemies. This was not because there was no desire to fight for Austria, or against her enemies. The problem lay in the identification of who these enemies were.

The most important watershed in this debate was again Hitler's accession to power, and the erection of the Corporate State in Austria. After 1933, the Corporate State attempted to combine both views of the Austrian mission. Once National Socialism was in power

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<sup>60</sup> Declaration by the Eiserner Ring in Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift. Nummer 23. Wien, am 5 Juni, 1933. 2 Jahrgang: *Dem österreichischen Gedanken Feind, auf die Vernichtung der Selbständigkeit Österreichs eingestellt und eine österreichische Mission nicht anerkennend, ist diese Bewegung, die käme sie zur Macht, unser einst so großes und mächtiges Österreich zu einer Provinz herunterdrücken würde, heute nicht nur ein Hindernis auf dem Wege zur Schaffung eines neuen, starken Österreichs, sondern in vielem auch ein Bundesgenosse des bereits wankenden Marxismus.*

in Germany, it was possible to argue that Austria constituted the better German state, because it had remained true to German ideals which National Socialism had betrayed. However, the attempts of the Corporate State to conciliate both views - Austria's independent mission, Austria's German mission - were doomed to failure. The Corporate State could not resolve how Austria could fulfil both her mission to defend German culture, and simultaneously remain true to supra-national ideals. Ernst Karl Winter, a devoted monarchist and the vice-Mayor of Vienna, pointed out that one could not reject National Socialism by emulating it, a recognition that seemed to be lacking elsewhere.

The ambiguous attitude towards Austrian independence of the Corporate State did not go unnoticed. The Communist Alfred Klahr, for example, quoted an article in Schuschnigg's paper Sturm über Österreich of August 1936, in which it was argued that "the construction of a sense of Austrian national identity would be the suicide of the Austrian mission". Such proclamations tried to deny the fact that an Austrian national identity was already being constructed, and that the Austrian mission could not survive without an embodiment to put it into practice. Klahr's exploration of Austrian identity was inspired by the desire to counter what he saw as inaccurate depictions which undermined Austrian identity. Threats to the Austrian mission could in fact strengthen awareness of it.



Yet it would be a mistake to assume that the two views of Austria's mission were necessarily mutually exclusive. As seen, even the Anschluß supporter Heinrich von Srbik, the eminent historian, saw Austria as being both German and supra-national, defining the Austrian mission as the enrichment of the entire German nation through her European cultural identity. In practice, however, it did prove impossible to reconcile Austria's German mission with a multi-national one in the interwar period. This was because Austria could not remain independent against the wishes of her rapacious German neighbour. If the true German ideals were defined by the more powerful Germany, the Austrian mission would also be defined according to the latter's desires. The Corporate State was therefore unable to reconcile the two facets of Austrian identity, and Austria's mission went unfulfilled in the interwar period.

### Conclusion:

Edmund Burke argued that having abandoned the service of God, man had adopted the service of the nation.<sup>61</sup> Austrians, however, had a sense of loyalty not so much to the nation state as to multi-national, supra-national ideals. Hans Weigel identified the paradox when he wrote that the mission of the Austrian state was not to have one.<sup>62</sup> Certainly this mission was not

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61 K.R. Minogue: Nationalism. University Paperbacks, Methuen, London, 1967. p147

62 Hans Weigel: O du mein Österreich. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1970. p133: *Ein Staat, dessen Mission darin besteht, keine zu haben.*

conventionally nationalistic. Kreissler argues that the term "internationalism" is the key to understanding Austria's mission: this mission was internationalist in terms of Marxism (as represented by Klahr), in terms of Catholicism (Ernst Karl Winter), and in terms of "Europeanism" (Coudenhove-Kalergi).<sup>63</sup> Even where Austria was ascribed a German mission, the ideal was that an Austria united with Germany would bring about European peace.<sup>64</sup>

Selective memory is greatly in evidence throughout the debate over Austrian identity and particularly when the past entered the discussion. Most analyses of Austria's multi-national past leave it utterly incomprehensible why the monarchy dissolved, except that one might glean that the Succession States had mistaken views. Certainly Austrians were usually absolved of any blame. As Hans Kohn pointed out, "in spite of Austria's exclusion from Germany in 1866, the dualism of 1867 and later the foreign policy of the dual monarchy tried to preserve a predominantly German "mission" for Austria".<sup>65</sup> This is certainly not the emphasis of the debate. However the failure of the monarchy could be interpreted as evidence that Austria's mission was not yet complete.

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<sup>63</sup> Felix Kreissler: Der Österreicher und seine Nation. Ein Lern Prozess mit Hindernissen. Böhlau Verlag, Vienna/Graz/Köln, 1984. p530

<sup>64</sup> See, for example, Kleinwächter's analyses of the Austrian mission in Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter: Der deutschösterreichische Mensch und der Anschluß. Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926; in Die Anschlußfrage; and Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich.

<sup>65</sup> "AEIOU", p517

In a history of Austria for university students (c. 1937), the author Heinrich Kretschmayr summarised Austria's mission:

Born, as it were, too soon to be able to carry out such a difficult mission, still lacking adequate experience and not yet possessing adequate means, it could not bring to fruition the great task laid upon it: the task of uniting the *Stämme* between the German world and the Russian world, of instilling them with spiritual homogeneity and of bringing into a definitive form the national and Succession States, which had arisen and developed in outrage against the former Austria. This task still constitutes one of the really great questions in the history of Europe and is still awaiting a solution.<sup>66</sup>

Historical analysis sought from the past a current identity with which Austria could live, and on which Austria could build. It was thus more appealing to identify Austria as a facilitator and mediator than as an oppressor and anachronism.

Apart from its history, Austria's geographical position also helped to determine its identity, as did Austrian awareness of the diversity of nations represented in Europe. These formed common foundations for the four metaphors identified above. Because Austria's fate was inextricably linked with the rest of

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<sup>66</sup> Quoted in "AEIOU", p524. *Denn die große Aufgabe, mit der es beladen gewesen ist, und die es, gleichsam zu früh geboren, um einer so schweren Mission entsprechen zu können, mit noch nicht genügenden Erfahrungen und noch nicht genügenden Mitteln nicht hat zur Reife bringen können: die Aufgabe, die Stämme zwischen deutscher und russischer Welt zu vereinigen, mit geistiger Gleichartigkeit zu durchdringen und die in Empörung gegen Altösterreich entstandenen und aufgebauten National- und Nachfolgestaaten in eine endgültige Form zu bringen, ist als eine der ganz großen Fragen der Geschichte von Europa noch immer gegeben und wartet ihrer Lösung.*

Europe, it was argued that she had learnt by necessity how to be a good European, and could thus lead the way to peaceful understanding between nations. Prince Starhemberg, the leader of the Heimwehr, wrote in his memoirs, "contact with Dollfuß taught me that a patriotic Austrian must also be a good European".<sup>67</sup> This was a practical necessity as well as an ideological goal. Although the monarchy had not proved exactly adept in keeping peace between different nationalities, this was a very topical ideal for its successor which lay, vulnerable and surrounded, in the heart of Europe.

This awareness of Europe as a whole did not necessarily entail giving up the sense of being a distinct nation: as one article in the legitimist paper Vaterland explained, to be a true European, Austria had to think in French with France, in German with Germany, in Hungarian with Hungary ... to be everything to everyone (*Allen Alles sein*), and yet to be and to remain an Austrian.<sup>68</sup> As was so often the case, Austria's ideology was out of synch with the rest of Europe, although whether this was because she had been left far behind (adhering to structures from pre-nationalist days), or was way ahead (adumbrating the European Union and the attempt to overcome nationalist divisions and create post-national structures) is unanswerable.

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<sup>67</sup> Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg: Between Hitler and Mussolini - Memoirs of Ernst Rüdiger, Prince Starhemberg, Hodder and Stoughton Limited. London, 1942. p99

<sup>68</sup> Vaterland, Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. Sept/Oct 1 Jahrgang 1927, 1 Heft, p44

The underlying principles of the Austrian mission, whether those of the Anschluß adherents or its opponents, were reflected in other areas of Austrian identity. So, for example, the question of historical heritage and the quest to define Austria's rôle and identify her characteristics were also found in cultural circles. This provides the focus for the next chapter. Suffice it to say that another important dimension of national identity is seen to be in evidence through the debate on mission: the sense of purpose. Austria's historical mission seemed to provide an alternative to the chaos of the present. Furthermore, Anschluß agitation has been described as Austria seeking to commit "suicide for fear of death".<sup>69</sup> A sense of mission could counter-act the sense that Austria was not viable by giving Austria a reason to exist.

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<sup>69</sup> Kurt Skalnik: "Auf der Suche nach der Identität" in Erika Weinzierl/Kurt Skalnik: Österreich 1918-1938, Geschichte der Ersten Republik. Styria Verlag, Graz, 1983. p12: "Selbstmord aus Angst vor dem Tod".

## Chapter Five

THE AUSTRIAN INDIVIDUAL

*A nation is a character.*

*(Salvador de Madariaga)*

## Introduction:

The components of the debate over Austria's future are also found in the analysis of what constituted the Austrian character. The analysis of *der österreichischer Mensch* (the Austrian individual) was part of the quest to develop or identify an Austrian national identity.

Like so many components of national identity, the concept of national character is problematic. Louis Snyder argues that "nationality is to a social group what personality is to an individual"<sup>1</sup>: thus analyses of national character are an attempt to pin-point national personality. Salvado de Madariaga argues: "Ultimately, national psychologies are but lived world-philosophies, lived *Weltanschauungen*".<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this also helps to explain the human tendency to try to classify foreign nationals, as an attempt to predict character and thus behaviour. Nonetheless, whereas most people are comfortable talking about "the British", "the Americans", "the Kenyans", etc. as though the character of every member of the nation can be categorised in this fashion, such concepts are difficult to discuss academically.<sup>3</sup>

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1 Louis L. Snyder: The Meaning of Nationalism. Greenwood Press Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 1954, p67

2 Salvador De Madariaga: Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, an essay in comparative psychology. Oxford University Press, London, 1928, p244 (Hereafter cited as Englishmen)

3 Except in so far as they demonstrate the desire of the human information-processing system to make such categorisations.

Identifications of national character are common enough for Anthony Wallace to have recognised a general model: "The description of the national character of a people is apt to include statements about genius, world view, and values".<sup>4</sup> It must be questioned whether generalisations and stereotypes can be genuinely enlightening about national character, however, or indeed whether such a character exists.<sup>5</sup>

Robert A. Levine has examined the interaction between personality and culture. It is clear that human character is determined by a multitude of factors - genetic inheritance, early experiences, and adaptive habits (responding to external stimuli and internal needs) to name but three. Social interaction and social structure will invariably have a strong influence. Thus it is not academically suspect to posit that a specific environment may result in certain shared personality traits between its inhabitants, as the example of language shows in the following chapter.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Anthony F. C. Wallace: Culture and Personality. Random House, New York, 1970, p149

5 Analysis of national character was already a popular subject in the interwar period, where it was often associated with the concept of race. See for example, Englishmen.

6 Robert A. Levine: "Personality and Culture: Basic Concepts in an Evolutionary Model" in Peter B. Hammond (ed): Cultural and Social Anthropology; Introductory Readings in Ethnology Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc. New York. 1975 edition. p513 (Hereafter cited as "Personality and Culture"). In Nationalism, A Report by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, London, Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (Chairman E.H. Carr.), 1939, national character is seen as the result of environment, acting over several generations, as opposed to the consequence of a specific ethnic mixture. (Hereafter cited as Nationalism, A Report) p257

A "chicken versus the egg" argument confuses the issue of the relationship between the analysis of a national individual and national identity. Is national character determined by the nation, or does national character determine the nation? Does the individual determine national character, or does the pin-pointing of national characteristics encourage their identification in the individual? There is no ready answer to these questions. National identity is an amalgamation of corporate identity and individual identity. It is created from above and from below. The extent to which these factors influence each other is impossible to quantify. However, the questions are perhaps difficult to answer because they are the wrong questions. The real issue is the fact that apparently opposing aspects are inter-related and influence each other, not which aspect precedes the other.

However academically tenuous the concept of a national character is, it is nonetheless accorded an important rôle in constructions of national identity. Furthermore, it is possible to analyse critically contemporary analysis of national character.

National character can be determined in two ways. A specific individual can be identified as representing a national trait: Ernst Karl Winter used historical personages, such as Clemens Maria Hofbauer, as the ideal personifications of the Austrian individual;<sup>7</sup> Dollfuß was another popular choice; Hitler a more problematic one. Alternatively, national character was depicted by an

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7 After his assassination, Dollfuß was widely depicted as the ideal Austrian, a martyr to his beliefs.



invented individual, a conglomeration of traits perceived to make up the Austrian national character. "Der österreichische Mensch" was such a construct.<sup>8</sup>

In this chapter the Austrian individual is deconstructed into his component parts.<sup>9</sup> Both culture and history were seen as having a profound effect upon the individual, and the consequent traits exhibited by Austrians are listed below. The analysis of the Austrian individual had two incentives. As stated, it should be placed in the context of a general desire to analyse what constituted Austrianness. In addition, however, it was also a direct response to the manner in which it was felt Austria was perceived by the outside world, in particular by Germany. The complicated relationship between the Austrian character and the German character is therefore discussed at length. In the conclusion, the significance of the contemporary analysis of national character is discussed.

### The Austrian Individual

8 There is some difficulty in translating the simple term "der österreichische Mensch". Literally, "the Austrian human being", "the Austrian individual" is a less clumsy approximation, and one which I prefer over the "Austrian anthropology" suggested by Fritz Fellner ("The Dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy and its significance for the new order in Central Europe - a Reappraisal" in Austrian History Yearbook, Volume IV 1968/69. Rice University 1970). Hans Kohn labelled him *Homo Austriacus*, a satisfactory solution when the use of Latin did not involve an air of pretension.

9 Der is masculine, and hence *Der Mensch* is always referred to as "he". Furthermore, however, the use of the masculine pronoun reflects the fact that most chosen representatives of the nation in the past have been males (Maria Theresia is one of the few notable exceptions as the lists of eminent (male) Austrians in this chapter underline). We have yet to experience jokes which begin "A Scotswoman, an Irishwoman and an Englishwoman go into a pub..." Whereas I have avoided gender specific language as far as possible in the rest of this thesis, it would appear to be more historically accurate in this chapter.

The history of the analysis of the Austrian individual can be traced to the closing days of the monarchy if not even earlier.<sup>10</sup> The identities on offer to Austria were explored on the level of the individual also: was an Austrian simply German, or was he a conglomeration of traits which were uniquely Austrian? In the twenties Oskar A. H. Schmitz mobilised the Austrian individual against the Anschluß, although it should be noted that analysis of the Austrian individual was not always intended to resolve the issue of Austria's relationship with Germany. Other analysts included Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Hermann Bahr, Richard von Kralik, Richard Schaukal, Ignaz Seipel, Friedrich Funder, Rudolf Hans Bartsch, Anton Wildgans and Josef Leb.<sup>11</sup> Austrian authors including Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Robert Musil, Joseph Roth and Ernst Krenek also explored the Austrian individual in their literature.

If the nation is deliberately constructed from above, then if there were such a thing as the national individual, he would be the consequence of policies of the state, the product of education, and state institutions, the dissemination of the ideals of state from the aristocracy, the bureaucracy and the military. Catholicism, as a state

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10 The publicists Robert Müller and Erwin Hanslik spoke out in favour of the Austrian individual during the First World War, both as a reaction against the nationalism of the non-Germans within the Empire, but also against Prussian Germany. Erich Zöllner poses the question as to whether Austrian literary figures such as Franz Grillparzer might not be seen as contributing to this analysis.

11 For the roots of "anthropological" thought, see Albert Fuchs, Geistige Strömungen in Österreich, Globus Verlag, Vienna, 1949 pp 68-76; and Richard von Kralik "Die Entdeckungsgeschichte des österreichischen Staatsgedankens" in Die Kultur vol xviii 1917, pp 99-247.

religion, could also be included. An Austrian individual constructed on this basis would be the product of the Empire not the Republic in the period under discussion. In practice, it is the case that the values held by "the Austrian individual" were often those of a smallish circle of intellectuals and showed a close affinity with the views of the Christian Socials and the Legitimists, both groups which had strong ties with the past.<sup>12</sup> The Austrian individual typically exhibited certain characteristics: he was Catholic, cosmopolitan, European-oriented, Baroque, humanist, humorous. The 'Austrian individual was strongly associated with the idea of the Austrian mission, a way of approaching relationships (between people or peoples) and a life based on spiritual values. He was constructed with a dose of nostalgia.

However, the Austrian individual was not collated to support a political regime (although the Corporate State exploited his possibilities), but was part of a more general quest to understand the Austrian identity post-war. Although there was disagreement on the consequences of the

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12 The rôle of intellectuals in forming national identities is reconised in theoretic works: Marek calls them the connective tissue of the nation, the bearers of national culture, and an important group for the formation of national identity. (Quoted in Felix Kreissler: Der Österreicher und seine Nation. Ein Lern Prozess mit Hindernissen. Böhlau Verlag, Vienna/ Graz/ Köln, 1984, p485). In a publication on nationalism by the Royal Institute of International Affairs it is pointed out that "it is the trained minds which evolve and popularize the conceptions to which national leaders appeal in seeking support from the rank and file of the population. For it is the characteristic mark of the intellectual that he himself has no direct responsibility for putting into practice the courses of action suggested by his thought." Nationalism, A Report, p286. Thus it is unsurprising that the discussion on national character is found in intellectual circles.

identification of Austrian characteristics, the concept itself was seldom challenged, although, as will be seen, there were exceptions.

It would be inaccurate to assume, however, that the concept of an Austrian individual was only of significance to a small intellectual elite. In his vade-mecum "Wie Werben Wir?" on advertising, the manager of the tourist bureau in Linz, Theodor Brieger, dedicated much space to Austrian cuisine, which he saw as a fundamental element of Austrian character:

Perhaps the good, solid and not over-refined cuisine is also a reason for the sunny disposition, the spiritual balance of the Austrian. After all, as an old Viennese saying puts it "Eating well and drinking well keeps body and soul together well".<sup>13</sup>

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13 Theodor Brieger: Wie Werben Wir? Das 1 x 1 der Fremden-verkehrspropaganda. Eigenverlag - 1936. p46 *Vielleicht ist die gut, kräftige und nicht überfeinerte Küche auch mit ein Grund für das sonnige Gemüt, das seelische Gleichgewicht des Österreichers. Heißt doch schon ein altes Wiener Sprichwort: "Gut Essen und Trinken halt (hält) Leib und Seel' z'samm."* Brieger differentiated between the cuisines of the provinces. Austria's multi-national past is as evident in the kitchen as it is in the Austrian character. The Viennese cuisine is the most international, as a conglomeration between seventeen national cuisines including Italian, Serbian, Croatian, Hungarian, Galician, Czech, and Turkish dishes. However, to each is added a peculiarly Austrian flair: "The best from the unending diversity was integrated into the menu of Viennese cuisine, not without adding a dot to the "i", however." Austrian wine, coffee, and cheeses were singled out for praise for their high quality. National cuisine is of course an important representation of national identity. Austrians were frequently accused of having self-indulgent eating habits; the popularity of alcohol in its various guises (beer, wine, Most, Schnaps, Branntwein), was labelled a national [sic] weakness. See Nikolaus Hovorka: Berichte zur Kultur u Zeitgeschichte. X Band. Nr 217-240. Wien/ Leipzig, Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1934/35

Thus although intellectuals were concerning themselves in print with what constituted Austrian national character, the concept was not restricted to a small circle.

The relationship between Austrian culture as a whole and the Austrian individual was close. According to Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Austrians could afford to be self-assured, at ease and natural because they were the product of an ancient, varied culture. Indeed, the Austrian individual's character could be deduced from his cultural tastes. The characteristics of operetta, for example, were identified by many authors as being particularly akin to the Austrian individual:

It corresponds with the unselfconscious easy-going nature of the Austrians, and the disinclination of the Viennese towards anything purely intellectual, that the operetta - that mixture of warmheartedness, melancholy, humour and nonsense - became the highest form of art here.<sup>14</sup>

Musicality was thus a typically Austrian characteristic in terms of the individual as well as of national cultural identity.<sup>15</sup>

Another key feature frequently pinpointed was the Austrian sense of humour. Theodore Zeldin argues "nothing separates people more than their sense of humour".<sup>16</sup> One Austrian author was highly disgusted after he had sought to

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14 Dr Erwin Felber; "Die österreichische Musik" in Michael Haberlandt: Österreich - sein Land und Volk und seine Kultur Verlag für Volks und Heimatkunde in Wien und Weimar. -. p475: *Es entspricht so recht der unbefangenen Gemütlichkeit des Österreichers und der Abneigung des Wieners gegen alles rein Verstandesmäßige, das hier die Operette - diese Mischung von Gemüt, Melancholie, Humor und Unsinn - zur höchsten Entwicklung gelangte.*

15 Hence the identification of Austria's mission with the waltz (see "A Rumpus in Heaven" in the previous chapter).

16 Theodore Zeldin: The French. Flamingo, Fontana Paperbacks, London, 1983. p4

buy a humorous work by a Viennese author, to no avail. The booksellers kept suggesting German works, which the author rejected, following his judgement of German humour (He pinpoints the appalling use of "uf" and "j" instead of "g", the jokes about commercial travellers, the desperate situation comedy, and the use of rubbishy dialect as attempts to hide the fact that underlying humour is lacking ("as it is denied to the North German"). He emphasises what he is seeking is warm-hearted humour. The ability to deal with the harsh realities of life with humour was considered very important. Thus one reader argued

The Austrian is living proof for the possibility of a form of existence, in which things lose their dimension of incomprehensibility and unbearableness when one tries not to take them seriously.<sup>17</sup>

The factors which were identified as having shaped the Austrian individual were predictable. André Tibal, for example, a professor of German literature at the Sorbonne, analysed "the Austrian" by identifying the most significant moments in history for the development of *der österreichische Mensch*.<sup>18</sup> He dated the birth of the Austrian individual in 1551, the year when the Jesuits installed themselves in Vienna, creating new drama and opening the gates to Italian opera. That century was also the century

17 Sassmann: Das Reich der Träumer: eine Kulturgeschichte Österreichs vom Urzustand bis zur Republik. Verlag für Kulturpolitik, Berlin, 1921. (Hereafter cited as Das Reich der Träumer) p416 *Der Österreicher ist der lebendige Beweis für die Möglichkeit einer Dasiensform, in der die Dinge in dem Maß an Unverstaendlichkeit und Unerträglichkeit verlieren, in dem man versucht, sie nicht ernst zu nehmen.*

18 André Tibal: L'Autrichien. Essais sur la formation d'une individualité nationale (du XVI au XVIII siècle). Paris, 1936, is discussed by Hans Kohn in "AEIOU", in the Journal of Modern History Volume XI, December 1939, No 4. p519.

of the Baroque, a period frequently seen as having had a profound influence on Austrianness.<sup>19</sup> Tibal also pointed to the influences of Charles VI, Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The identification of the Austrian individual with his history, with the Baroque, and exemplified by his music was not unique to Tibal, as Oskar Schmitz illustrates:

In almost every Austrian something has become flesh and bone of the binding strengths of the Catholic Church, of the Baroque urge to find a physical representation of the sublime and to sublimate the physical, of the harmonies of Haydn, Mozart and Schubert.<sup>20</sup>

The harmony reflected in Austrian music was paralleled with the Austrian dedication to harmony between nations (echoing the Austrian mission). Specific characteristics of the Austrian individual were associated with the Baroque: his use of facades; his obsession with death; his modesty; his awareness of innumerable possibilities; and his disturbed relationship to reality.<sup>21</sup> These were all seen as

19 Josef Nadler in Österreich associated the Baroque with the development of Austrian culture, arguing that Austria's world status could be identified with its drawing together of European culture (*Weltmacht Österreich heisst Dichtung aus dem Gesamterlebnis Europas...*) p319.

20 Oscar A.H. Schmitz: Der Österreichische Mensch: Zum Anschauungsunterricht für Europäer, Insbesondere für Reichsdeutsche. Wiener Literarische Anstalt, Wien, 1924, (Hereafter cited as Der Österreichische Mensch), p8: *Fast in jedem Österreicher ist etwas Fleisch und Blut geworden von den bindenden Kräften der katholischen Kirche, von dem barocken Drang nach Versinnlichung des Erhabenen und Erhebung des Sinnlichen, von der Harmonik Haydns, Mozarts und Schuberts.* Schmitz contrasted his interpretation of the Austrian with one of the German: with Lutheran negation, Wilhelmine showing-off, and Ludendorffian hardness of heart, all of which are in opposition to the civilised world. It is interesting that each of these qualities were combined with the name of a single individual.

21 See for example Das Reich der Träumer, p16: *Der barocke Mensch jedoch ist der Sohn des Zweifels. Nichts erscheint ihm gewiß, er selbst nicht und nicht die Welt, die sich in unlösbaren Widersprüchen vor seinen*

particularly Austrian traits, and were often identified objectively, without praise or criticism. They were also assessed; one reader argued for example that the truly Austrian concern with appearance rather than reality (*Schein* rather than *Sein*) had the positive consequence of releasing the Austrian from being materialistic and permitted him to be more alive in terms of ease, content and depth of living.<sup>22</sup> The author termed this the culture of the "Austro-Baroque". According to Schmitz, Vienna was the only place in the German speaking world ("not even in Bavaria") where a Baroque culture had evolved.<sup>23</sup>

As mentioned, the Catholic Church was identified, particularly by the Danubian Federationists and the Legitimists, as being an equally important historical factor, decisive in establishing a distinct Austrian individual:

The overwhelming majority of the Austrian people are Catholic, and it is the same vibrant, artistic Catholicism of the southern peoples, Italians or Spaniards; Church and faith represent for us the unity of all life, they form this life, but they are also enjoyed and savoured like it.<sup>24</sup>

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*skeptischen Augen bewegt. Er fühlt, das er das Problem, inmitten einer Natur zu stehen, die er in ihrer tragi-komischen Gegensätzlichkeit nicht ernst nehmen kann, weder religiös noch wissenschaftlich zu bewältigen vermag, und er rettet sich daher in eine Zwischenwelt, in die des Kindes.*

22 Das Reich der Träumer, p17

23 Der Österreiche Mensch, p15: nirgends, nicht einmal in Bayern, hat sich mit irgendwie bemerkenswerter Kraft in Denk- und Fühlweise, in Lebensformen und Erkenntnis eine deutsche Barockkultur gegenüber der humanistischen, deren Zentrum Weimar war, allgemein durchgesetzt. Wien ist daher der einzige Ort im deutschen Sprachgebiet, wo dies geschehen ist ...

24 Dr Wilhelm Böhm: Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe Österreich Institut, Herausgegeben mit Zustimmung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht, Wien, 1947 (Hereafter cited as Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe), p11: Die erdrückende Mehrheit des österreichischen Volkes ist katholisch, und zwar ist es in ganz derselben



The author of this quotation, Dr Wilhelm Böhm, concluded that Austria might share with Germany a written language, but that the two countries were divided by their religious beliefs and the manner in which these were put into practice. De Madariaga pointed out that causes were more often than not effects of national character. He cites as his example

..the Reformation and the Roman Catholic church, so often quoted against each other as the respective causes of national characteristics in various European peoples, should be more reasonably considered as the effects of these different characteristics: their effects, not their causes.<sup>25</sup>

Austrian history, however, had had its greatest impact on the Austrian individual through its multinationalism. As Wilhelm Böhm argued, the Austrian was accustomed to meeting foreigners even at home, and was therefore "*innerlich weltoffen*" (internally open to the world), even when he remained at home.<sup>26</sup> According to Professor R. Sieger, the Austrian was not only open to foreign characteristics, but had assimilated many. Furthermore, he had in addition a practical streak which endowed him with unique leadership qualities. It was this which made him so suited to "*unaufdringlicher Kulturarbeit*" - unobtrusive cultural tasks.<sup>27</sup>

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*lebensvollen, künstlerisch betonten, südlich farbigen Weise katholisch, wie die südlichen Völker, Italiener oder Spanier, Kirche und Glaube stehen für uns in der Einheit alles Lebens, sie formen dieses Leben, aber sie werden auch genossen, wie dieses. Despite a gradual decline in registered Catholics over the period of the Republic, over 90% of the Austrian population were Roman Catholic.*

25 Englishmen, p xviii.

26 Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe, p12

27 Die Deutschösterreicher und der österreichische Staatsgedanke. Vortrag vor dem Hauptausschuß des Vereins

This emphasis on multi-nationalism did not necessarily deny Austria a German character. Anton Wildgans, for example, emphasised that through language and "origins", the Austrian was German, but argued that, although the Austrian was loyal to his German nature, racial mixing and historical experience had modified the latter to be less aloof and more direct (*eindeutig und spröde*).<sup>28</sup> He was therefore more conciliatory, cosmopolitan, and European (traits most often found in the Viennese). Accustomed to daily encounters with disparate peoples, Austrians had become "connoisseurs of human nature" (*Menschenkenner*) - the idea of the psychologist again. The leading rôle Austrians had taken in politics and culture in the past had forced them, Wildgans argued, to become arbitrators. They had had to perfect the ability to be objective (to make judgements rising above national interests, for example).

The novelist Robert Musil showed what the possible consequences of this objectivity could be. Taken to its extreme, this ability is reflected in Musil's Man without Qualities, where the hero Ulrich is so objective, so aware of different possibilities, all of which have their justification, that he is unable to take any action, indeed,

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für das Deutschtum im Auslande, Berlin 29 März 1917, von Prof. Rob Sieger, Graz.

28 Lhotsky found even this view ("*der österreichische Mensch, seiner Sprache und ursprünglichen Abstammung nach Deutscher*") curious, given that the geographer Hugo Hassinger had already pointed out in 1925 that the Austrian individual was created through the centuries of co-habitation of the Danubian peoples (Danubian peoples included any nationals who had inhabited the Empire), and therefore had little in common with the German individual. See Alphons Lhotsky's article "*Das Problem des österreichischen Menschen*" in Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur Institut für Österreichkunde. Okt 1968 12 Jahrgang Folge 8, p433.

has no character really.<sup>29</sup> (See Hofmannsthal's schema below, where he also identifies "characterless-ness" as an Austrian trait.) Certainly if this were a facet of Austrian national identity, it would not be ideally suited to defending this identity when under threat.

One convenient ploy in cultural discussions was to determine what constituted Austrian culture, not through the birthplace or place of residence of its creator, but according to certain pre-determined criteria. This permitted artists such as Franz Kafka to be claimed as Austrian. Conversely, if certain characteristics were Austrian, then individuals could be excluded from the Austrian nation if they did not exhibit them. One such individual whose national identity had to be addressed was Adolf Hitler, who was Austrian by birth. He was disowned by the Legitimist newspaper Vaterland:

Hitler only deserted his Austrian fatherland because our way of life did not correspond to his feelings; the kindness of our people, the good Austrian heart repulsed him, as is written in his book (Mein Kampf) which is most revealing from the point of view of his character ...<sup>30</sup>

Ironically, the argument that membership of a nation could be detected through behaviour and character, rather than through place of birth, is rather reminiscent of the justification for the exclusion of criminals and other undesirables from the Nazi Volksgemeinschaft. In this

29 Robert Musil: Gesammelte Werke I: Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften - Kapitel I bis 80, Rowohlt, Hamburg, 1978.

30 Vaterland 9 Oct, 1933 2 Jahrgang, No 41. Hitler wurde seinem österreichem Vaterland nur deswegen abtrünnig, da unsere Lebensart seinen Gefühlen nicht entsprach, die Liebenswürdigkeit unseres Volkes, das gute österreiche Herz stiess ihn ab, so ists in seinem über seinen Charakter sehr aufschlußreichem Buche zu lesen (Mein Kampf) und so ist es auch!

sense, the individual exhibited membership of a given nation through his or her individual characteristics. In Hitler's case,

He could only find the brutality which appealed to his nature in Germany, and the way in which he came to power reveals that this man was only born here, that he had always been a German, who had found his real home only after he had deserted to Germany. He became the epitome of German arrogance and proved single-handedly to the Austrian people that the same language by no means signifies the same nation by any means! [emphasis in original]<sup>31</sup>

If Austria had a culture distinct from the German, it followed that the Austrian individual had different qualities also, or conversely, that the differences between the Austrian and the German individual's character determined the differences between their cultures.

The relationship between Austrian and German culture, the Austrian individual and the German individual, the Austrian nation and the German nation, were extensively debated on a theoretical level. The exploration of this relationship gave Austria a point of comparison, helpful for determining its own identity by providing another against which it could be measured. The Austrian individual was most usually mobilised against the Anschluß: Anschluß adherents tended to deny that such a distinct individual existed.

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31 Ibid. Die Brutalität, die seinem Wesen entsprach, konnte er nur in Deutschland finden und der Weg, wie er hoch kam beweist, dass dieser Mann nur hier geboren war, dass er eben schon immer ein Deutscher war, der, als er von hier nach Deutschland desertiert war, heimgefunden hatte. Er wurde zum Ausdruck der deutschen Präpotenz und ihm blieb es vorbehalten, dem österreichischem Volk zu beweisen, dass die gleiche Sprache noch lange kein gleiches Volk ergibt!

The issue of race was an important component, for if Germans and Austrians were of common stock, their national character would also be shared. In 1918, the argument ran, Austria had at last become German native soil, and now "German blood wished to join German blood".<sup>32</sup> Having resulted in racial homogeneity, the new borders favoured such a union. The collapse of the empire had made irrelevant the argument that the Austrians were not a single race, but a mixture of Germans, Magyars and Czechs, itself fallacious according to the Anschluß adherent, Dr Rudolf Raun.<sup>33</sup> Racial arguments were obviously a major element of National Socialist pro-Anschluß agitation, but they were used from the very beginning of the debate:

The racial structure of the Austrian population is essentially identical with the Bavarian, and nowhere crosses the leeway of German national characteristics found in the differences within the Reich.<sup>34</sup>

This type of argumentation is found time and time again; however much Austria differed from Germany, the differences were no greater than those found between inhabitants of the Reich itself.<sup>35</sup>

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32 Dr. Rudolf Raun: Deutschland und Deutschösterreich Verlag von Hans Robert Engelmann, Berlin, 1921. (Hereafter cited as Deutschland und Deutschösterreich) p22. The Treaty of St Germain had ensured that Austria had become predominantly German, with very few minorities save about 100,000 Czechs in Vienna, and some thousands of Slovenes in the southeastern areas of Carinthia.

33 Deutschland und Deutschösterreich p21.

34 Privatdozent Dr Friedrich Kainz: "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Literatur" in Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. p260

35 See also Kleinwächter, Friedrich: Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich: Reichs Propaganda Ausschuß der Deutsch Österreichen Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. d. Reich, Stuttgart, 1929. p19: The Austrians are no particular people, but according to their race a German *Stamm* like

Just as multi-nationality had been an obstacle to union in the past, the identification of Jewry with Austria was also a disincentive. Kleinwächter thus felt it necessary to point out that the issue of Jewish racial penetration (addressed in his book of 1926, for example) was not peculiar to German Austria; even Berlin was suffering from an invasion of eastern Jews. This argument was linked to German fears that Austro-Marxism, associated with Austrian Jewry, would infect Germany. A contemporary joke illustrates that in Germany then, being Austrian, or specifically Viennese, was associated with being Jewish:

A Jew, racially a wonderful specimen, is walking down *Unter den Linden* (the main street) in Berlin. Everybody is staring at him. The Jew is irritated: "What's up? Have you idiots never seen an Austrian before?"<sup>36</sup>

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other German *Stämme*, which is less different from the south-German *Stämme*, such as the Bavarians, than the Bavarians are from the Prussians or Saxons. (*Die Österreicher sind kein besonderes Volk, sondern ihrer Rasse nach ein deutscher Stamm, wie die anderen deutschen Stämmen, der sich noch überdies von den süddeutschen Stämmen, wie den Bayern, weniger unterscheidet als die Bayern von den Preußen oder Sachsen.*)

Genetic studies show that about eighty percent of genotype variability is within "races" rather than between them. So in a sense, the argument about Austrians' racial similarities with Bavarians was actually quite accurate. Austrians were, however, equally related genetically to the Welsh, although no *Anschluß* was ever proposed. The actual genetic basis of concept of race is about seven percent of any individual's genotype (e.g. Caucasians). Rather than "race" constituting different human subspecies, biologists in the last ten years have abandoned the concept, as it does not appear to have any validity. This may help to explain why the racial arguments in the interwar period, although trying to find a valid scientific basis, had to resort to descriptions of character to define race.

36 Wolfgang Broer: Wort als Waffe. Politische Witz und politische Satire in der Republik Österreich (1918-1927). Diss, Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, Wien, 1973. p70: *In Berlin spazierte ein Jud "Unter den Linden". Ein rassisch wunderbares Exemplar. Alle leute schauen ihn*

Kleinwächter, however, argued that the Jewish problem was shared by both countries, and that union would not import any problems into the Reich that did not exist there already. The implication was that if such a problem was to be addressed satisfactorily, it was best addressed together.<sup>37</sup>

Although race played little part in any of the alternative solutions to Anschluß, the racial arguments of the pro-Anschluß adherents still had to be addressed. Where the latter saw Austrians as being of Bavarian stock, some Danube Federationists traced Austria's blood further back to the *Markomannen*, themselves descendants of the old Noricum. Again, Austria's Germanness was not necessarily entirely refuted. However, evidence that Austria and Germany were not of identical stock was provided by an exposition of the differences in character between the two peoples. As Fidelis argued,

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an. *Der Jud ärgert sich: "Nu, was gibt's? habt Ihr esppes o kan esterreicher g'sehn?"* In German, the Jew's response emphasises the Jewish accent and vocabulary.

37 Another satirical magazine quoted a joke in which children are asked to describe what Austria had been in different periods. Austria before 1918 is described as a monarchy, after 1918 as a republic, but when the teacher asks "And now?" the only pupil who can reply is a little Jewish boy, who replies simply "Our home". A similar point is made in Csokor's play "November, 1918", when characters are throwing soil into an open grave, giving their country of origin as they do so. Only the Jew says "earth from my home", rather than Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary ... While the joke was intended, presumably, to poke fun at Austria's national make-up, it, together with Csokor's play, is a poignant comment on Jewish attitudes to the countries' in which they lived. In Austria's case, it is also an example of the country's internationality, and its ability to assimilate different cultures. As seen, one of the criticisms raised against Coudenhove Kalergi's ideals for Pan-Europe was Kalergi's reprehensible belief that the human of the future would be a mongrol.

Yes, Austria is German! But it is more than German; it combines with the essential character of the German people [Volkssubstanz] Slavic breadth and Latin culture. We will let the insult of racial Babel and of racial impurity rest upon us and carry it with pride in its positive sense: the supposed blemish is a badge of honour for our battle for Germanness on foreign soil.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, the "racial mixture" (Rassenmischung) of the Danubian area was seen as having beneficial consequences - the magazine Donauland, for example, saw it as leading to musical sensitivity and talent:

It is possible that as a consequence of the racial mixture, the people of the Danube lands have a special sensitivity to music, that musical talent is almost counted as routine here. It is a fact that divinely gifted composers composed their most beautiful works here, which all exhibit Austria's special touch, and which could only be created here. From Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, later the northerners, Brahms, Bruckner, Wolf, Lanner, and particularly Johann Strauß with his magical violin, to the composers of modern songs and operettas. The entire people possess musical sensitivity and even the music made in Heurigen (wine gardens) has real artistic merit.<sup>39</sup>

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38 Otto Maria Fidelis: Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. p23: "Ja, Österreich ist deutsch! Aber es ist mehr als deutsch; mit der germanischen Volkssubstanz vereiingt es die slawische Weite und die lateinische Formkultur. Das Schimpfwort von dem Rassenbabel und der Rassenschande wollen wir, positiv gewendet, ruhig auf uns sitzen lassen und in Ehren tragen: der angebliche Schandfleck ist das Ehrenzeichen unseres Kampfes für das Deutschtum auf fremder Erde."

39 Donauland Illustrierte Monatschrift. p426: "Mag sein, das die Menschen als Folge der unausgesetzten Rassenmischung im Donaulande ein musikalischen Sonderempfinden besitzen, daß musikalische Begabung hier fast zu den alltäglichen zählt. Tatsache ist, daß gottbegnadete Tonkünstler hier ihre schönsten Werke schufen, die alle seine besondere Note tragen und nur hier aufklingen konnten. Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, später der Nordländer, Brahms, Bruckner, Wolf, Lanner, besonders Johann Strauß mit seiner Zaubergeige, bis herauf zu den Lieder und Operettenkomponisten unserer Tage. Das ganze Volk hat das Feingefühl musikalischen Empfindens und auch die Musik, die beim "Heurigen" gemacht wird, ... auch sie hat eine durchaus künstlerische Höhe." The nationality of the listed composers could, of course, be contested.



Racial diversity is here transformed into a strength, an important counter-balance to the arguments in favour of racial purity expounded by the National Socialists. Once again, Austria's historical multi-nationality is seen as defining its rôle in Europe, a rôle distinct from that of Germany.

Even when the Austrian individual was not seen as distinct from the German, he was allowed to possess certain unique qualities. For example, Soelch argued:

The Austrian is a German; but he has a strong spiritual life of his own which differentiates him from all other Stämme; in his apparent passivity, in his gentleness and in his humour often lies more strength, toughness and self-confidence than in the bustling activities and causticity of the most efficient Northerner.<sup>40</sup>

For those who wished to support the notion of a separate identity for Austria, however, the Austrian was not only another facet of the German, but had unique additional characteristics, largely owing to Austria's distinct historical development.<sup>41</sup> Dr Oswald Straub argued that the Austrian individual was a combination of predominantly Bavarian, but also north German, Romanesque, Slav and Magyar

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40 Prof. Dr. J. Soelch; "Der Donauraum - Eine geographische Betrachtung." p59: *Der Österreicher ist ein Deutscher; er hat aber ein kräftiges, ihn von allen andern Stämmen unterscheidendes geistiges Eigenleben; in seiner scheinbaren Passivität, in seiner Weichheit und in seinem Humor liegt oft mehr Kraft, Zähigkeit und Selbstvertrauen als in der Vielgeschäftigkeit und Kaustigkeit der tüchtigsten Nordländer.*

41 Robert Lohan; Walther Maria Neuwirth; Viktor Trautzi (eds): Das Herz Europas. Ein österreichisches Vortragsbuch. Saturn Verlag, Wien -, p214: *alle diese Eigenschaften sind bedingt aus dem geschichtlichen Werdegang deines Heimatlandes, deines Volkes, sind das selbst verständliche Geschenk einer alten Kultur, die immer zuerst zum Werkzeug, zur freidlichen Durchdringung und dann erst zum Schwert griff, die selbst Kriege um des Geistes und nicht der Gewalt willen führte.*

elements. It was this many-sidedness which enabled the Austrian people like no other people to bring an openness towards other nations and their problems; "tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner".<sup>42</sup> Similarly, Missong argued the Austrian individual was as different from the German as he was from the German Swiss; racially he was a synthesis of German and Slav, spiritually, he was a synthesis of Roman and Byzantine, and from the point of view of appearance, he was certainly Latinate.<sup>43</sup>

Thus Austria did not deny its German nature, but the latter represented only one part of the whole, (rather than the Austrian being a facet of the German). Even as personified in its individuals, the idea of the Austrian mission is consistently seen as being the preservation of the best of all cultures for the world, a rôle of mediator which Austrians were uniquely suited to play. Being an Austrian individual was arguably even better than being a German because of the former's greater understanding and his loving nature. Alfred Missong felt that a fundamental element of being an Austrian was having outgrown, risen

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42 To understand everything is to forgive everything. Dr Oswald Straub: Eine Streitschrift für Österreich. um Österreichs Zukunft - Moscam esse Delendam!. Im Eigenverlage des Autors. Wien, 1930. p20: Der österreichische Mensch, ein Konglomerat aus bajuvarischem Grundstoff mit norddeutschem, romanischem, slawischem und magyarischem Einschlag, ist eben dank dieser Vielseitigkeit wie kein anderes Volk befähigt, jedem anderen Volke und seinen Sorgen Verständnis entgegenzubringen.

43 Dr Alfred Missong; "Österreichs Politik seit 1866/68; Eine politische Gewissenserforschung" in August Maria Knoll; Alfred Missong; Wilhelm Schmid; Ernst Karl Winter; Hans Karl Zebner-Spitzenberg: Die Österreichische Aktion; Programmatische Studien, Selbstverlag Ernst Karl Winter, Wien, 1927. (Hereafter cited as Die Österreichische Aktion) p111

above mere Germanness.<sup>44</sup> Straub expressed a similar point, adding that the Austrian individual had the ability to be hard and tough (qualities associated with Germany) if the need arose, but never sought to dominate, winning the world over with his kindness (in contrast with Germany).<sup>45</sup>

The issue of the German desire to dominate understandably received increasing attention after Hitler came to power. Prussianism and National Socialism were frequently identified as two sides of the same coin, both of which stood in contrast to Austrian values. The argumentation underwent some change according to the period in which it was formulated. Under the Corporate State, analysis of the Austrian individual was particularly popular as part of the state's emphasis on an Austrian identity, possibly also because it permitted oblique references to the relationship between Austria and Germany. Dollfuß argued in a familiar strain that the long period of co-habitation with other nations in the monarchy had made the Austrian,

gentler, more patient, more understanding of foreign cultures, despite having been and still being careful to retain the purity of his own culture and nature.<sup>46</sup>

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44 Ibid. *Man kann geradezu sagen, das das Wesentlichste am Österreicher sein hinausgewachsen sein über das bloße Deutschtum ist.*

45 Dr Oswald Straub: Deutsch-Österreich oder Österreich. Eigenverlag Wien, 1934. p18: *Dann ist man nicht mehr Deutscher im Sinne wie es nationale Schwärmer meinen. Dann ist man etwas anderes, vielleicht, wahrscheinlich sogar etwas besseres: ein Österreicher, ein österreichischer Mensch. Dann ist man jener verständige und verstehende, liebenwürdige, aber wenn es die Zeit verlangt harte und zähe mensch, als den die Welt uns kennt und schätzt. Ein Mensch, der nicht herrschen will und doch durch seine Liebenswürdigkeit bezwingt.*

46 Dollfuß quoted in Dr Heinz Arnberger: Dr Winfried Garscha: Anschluß 1938 - eine Dokumentation, Österreichische Bundesverlag, Wien 1988. (Hereafter cited as Anschluß 1938) p82: "weicher, duldsamer, ver-

However, even his choice of vocabulary ("purity") revealed a Nazi influence. The dual strains of the ideology of the Corporate State are evident even in this short quotation, with its simultaneous insistence on Austrian distinctiveness and Austrian loyalty to German ideals.

Why was the Austrian individual analysed in the First Republic? The analyses of the Austrian individual were part of the quest to determine the Austrian identity, and thereby decide which future course it should take. The demands of the post-war world were seen as requiring the Austrians to stand up for themselves; in order to do this, they first had to understand who they were. In his famous speech "Der österreichische Mensch"<sup>47</sup> (1933), Anton Wildgans identified self-effacement with the Austrian character, and therefore saw himself as breaking with tradition when he openly stated his allegiance to the Austrian individual. He justified his stance by arguing:

Now, however, when we, starting from the beginning again, have taken over a cultural legacy which could not be more important; now, however, that we are in the process of building this precious inventory into our new, though smaller, house, to administrate it, not as owners, but, as it were, trustees for the whole of civilised humanity; at this important and hopeful moment, it is time to denounce false modesty and thoughtless self-

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*ständnisvoller für fremde Kulturen gemacht, so sehr er auch auf die Erhaltung der Reinheit seiner eigenen Kultur und Art bedacht war und ist."*

47 Anton Wildgans: Rede über Österreich. F.G. Speidel'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, Wien 1930. The speech was written in autumn 1929 and intended for recital in Stockholm, but Wildgans became ill. He read his talk for the first time in Austria on New Years Day, 1930. It was transmitted over Radio Wien, another indication of the increasing rôle that the mass media was playing in disseminating views on Austrian national identity.

betrayal and to develop the historical awareness and the pride of the Austrian!<sup>48</sup>

Negative German views of Austria also provided a major incentive for self-analysis and for a positive interpretation of Austrian traits. Thus Wilhelm Schmid justified his analysis of the Austrian as follows:

Because this book may fall into the hands of some Germans, who have only ever heard of Austrians as being thoroughly backward and sloppy as regards culture, who live on the periphery of the true German Empire, and who during the war were always having to be helped out of a mess by the Pomeranian Grenadiers, who are constantly begging for Anschluß, because only Prussian discipline can save them from otherwise inevitable ruin, I will try to sketch in a few strokes the real Austrian.<sup>49</sup>

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48 Ibid. p23: *Jetzt aber, da wir, wieder einmal von vorne beginnend, eine Erbschaft an Kultur übernommen haben, wie sie bedeutsamer nicht sein kann, jetzt aber, da wir im Begriffe sind, dieses kostbare Inventar in unser neues, wenn auch kleineres Haus einzubauen und es zu verwalten, nicht als engherzige Eigentümer, sondern gleichsam als Treuhänder der gesamten kultivierten Menschheit, in diesem wichtigen und hoffnungsvollen Augenblick ist es an der Zeit, der Unart falscher Bescheidenheit und allzu unbedenklicher Selbstpreisgabe zu entsagen und in uns allmählich ein anderes herauszubilden, nämlich das historische Bewußtsein und den Stolz des Österreicher!*

49 Wilhlem Schmid; "Die österreichische Jugend" in Die Österreichische Aktion, p270: *Weil vielleicht dies Buch auch manchen Deutschländern in die Hände kommt, die vom Österreicher nur immer als einem in der Kultur mal ordentlich zurückgebliebenen Schlampian erzählen hörten, der an der Peripherie des vollwertigen deutschen Reiches wohnt und dem man auch im Kriege nur immer durch pommersche Grenadiere aus der Patsche habe heraushelfen müssen, der immer um Anschluß bettelt, weil ihn nur preußische Zucht vor dem sonst unvermeidlichen Untergange retten könne, will ich in einigen Strichen den echten Österreicher zu zeichnen versuchen.* One interesting justification of the criticism that Austrians were backward was provided in an essay on Austrian art. There it was argued that the reason why Austria had not followed every new artistic fad was because she could find enough inspiration in her heritage, the cross-fertilisation of national cultures. (Dr Heinrich Glück; "Österreichische Kunst")

According to Schmid, Austrians had accepted too much in the past, particularly North German impudence, because of their good nature.<sup>50</sup>

One of the first analyses of the Austrian individual in the interwar period was that of Oscar A. H. Schmitz in 1924.<sup>51</sup> His publication was likewise aimed in particular at Reich-Germans, whom Schmitz felt saw in Austrians a harmlessly similar, but less conscientious, deviant version of the German people. Austrians had to learn to present themselves positively in response to such under-estimation. Hermann Bahr in 1921 had made a similar point, as did an anonymous contributor to Donauland, who argued that modesty was the characteristic quality of the Austrians.<sup>52</sup> The problem lay in the fact that modesty could degenerate into self-abasement, and a lack of dignity.<sup>53</sup> The author concluded that all Austria needed was to find the will to recognise itself. It was agreed that the people in the two countries were different in character. There was a broad consensus on these stereotypes. Where the Austrians were open, frivolous, warm-hearted and laid-back (some might say inefficient), dozy and dreamy, the Germans were colder, insular and organised. German derision at Austrian qualities

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50 For example, Austria had been criticised for not having been able to keep order in her own Empire. If keeping order meant being ruthless then this criticism was, according to Schmid, justified. An inhumane state, however, would never be an Austrian goal. Wilhlem Schmid; "Die österreichische Jugend" in Die Österreichische Aktion. p282

51 Der Österreiche Mensch

52 Hermann Bahr: Summula Das österreichische Problem: Im Insel Verlag zu Leipzig MCMXXI 1921

53 Donauland 4 Jahrgang. Heft 1. Anonymous: *Bescheidenheit ist eine Tugend. Gewis. Aber wenn sie zur Selbsterniedrigung, zur Würdelosigkeit ausartet, dann wird sie zum Fehler, mehr noch; zur Schmach!*

met with counter-argument; Professor Dr. J. Soelch argued, for example, that what was frequently criticised as being unreliability, was merely the Austrian individual exhibiting loyalty to his country's history, mission and unique qualities.

Not all analyses were aimed at defence or attack, however. One extensive comparison between Prussians and Austrians was drawn up by Hugo von Hofmannsthal, and printed in the magazine Donauland in 1919.<sup>54</sup> It contrasts many aspects of the relationship, including the difference between the state, social structures, the people as a whole, the bureaucracy and the individuals. For the latter, his factors included:

Austria	Prussia
Traditionally minded	contemporary minded...
not gifted at abstraction	gifted at abstraction
quicker at picking things up	incomparable in orderly carrying through
acts according to propriety	acts according to regulations
self-irony	self-confident
seemingly immature <sup>55</sup>	seemingly masculine
bashful, vain, witty	self-righteous, arrogant, school-master like (hectoring)
avoids crisis	forces crises
laid-back	fights for what is right

54 Donauland. Illustrierte Monatschrift. Sept 1918 - Feb 1919.

55 Another characteristic Austrians displayed, supposedly in evidence of the Austro-Baroque, was being infantile. (See also Das Reich der Trumer, p16) I am not aware of any identified characteristics being unique to one source.

can empathise with others to the point of being characterless	unable to empathise
every individual a bearer of an entire humanity	every individual a bearer of a part of authority

Here it is important to note that the Austrian individual was not presented as being superior, merely as being different. As indicated by Hofmannsthal, one of the main differences between the two peoples was their attitude to the state and their rulers; in Austria authority was based on willing, loving service, in Germany on unquestioning obedience. According to Wilhelm Böhm, there was a telling consequence:

All in all one can say, the German sees the law affecting his actions as being over him, he has a definite inclination to over-emphasise community, the "total state". The Austrian on the other hand has a law within him, he is an inveterate individualist.<sup>56</sup>

If this was indeed the case, it might serve as an indication why the analyses of Austrian identity were first on the basis of individuality rather than of the nation, a point returned to below. It also reflects the author's hindsight regarding the popularity of the concept of *Volksgemeinschaft* in Nazi Germany.

Criticism of the German could be more outspoken, but was then usually directed at the Prussian. Wilhelm Schmid summed up in one sentence that which divided the Austrian from the Prussian: "An Austrian sacrifices himself for

56 Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe, p13: Alles in allem kann man sagen: Der Deutsche hat das Gesetz seines Handelns über sich, er hat einen ausgesprochenen Hang zur Überbetonung der Gemeinschaft, zum "totalen Staat". Der Österreicher dagegen hat ein Gesetz in sich, er ist ein eingefleischter Individualist. Das Verhältnis unserer Eigensart zu der deutschen erinnert an das des US-Amerikaners zum Briten.



others, the Prussian sacrifices others for himself!"<sup>57</sup> Otto Bauer in Die österreichische Revolution argued that the petite bourgeoisie rejected the Social Democratic foreign political goal of Anschluß in the first years of the Republic not only because they could not believe that the former, greater Austria was gone for ever, but because they disliked the Prussian/North-German character.<sup>58</sup>

The juxtaposition of an Austrian individual to the Greater German community was not universally accepted. The construction of the Austrian individual had a political dimension - as the Arbeiter Zeitung wrote in February 1933,

We German Social Democrats are not Austrian Particularists like the Christian Socials. We do not seek to set up the indigenous speciality of an "Austrian individual" in opposition to the greater historical and cultural community of the German people. We believe that the German Austrian *Stamm* is as much part of the German nation as Bavaria or Swabia.<sup>59</sup>

Anschluß adherents used predictable arguments to counter the theory of an Austrian individual: Austrian peculiarities of character were no greater than those found within Germany, for example. Indeed, the differences between the two could be presented as complimentary, so that each part would only achieve its potential through union. Any problems would be eradicated over time after union. Raun pointed out that all the arguments as to why the Anschluß was a logical

57 Die Österreichische Aktion. p282: Und das trennt uns von den Preußen: Der Österreicher opfert sich für andere, der Preuße opfert andere für sich!

58 Otto Bauer: Die Österreichische Revolution, Verlag der Wiener Volksbuchhandlung, 1965 (first publ. 1923) p159

59 Arbeiter Zeitung 46 Jg 26 Feb, 1933, Nr 67: Wir deutschen Sozialdemokraten sind nicht wie die Christlichsozialen, Österreichische Partikularisten. Wir sind nicht besonnen, den großen Schicksals- und Kulturgemeinschaft des Deutschen Volkes die bodenständige Spezialität eines "Österreichischen Menschen" entgegenzustellen.

conclusion of history, or on who the Austrians had been or were, were less important than the issue of who the Austrians could be if part of the Reich, and who they would be if they remained separated. He wrote:

The German Austrians are Germans like all other Germans. They have, apart from the particular characteristics which the alps impress upon their inhabitants, the salient characteristics of the other Germans. They can, and therefore will, achieve as much as the others in the same conditions.

These conditions will exist when German-Austria and Germany are united. Then it will be seen that the German Austrians are neither better nor worse than Bavarians or Württemberger, and German-Austria will be made as viable as Bavaria and Württemberg were through their inclusion in the Reich.<sup>60</sup>

Raun concluded that a shared future history would eradicate all problems of difference. In this case, one suspects that the difference providing the greatest incentive for union is prosperity. It is relevant to remember that Austrian identity (in terms of the nation or of the individual) was frequently linked by Anschluß adherents to economic viability - a country had to be able to afford its (cultural) identity if the latter was to survive. In that sense, Anschluß adherents could be seen as the defenders of

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60 Deutschland und Deutschösterreich, p17 Die Deutsch Österreicher sind Deutsche wie alle Deutschen. Sie haben, abgesehen von den besonderen Charaktereigenschaften, die das Hochgebirge seinen Bewohnern aufprägt, im wesentlichen die gleichen Eigenschaften wie die anderen Deutschen. Sie können und werden daher unter den gleichen Voraussetzungen gleiches leisten wie die anderen.

Diese Voraussetzungen aber werden gegeben sein, wenn Deutsch-Österreich and Deutschland angeschlossen sein wird. Dann wird es sich zeigen, das die Deutsch-Österreicher nicht schlechter und nicht besser sind als Bayern oder Württemberger und Deutsch-Österreich wird in seiner Leistungsfähigkeit verhältnismäßig ebenso gehoben werden wie Bayern oder Württemberg durch ihre Aufnahme in das Reich.

an Austrian culture, trying to ensure the economic preconditions for its continued existence.

Conclusions in favour of Anschluß met with counter-arguments, of course. Ludwig Bauer countered the "province" argument vigorously:

One can say without exaggeration that the Spaniard and the Russian are probably less different than the German and the Austrian, at least as different as, say, the Hanoverian and the Viennese.<sup>61</sup>

These comparisons with the German played a very important rôle in the defining of the Austrian individual. As pointed out in former chapters, in the past, German Austrians had been defined in contrast to the other nationals of the Empire. Once these had created their own states, however, German Austrians had to seek definition from within. This was very difficult; the sense of self comes in great part from a sense of the other. That Austrians were not Czechs was relatively apparent. Whether Austrians were Germans, however, was less obvious. By casting Germans as a contrast, an external comparison could be found after all. As Levine argues,

We are aware of the unconscious motivation of character traits when they are idiosyncratic and approach the limits of social acceptability, but we are generally incapable of seeing them in members of our own population when the behavior patterns involved are very common and completely acceptable. It takes a foreigner to point out to us the arbitrary, irrational, and perhaps compulsive quality of the behavior and made us realize that what we had seen as "natural," "normal," "rational," or "adaptive," because of its familiarity and normative acceptability,

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61 Ludwig Bauer: Und Österreich? Ein Staat sucht ein Volk. Im Verlag des Europäischen Merkur, Paris, 1933. p10: *Man kann ohne Übertreibung sagen, das der Spanier und der Russe sich vermutlich weniger unterscheiden als der Deutsche und der Österreicher, mindestens aber als etwa der Hannoveraner und der Wiener...*

might be as unconscious in origin and defensive in function as an idiosyncratic mannerism.<sup>62</sup>

The study of the individual is thus a further indication that the rôle of the other is a vital component of national identity.

### Conclusion:

The national individual is constructed to personify those characteristics which are identified with the national soul, providing a possible result of the translation of theoretical ideals into practice. The relationship between the individual and the ideology is analogous perhaps to the manner in which Jesus Christ is believed by Christians to have been the living embodiment of Godly values. In the above analysis, the individual constructed is a generalisation. A composite of elements creates a representative of the nation who cannot be identified with any specific individual, who cannot even be said to exist. However, what is important for the question of whether an Austrian national identity existed is the fact that an Austrian individual was being defined. In this context, the accuracy of the conclusions reached are largely irrelevant.

If "the Austrian individual" was the personification of Austrian cultural ideals then, given the equation of cultural and national identity, "the Austrian individual" was also a national construction in that he was intended to reflect Austria's nationhood. Furthermore, the analysis of a distinct Austrian individuality could also be the first step towards recognising a distinct Austrian nation in a

political sense, if the latter was ever perceived as an attractive option.

Erich Zöllner sees it as significant that the emphasis in the interwar period was on the Austrian individual, while after 1945 the emphasis was on the Austrian nation, the implication being that between 1918 and 1938, there was no Austrian nation to be analysed.<sup>63</sup> This is a misunderstanding of the significance of the analysis of the Austrian individual. The latter was part of coming to terms with "reduction shock", rather like parents having to reconstruct their identity after the children have left home. Fritz Fellner thus feels the discussion of the Austrian individual reflects "an identity crisis on a national scale".<sup>64</sup> Analysis of the individual does not exclude analysis of the nation. Despite the fact that he followed in the tradition of seeing Austrians as a branch of the German race, the historian Dietrich von Hildebrand wrote a biography of Dollfuß, published after the latter's assassination. This biography compared the Austrian individual to the Prussian. He concluded:

That this Austria is not only part of the German nation, but is also its own nation, that is proved by the existence of the Austrian Genius and his spiritual habitat.<sup>65</sup>

Thus the identification of an Austrian individual was part of the analysis of the Austrian nation.

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63 Erich Zöllner; "Formen und Wandlungen des Österreichbegriffes", p84

64 Fritz Fellner in Austrian History Yearbook, Volume IV 1968/69. Rice University, 1970, p298

65 Dietrich Hildebrand quoted in Anschluß 1938, p86. Hildebrand and Ernst Karl Winter are identified by the authors as the individuals who did the most to elucidate the concept of the Austrian nation.

## Chapter Six

LANGUAGE

*Let language be to you what the body is to lovers:  
It alone is what separates beings and what unites them.*  
(Schiller)

## Introduction

Like "nation", "culture" is a multi-faceted, ambiguous term. Its meaning is broadly understood, but definitions are by necessity vague - "shared symbols and values", for example. James Sheehan draws attention to the fact that this definition "assumes that culture is a process, not just a body of ideas and artifacts; it is shared symbols, not just symbols".<sup>1</sup> "Culture" includes such diverse factors as language, religion, literature and art, providing visible symbols of nationhood and indicating interaction.<sup>2</sup> The following three chapters examine the rôle of culture in national identity.

Of all the elements of culture, a common language is arguably the greatest influence on and the main cohesive bond of a nation. It is therefore the first area to be analysed. The following chapters examine Austrian cultural identity from a broader perspective, retaining the emphasis on both in-group and out-group influences.

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1 James Sheehan: "What is German History" in Journal of Modern History 53 (March 1981)

2 Even these latter were not unproblematic in the First Republic; the first time the Austrian flag was hoisted, the white stripe in the middle was torn out; the national hymn was changed three times in twenty years; the Corporate State had little success with their emulation of National Socialist processions and days of celebration, with the added incentive of competing with the "Feierkultur" (celebration culture) of the Social Democrats (in particular, their 1 May demonstrations).

## I. Language and Identity

People who are able to communicate and understand one another are more likely to form into a group. Language can distinguish one nation from another, and provide evidence that a nation exists, and has a right to existence. A nation which possesses a distinctive language is likely to develop a culture of its own, which, in turn, contributes to the growth of national feeling.

Language provides historical continuity to a people by creating bonds between generations which co-exist only through the written word. The Austrian author Hugo von Hofmannsthal described language as the "timeless vessel of human experience". Culture is thus another example of a criterion of nationhood transcending time, for living members of a nation can be bonded through their knowledge of a common heritage of thought. As Benedikt Anderson puts it, "Through that language, encountered at mother's knee and parted with only at the grave, pasts are restored, fellowships are imagined, and futures dreamed".<sup>3</sup>

The more traditions become established, the more they become a force in the further shaping of national history and the more they serve to distinguish one nation from another. The anthropologist Joseph Greenberg draws attention to how language as

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<sup>3</sup> "As a dynamic, changing force, language is not only a receptacle of the past, but a foray into the future." Benedikt Anderson: Imagined Communities, Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Verso, London, 1983. p140

a highly complex body of learned behavior forms a part of the cultural heritage of the community which uses it. Indeed it has a central rôle as the fundamental vehicle of transmission of other cultural traits within and across social groups.<sup>4</sup>

Literature provides a prime example of how language functions in this capacity. As the historian Ernest Barker argues:

literature may give to the national mind - or, to speak more accurately, to the minds of the members of a nation - a common content or substance of thought which makes for unity. The literature of a nation is a part of the tradition which constitutes its spiritual being ... The more the literary tradition of a nation becomes a common content of the minds of its members, through the diffusion of education, the more is that nation united, and the more homogeneous is its life.<sup>5</sup>

Here literature and education are identified in particular as vehicles which create and capture the associations which form the basis of a communal identity, but the argument remains true of many aspects of culture, particularly as mass entertainment expanded.<sup>6</sup>

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4 Joseph H. Greenberg: "The Science of Linguistics" in Peter B. Hammond (ed): Cultural and Social Anthropology; Introductory Readings in Ethnology Macmillan Publishing Co. Inc. New York. 1975 edition. p388 (Hereafter cited as Cultural and Social Anthropology.)

5 Ernest Barker: National Character and the factors in its Formation Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1927. (Hereafter cited as National Character) p222. Obviously, literature is not simply national: its inspiration can be universal, addressing concerns unlimited by space and time. However, there are valuable discoveries to be made by a study of the themes covered, or indeed avoided, by a nation's authors during a particular period.

6 For Austrian education in the interwar period see Herbert Dachs: Schule und Politik, Die politische Erziehung an den österreichischen Schulen 1918-1938. Jugend und Volk, Wien, München, 1982 for comprehensive coverage.



In order to analyse the interplay between national and cultural identity in the First Republic, it is first necessary to examine the understanding of the relationship between cultural and national identity prevalent in German-speaking countries. Language has been closely linked with national identity since the eighteenth century, mainly through the work of German philosophers such as Herder, Novalis, Schleiermacher and Fichte. Whereas for the intellectuals of the French revolution, a nation was a group of individuals subject to a single political order, for these philosophers, each nation had a spiritual character, closely related to its common language. As Stanley I. Benn summarises:

A nation's existence did not depend on its members' choice or recognition; or, rather, because it formed their consciousness, they could hardly choose not to be members. If the German nation was a natural fact, it was because men reared in a German tradition would be essentially different from Englishmen or Frenchmen.<sup>7</sup>

Because the variety of languages cut men off from one another, they were forced to develop their own unique cultures. Such a definition contrasts with both the legal and the sociological concept of the nation, which stress the rôle of the state and citizenship, and the rôle of the people's will.<sup>8</sup>

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7 Stanley I. Benn, "Nationalism" in Paul Edwards, (ed): The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, Volume 5. Macmillan Publishing Co. New York/London, 1967, p443

8 See Friedrich Hertz in Gottfried Salomon (ed): Jahrbuch für Soziologie: Erster Ergänzungsband: Nation und Nationalität, Verlag G. Braun in Karlsruhe, 1927

The impact of language on national identity has also been examined in more recent times, most notably by Karl Deutsch and Benedikt Anderson, quoted above. Deutsch posited that nationality consists essentially in people's ability "to communicate more effectively and over a wider range of subjects with members of one large group than with outsiders".<sup>9</sup> This is not simply a question of speaking the same tongue, but of having common preoccupations. K. R. Minogue makes an additional point of relevance here:

That the nation should speak a unique language is necessary in order to facilitate internal communication, as well as to hinder external cultural influences.<sup>10</sup>

These two points indicate why there was confusion as to whether the two German-speaking countries of Austria and Germany could possibly have distinct cultures, and by extension, distinct national identities. It also hints at the difficulties Austria would experience in defending its national culture.

This chapter examines the issue of language from two aspects; denotation, and connotation (loosely, its physical manifestations, and its spiritual dimensions).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Karl W. Deutsch: Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality. New York, 1953.

<sup>10</sup> K. R. Minogue: Nationalism. University Paperbacks, Methuen, London, 1967 (Hereafter cited as Minogue: Nationalism)

<sup>11</sup> Joseph H. Greenberg points out that a similar distinction must be made between "the linguistic system as such, describable by a set of rules, and the system in actual use ... variously phrased as *langue* versus *parole*, code versus message or competence versus performance (transformational approach)." Joseph H. Greenberg: "The Science of

It is important to recognise that language constitutes more than vocabulary. As seen above, Ernest Barker, for example, points out that words should not merely be considered as words, but as vehicles of associations.<sup>12</sup> Thus even if language is considered the most important criterion for national identity, it necessarily leads to an examination of culture as a whole, the subject of the following chapters.

Austria's cultural identity was defined to a great extent by the language in which it was conceived. A poem included in a 1935 reader alluded to the relationship between language and identity:

Der Österreicher

An Österreicha bin i,  
dös wist's ja von eh

und als Österreicha  
red i halt, wie=r i's vasteh.<sup>13</sup>

I'm an Austrian  
You've known that  
for yonks  
And, as an Austrian,  
Well I just speak,  
as I understand it.

It is no coincidence that the poem was composed in the vernacular, the most personal version of a language (local spoken dialect) which exists. Regional variations in language are of course a particularly rich repository of national heritage, retaining "spiritual contact with the national being".<sup>14</sup> Co-existing with written High German, regional dialects were seen as reflecting more

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Linguistics" in Cultural and Social Anthropology.  
p388

12 National Character, p216

13 J.S. Seidl cited in ---, Hoch Österreich.  
Österreich-ischer Bundesverlag. Wien & Leipzig,  
1935.

14 Donauland Illustrierte Monatschrift 1 Jahrgang 1917,  
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colour, expressiveness, humour and common sense than standard German.<sup>15</sup>

It is not the goal of this thesis to attempt to identify the truth behind the arguments pertaining to language. However there was a pre-occupation in Austrian literature of great relevance to this discussion. Linguistic preoccupations were not unique to Austria, but it is there that linguistic issues attracted an inordinate amount of intellectual attention across academic borders. The experience of the monarchy, the misuse made of language during the First World War and the subsequent breakdown of society encouraged such scepticism as to the efficiency of language.<sup>16</sup> Concern with language took two related forms, pertaining to the expression of outer and inner reality. First, a gulf was perceived between the practical reality of the outer world and the forms in which it was expressed by the individual. Second, the gulf between the outer world and its linguistic expression was seen to be paralleled in

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15 See, for example, Nikolaus Hovorka: Berichte zur Kultur u Zeitgeschichte. X Band. Nr 217-240. Wien Leipzig, Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1934/35.

16 The Dada movement was a response to similar concerns. This was not new - in the Chandos letter of 1902 Hofmannsthal had already written "I have completely lost the ability to think or speak of anything coherently". ("Es ist mir völlig die Fähigkeit abhanden gekommen, über irgend etwas zusammenhängend zu denken oder zu sprechen.") Lord Chandos is completely isolated from the world because he believes that since moral and intellectual concepts abstract and change reality, they cannot convey any existential truth.

the individual where language failed in its function as the expression of inner reality.<sup>17</sup>

The associated problems of communication, authenticity and symbolic expression were addressed in all major fields of Austrian thought and art - from the satirist Karl Kraus to the psychologist Sigmund Freud, from the architect Adolf Loos to the philosopher Karl Popper. In architecture, painting and music, the order missing in society and language could be sought in abstraction, or in geometric or rhythmic coherence (such as the mathematical reductions of language of the Viennese Circle; Schönberg's twelve tone music; Otto Neumann's isotopes; Otto Wagner and Adolf Loos's drive for unornamented architecture). For those working in the literary field, however, language was the only weapon against the misuse of language.

Authors including Karl Kraus (1874-1936), Ödon von Horvath (1901-1938) and Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) were concerned with what they perceived as the degeneration of language.<sup>18</sup> For Hofmannsthal and Kraus, linguistic decay was the symptom of moral degeneration. Kraus dedicated his career to expression, concerned that, if language was the crucial instrument of thought,

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17 The gulf perceived between language and internal and external reality can be placed in a broader context in the division between understanding and reality, between "Schein und Sein" (what seems and what is), which permeated Austrian society.

18 Peter Paboisch and Alan Best: The total novel; Heimito von Doderer and Albert Paris Gütersloh, in Alan Best & Wolfschütz (Eds.) : Modern Austrian Writing: Literature and Society after 1945. Oswald Wolff, London, 1980. p71

slovenliness in thought and expression lay the individual open to self-deception and deception.<sup>19</sup> He argued that, riddled by cliché, the Austrian language had hardened into prescribed channels of thinking. The next step, according to Kraus, was the subordination of reality to cliché. This gulf between words and their images was dangerous as people became inured to the violence inherent in National Socialist terminology. Kraus saw an indication of the character of National Socialism in a Nazi author's use of the phrase "*auf eigene Faust*" - literally "by your own fist". (The equivalent English phrase "off your own bat" has rather different connotations.) According to Kraus, the reality of National Socialism was expressed through its vocabulary, unperceived by most Austrian audiences, who, Kraus argued, assumed euphemism or embellishment (upon which their own communication was based).<sup>20</sup>

Hugo von Hofmannsthal equated the decline of the pre-war world with linguistic decay. He tried to rediscover spoken language, which he felt had retained its expressiveness where written language was subordinated to the mere imparting of information. Hofmannsthal tried to encourage a new sense of responsibility in the use of abstract concepts and to bring about the revival of a

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19 See discussion on Kraus in Allan Janik and Stephen Toulmin: Wittgenstein's Vienna. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1973.

20 Those involved in studies of language were particularly influenced by Karl Kraus - as Elias Canetti writes, these people matured with "*Die Fackel im Ohr*". Kraus fell silent at the Anschlag; reality had transcended the possibilities of irony.

truly communal language. Even Austrian spoken language was problematic, however, as pointed out by Kraus. He was not the only critic: Ernst Karl Winter in "Vaterland" expressed his concern that Austrians spoke by merely mimicking their favourite actors. Winter concluded that the Austrian citizen should not speak "*Bühnendeutsch, sondern Kaiserdeutsch*" ["Not stage German but the Emperor's German"].<sup>21</sup>

Exhibiting a similar concern with spoken language, Ödon von Horvath (1901-1938) coined the term *Bildungsjargon* [educated jargon]<sup>22</sup> to describe the language of the contemporary petite bourgeoisie which consisted of cliché, platitude and generalisation. Horvath's plays showed the consequences of the misuse of language in action.<sup>23</sup> These attempted to make clear to the audience that their language did not permit self-discovery, or analysis of the outer world, and indicate

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21 A characteristic associated with the Baroque. Jan Papiór, "*Die Österreich-Idee in der Zeitschrift 'Vaterland'*" in Walter Weiss, Edvard Beutner: Literatur und Sprache im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit. Hans-Dieter Heinz, Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart, 1985. p42

22 It sounds like a contradiction in terms - culture and jargon - but it is this paradox which Horvath sought to express.

23 The characters of his plays who speak in *Bildungsjargon* dot their speech with remnants of an obsolete value system in which anything reminiscent of the ruling classes is superior, and anything seen as common is rejected as ridiculous. This type of speech is personified by "learned" quotes from the classics, tempered by catch phrases from advertising, newspapers, radio, bureaucracy, film, and political propaganda.

the subsequent susceptibility of the petite bourgeoisie to totalitarian ideology.<sup>24</sup>

The importance of this language issue for Austrian national identity is simple. Could a coherent definition, or a solid defence of Austrian nationhood be mounted by its intellectuals in a language in which there was no faith? Furthermore, Austrian use of language did not lend itself to self-analysis; aided the rise of political extremism and National Socialism; and made Austrians particularly susceptible to propaganda.

Twentieth century philosophers, including the Austrians Ludwig Wittgenstein and Karl Popper, have argued that national vocabulary, syntax, word formations, and word rhythms reflect the intellectual and emotional qualities of a people.<sup>25</sup> Elie Kedourie argues that language serves as external expression of internal realities; conversely, there is debate as to the extent to which language determines which thoughts can be thought.<sup>26</sup> One of Wittgenstein's most famous sayings,

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24 Horvath's criticism also held a political dimension, showing how the lower middle classes and even the working classes orientate themselves stubbornly on their social superiors. For Horvath, the use of *Bildungsjargon* is simultaneously a sign of moral devastation and of an exploitative social situation.

25 Thus there are three aspects of language which help to distinguish languages from each other: phonology (the study of sound systems - Professor Higgins is probably the most famous proponent of this aspect of language); grammar (the study of rules governing the arrangement of meaningful elements), and semantics (the study of meaning).

26 Elie Kedourie: Nationalism, Hutchinson University Library, London, 1971. p62 Language is "the outer expression of an inner experience, the outcome of a particular history, the legacy of a distinctive tradition".



usually quoted in a simplified form, expresses this: "The limits of my language mean the limits of my world".<sup>27</sup> The German philosopher Schleiermacher argued that every language was a particular mode of thought; what was cogitated in one language could never be repeated in the same way in another.<sup>28</sup> By extension, contact with foreign languages gives one access to a different understanding of life, a point frequently made to support the fact that Austria's multi-national past had granted it unique qualities.<sup>29</sup> K. R. Minogue suggests that the criterion of a common language for the existence of national identity is most useful when it is considered in this sense:

"People who speak the same language" would then become, not necessarily those who use the same set of words, but those who, in some perhaps

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- 27 A series of papers by the anthropologist Benjamin Lee Whorf have shown in what ways language acts as "a sort of interpretive filter not just reporting experience but categorizing and defining it". (Introduction to "Language in Context", Cultural and Social Anthropology, p398). He argues that language constitutes a sort of logic, a general frame of reference, and so molds the thought of its habitual users. There will be great similarities between languages which have developed in areas with a similar climate, economic and political development etc. Thus Whorf discovered, for example, that the difference between European languages were so insignificant in comparison to the differences from Hopi (an American Indian language) that he grouped them all together under the general title of SAE (Standard Average European). See Paul Henle: "Language, Thought, and Culture" *ibid.* Nonetheless, this similarity is not necessarily noticed in practice by European language users.
- 28 *Ibid.* (Which helps to explain why the English translation of the poem above does not render the spirit of the German, despite being a competent translation of the individual words).
- 29 There is a Czech saying which illustrates this: "With every new language you learn, you acquire a new soul."

spiritual sense, understand each other. To speak the same language in this metaphorical sense means loving the same things, admiring the same kinds of behaviour, sharing customs, and understanding each other's experiences.<sup>30</sup>

Thus it could be argued that the Swiss speak a common language, even if its inhabitants speak three different tongues.

So when "a common language" is listed as a vital component of national identity, it should be understood on two levels; a nation shares common words (denotations), but also common associations (connotations). The relationship between the two, however, is not clear cut. It could after all be argued that common connotations are dependent upon sharing a common language of denotation, in which case Austria and Germany would automatically be bonded. Or it could be argued that sharing a language (in the sense that it was comprehensible to inhabitants on either side of a border) did not necessarily mean that attitudes were held in common - a community of fate could be a far more important factor here. This in essence set the outline for the language debate on Austrian identity.

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<sup>30</sup> Minogue: Nationalism, p120. For national identity analysis on this basis see Karl W. Deutsch: Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationality, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, USA, 1966. and his pupil Peter, J. Katzenstein: Disjoined Partners; Austria and Germany since 1815 University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976. It is from the point of view of "understanding each other's experiences" that a common history can be considered common.

## II. The debate

The arguments raised by those who believed in a single German culture followed a logical thought process. If national identity was defined by national culture, and national culture was defined by the national tongue, then a common tongue meant a common culture, and hence in this case, one common, German, nation. As Herder had argued,

Those who speak the same language are linked together, before human intervention takes a hand, by mere nature with a host of invisible; they understand each other and are capable of communicating more and more closely with one another, they belong together, they are by nature one indivisible whole.<sup>31</sup>

Definition according to language was not necessarily always in Germany's interest. The theorist Georg Schmidt-Rohr, for example, writing in 1933 on the rôle of language in nationhood, pointed out that equating language with nationhood was problematic, especially when racial and legal considerations were taken into account:

A Viennese citizen may only be able to speak German, but his racial origin may be Jewish, and his citizenship may be Austrian. Who would deny all such people the right to call themselves German? But in certain senses, they are not Germans. They represent ... the nebulous fringe areas of the term [German], whereas those people who cannot be denied the term exhibit all three criteria [legal membership in the German state, German racial origin and German mother tongue] and provide the kernel of the term.<sup>32</sup>

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31 Quoted in Minogue: Nationalism, p64

32 Georg Schmidt-Rohr: Muttersprache; Vom Amt der Sprache bei der Volkswendung Eugen Diederichs Verlag in Jena, Germany. 1933. p73: Ein Wiener Bürger kann zwar nur deutsch reden, aber der Abstammung nach kann er Jude, der Staatsangehörigkeit nach Österreicher sein. Wer will allen diesen Personen das Recht bestreiten, sich Deutsche zu nennen? Aber in gewissem Sinne sind sie es doch wieder auch nicht. Sie bilden ... das unklare Grenzgebiet des Wortumfanges, während

Thus, merely using language to define the German nation could allow the inclusion of unwelcome elements into the Reich. It was no coincidence that the city referred to was Vienna, the most multi-national of the country. Nonetheless, as this quotation illustrates, speaking the German language was frequently equated with being a member of the German nation.

The consequences of such thinking on Austrian national identity were clear. Friedrich Kleinwächter, for example, stated unequivocally of the Austrians, "They speak the same language as other Germans, they are therefore nothing other than German".<sup>33</sup>

Being German was more frequently understood in terms of language and culture than in terms of state citizenship. Thus the author Ödon von Horvath wrote:

If I am asked whether I am German I can only answer: I feel I am a person, who, in all situations counts himself as part of the German cultural circle - and why I feel I belong to the German cultural circle depends primarily upon the fact that my mother tongue is German. In my<sup>34</sup> opinion, that is the predominant reason.

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jene Personen, denen keinesfall der Name abgestritten werden kann, weil für sie all drei der genannten Merkmale zutreffen, den Kern des Wortumfanges ausmachen.

33 Friedrich Kleinwächter: Selbstbestimmungsrecht für Österreich. Reichs Propaganda Ausschuß der Deutsch Österreichischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft f. d. Reich, Stuttgart, 1929. p19 Sie sprechen dieselbe Sprache wie die anderen Deutschen, sie sind also nichts anderes als Deutsche.

34 Harald Sterk: Industriekultur in Österreich. Dr Wandel in Architektur, Kunst und Gesellschaft im Fabrikzeitalter 1918-1938. Wiener Allianz, Wien 1986. p59: Ödon von Horvath: Also wenn man mich fragt, ob ich ein Deutscher bin, so kann ich darauf nur antworten: ich fühle mich als ein Mensch, der sich unter allen Umständen zum deutschen Kulturkreis zählt - und warum ich mich zum deutschen Kulturkreis

Certainly amongst writers this was a common view. Although he contributed greatly to what was later perceived as Austria's distinct culture, Hugo von Hofmannsthal argued that "the fiction of an Austrian literature, an Austrian music, none of these exist, there is only German music, German literature, and in this music and literature works produced by Austrians".<sup>35</sup> Robert Musil agreed and added that the most that could be allowed was a provincial cultural identity, but no synthesis that could be termed an Austrian culture.<sup>36</sup> It is important to note that belief in a single German culture did not necessarily imply that political union should follow, although Anschluß adherents naturally saw this as the next logical step.

In 1918 Austrians had expressed this understanding of what "being German" meant by calling themselves German Austrians (denoting themselves as those Austrians whose mother tongue was German). Britain and France, for whom the nation was a political term, and given the proclamation of the Anschluß, misconstrued this as a

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*gehörend betrachte, liegt wohl vor allem daran, das meine Muttersprache die deutsche ist. Und dies dürfte meiner Meinung nach der ausschlaggebende Grund sein.* One could argue that Horvath wished to be considered as part of German cultural circles only from the point of view of language. Conrad made a similar point when he said "My nationality is the language I write in".

35 *Die Fiktion einer österreichischen Literatur, einer österreichischen Musik, das alles gibt es nicht, es gibt nur eine deutsche Musik, eine deutsche Literatur, und in dieser die von Österreichern hervorgebrachten Werke.*

36 Robert Musil: Tagebücher, Aphorismen, Essays und Reden, Rowohlt Hamburg. (Hereafter cited as Tagebücher) p604: *Es gibt keine Österreichische Kultur, sondern nur eine deutsche Kultur in Österreich.*

political statement. This misunderstanding is the perfect example that having a common term (nation) does not necessarily involve sharing common associations.

However, it is true that a logical consequence of perceiving but one German culture was often the questioning of Austrian independence. The historian Heinrich von Srbik, for example, argued that Austria could only fulfil its political and cultural mission in a political community which encompassed the German people as a whole. According to Srbik, Austria's national tragedy lay in the impossibility of reconciling the desire to be part of a German nation state with the realisation of its mission to be a German cultural outpost.<sup>37</sup>

Those who were not in favour of the Anschluß could obviously not circumvent the fact that Austrians did speak German. They could, however, illustrate the fallacy of equating nation with language. One example was provided by those nationals of the Succession States who decided to remain in Austria, a choice which was seen as being made on the grounds of cultural and political affinity.<sup>38</sup> The examples of Britain and the

37 Heinrich von Srbik: Österreich in der deutschen Geschichte. Verlag F. Bruckmann AG München 1936. p473: *Hierin liegt die nationale Tragik des österreichischen Deutschtums begründet: deutsche Vormauer zu sein und doch nicht einem deutschen Nationalstaat angehören zu können ...*

38 This argument is raised, for example, in the series Das Grenz und Auslandsdeutschtum; Vorträge der akademischen Ortsgruppe München des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Ausland, Heft 6. München 1925 by Dr Robert Sieger (professor of Geography at the University of Graz). A further decisive motivation not mentioned was economic considerations.

United States, or Spain and South American states, were also drawn upon as evidence.

This latter argument was itself challenged. Those nations were divided by an ocean: Austria and Germany were divided simply by a border, and one imposed from the outside at that. The novelist Robert Musil argued that the case of Austria and Germany was, therefore, not comparable:

If parts of a linguistic community live under totally different circumstances and in long-divided cultures, as in South America and Spain, for example, it naturally makes little sense to unite them. If, however, there is an old, uninterrupted cultural community, and if two countries are immediate neighbours, as is the case with German-Austria and Germany, then the union of these states is simply one of the decisive moves away from the condition that we may call a state-animal, to a human state.<sup>39</sup>

The rôle of the nation state was thus to reflect cultural community. Furthermore, if a state was to be humane rather than merely political, it had to be allowed to evolve according to its subjects' wishes. As the historian K. R. Minogue argued:

Underlying nationalism is the assumption that the nation-state is the natural and final political organisation of the world. Now if we have a country which speaks the same language or languages as those of powerful neighbours, then such a country's independent existence has

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39 Tagebücher, p601: Wenn Teile einer Sprachgemeinschaft unter ganz verschiedenen Bedingungen und in längst getrennten Kulturen leben wie etwa Süd-Amerika und Spanien, hat es natürlich keinen Sinn, sie zu vereinen, wenn aber ein alter, nie unterbrochener Kulturzusammenhang und unmittelbare Nachbarschaft bestehen, wie zwischen Deutsch-Österreich und Deutschland, ist der staatliche Zusammenschluß einfach einer der entscheidenden Schritte auf dem Weg von dem Zustand, den wir ein Staatstier nennen durften, zum Menschenstaat.

the look of an accident due to diplomatic arrangements.<sup>40</sup>

Austria's division from Germany in 1918 was perceived as being precisely such a "diplomatic arrangement"<sup>41</sup>, and one which needed to be redressed.

However, the example of Britain and North America, or Spain and parts of South America, were not only used to show that a common language did not necessarily imply a common state. It was possible to argue that it was not language which determined the separate nature of these countries, as Oskar Schmitz pointed out:

One cannot counter nationalist idiocy often and urgently enough, that it is not a common language which creates nations, but a common fate. So there are today two English-speaking peoples, and in Switzerland, a tri-lingual people. The community of fate, however, ties the German Austrians to Vienna, and the growing importance of this city should be of greater interest to them, than the Ludendorff-Hitlerputsch.<sup>42</sup>

The argument that Austrians were distinct from the Germans because of their past is familiar from the

40 Minogue: Nationalism, p119

41 For the peace makers, the common bond of the German language was not considered sufficient justification for political union between Austria and Germany. Furthermore, had linguistic arguments been accepted in this case, it would have proved impossible to justify the inclusion of German-speaking areas in the Succession States, as was the case with the Sudetenland, for example.

42 Oscar A. H. Schmitz: Der Österreichische Mensch: Zum Anschauungsunterricht für Europäer, Insbesondere für Reichsdeutsche. Wiener Literarische Anstalt, Wien, 1924, p26: *Man kann dem nationalistischen Wahn nicht eindringlich genug entgegenhalten, daß nicht die gemeinsame Sprache Völker schafft, sondern das gemeinsame Schicksal. So gibt es heute zwei englisch sprechende Völker und in der Schweiz ein dreisprachiges Volk. Die Schicksalsgemeinschaft aber bindet die deutschen Österreicher an Wien und die nun wieder steigende Bedeutung dieser Stadt sollte sie viel mehr interessieren, als der Ludendorff-Hitlerputsch.*



chapter on history and shows how the identified themes (history, mission, cultural identity) were intermingled.

Of course, historical development also had its implications for language. When history was alluded to in this context by Anschluß adherents, common origins (rather than subsequent development) were stressed. The area occupied by the First Republic belonged originally to the principality (*Stammesfürstentümer*) of Bavaria. The basis of Austrian German is therefore the Bavarian linguistic region, and there are still many shared linguistic characteristics, particularly in the vernacular. Thus Josef Nadler was able to argue

The Austrian people according to their roots are Bavarian by extraction, and these origins have been manifested through the centuries in the attitudes to life, which are truly of the people; in vocabulary, volume and tone of language; ... in the treasury of their intellectual aptitudes.<sup>43</sup>

Nadler concluded that Austria's Bavarian roots had had the most impact on the people, more, for example, than its contact with foreign peoples. The linguist Otto Behagel argued that there were no linguistic barriers between Austrians and Germans because there had been no

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43 Josef Nadler: "Die deutsche Dichtung Österreichs" in Univ. Prof Josef Nadler und Univ. Prof Dr Heinrich v Srbik: Österreich, Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum. Verlag Anton Pustet. Salzburg, Leipzig, 1936. p326: *Das österreichische Volk ist seiner Wurzel nach bayrischen Ursprünge und diese Herkunft bezeugt sich durch alle Jahrhunderte in den Lebensäußerungen, die wahrhaft volksmäßig sind, in Wortschatz, Lautstand und Tonfall der Sprache, in mancherlei Brauchtum, in der geringen Sichtbarkeit der Standesgrenzen, im Grundvermögen der geistigen Anlagen.* Nadler also pointed out that German unity did not consist of superficial similarities, but in spiritual unity.

geographical or political barriers between the two countries.<sup>44</sup>

If differences between Austrian German and German German were conceded, Anschluß adherents argued that these were no more than the dialectical variations to be found within both countries, which did not imply the existence of two separate nations. Thus Viktor Geramb was able to argue:

If, in Austria, there is an occasional vernacular particularism, then that is not an Austrian peculiarity, but an occurrence found in all other *Stämme*.<sup>45</sup>

Heinz Paller, writing in 1930 in a collection of essays in favour of Anschluß, argued that if the Austrians were a distinct people from the Germans, then no national states in Europe could actually be said to exist:

If differences are to be taken to such extremes, then even little Austria should be divided into a number of little states, because the Tyroleans, Carinthians, Styrians, Upper-Austrians, Vorarlbergians etc have their own ways, their own dialects, which are recognised by all Austrians. One comes to the conclusion that every valley of the Austrian alps has its own peculiarities - the Upper Carinthian, for example, speaks a different dialect from the Lower Carinthian and should therefore have his own state, as should the Viennese district of

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44 "Deutsches Deutsch und österreichisches Deutsch" (1915) in Otto Behagel: Von Deutscher Sprache: Aufsätze, Vorträge und Plaudereien. Moriz Schauenburg, Lahr in Baden, 1927. p304 (Hereafter cited as Von Deutscher Sprache)

45 Viktor Geramb: "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit im Volksleben" in Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter; Heinz Von Paller: Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung. Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as Die Anschlußfrage) p263: *Wenn sich gelegentlich in Österreich ein mund-artlicher Partikularismus zu Wort meldet, so ist das keine Österreichische Besonderheit, sondern eine bei allen anderen Stämmen anzutreffende Erscheinung.*

Währing, whose inhabitants, according to old-established Viennese, have their own language and customs.<sup>46</sup>

Just as this is an absurdity, he concluded, so is the idea of a distinct Austrian nation.

This argument chose to ignore, however, that from political separation under the Babenbergers in the tenth century, Austria's independent political and social development had had a major impact upon its language.<sup>47</sup> The change in the ruling family at the end of the thirteenth century, when the Habsburgs came to power, for example, brought in a Swiss influence on the language. Ever since, for example, in the Viennese vernacular "ei" is pronounced as "aa", so "Heim" becomes "Haam". This period also saw the growth of Vienna which inevitably came to exercise a strong cultural and linguistic influence on the other provinces. So, for example, the change to "Kuchel" from the German "Küche" (kitchen), or

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46 Dr Friedrich Kleinwächter's article: "Der deutsche Mensch im großdeutschen Raum", *ibid.* p241 Wenn man die Österreicher als besonderes Volk erklärt, dann gibt es in Europa überhaupt keine Nationalstaat mehr. ... wenn man die Unterscheidungen so weiter treibt, dann müßte man auch das kleine Österreich in eine Reihe von Staaten zerlegen, denn auch die Tiroler, Kärntner, Steirer, Oberösterreicher, Vorarlberger usw haben ihre Eigenart, ihre Mundart, die jeder Österreicher sofort erkennt. Man kommt schließlich zu dem Ergebnis, das jedes Tal in den Österreichischen Alpen seine Besonderheit hat - der Oberkärntner zB spricht eine andere Mundart als der Unterkärntner - und darum ebenso einen eigenen Staat bilden sollte, wie etwa der Wiener Bezirk Währing, dessen Bewohner nach der Ansicht eingesessener Wiener nach Sprache und Eigenart einen besonderen Typus darstellen.

47 However, many words seen as typically Austrian are in fact only used in the east (Vienna, Lower and Upper Austria).

to "Rauchfang" from "Kamin" (chimney) originated in Vienna.<sup>48</sup>

The relative autonomy of the provinces was reflected in their tongue, especially in the western provinces. The Tyrol, for example, was relatively isolated from the eastern regions of Austria by the independent region of Salzburg in Napoleonic days; and the Tyroleans' fierce provincial pride helped them to retain their linguistic individuality. Linguistic differentiation from region to region helped to reinforce regional solidarity: as Johnston argues, particularly in Vienna, patois represented a defence against foreigners, while against North Germans it guaranteed insularity.<sup>49</sup> Despite regional variations, the state's requirement for communication within the administration and the military had created some unity.

The language Austrian-German exhibited certain unique characteristics which stemmed from its political conditions, its form of state, its geographical position and its social and cultural development. One example of the latter was provided by religion. Because South-Germany and Switzerland were also Catholic, it was argued that, after the Reformation, Austria retained a closer linguistic affinity with them than with the Protestant

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48 Otto Behagel, although denying any fundamental differences between German and Austrian admitted to certain differences in vocabulary, in emphasis, and in the "higher strata of the written word" ("*Höhenschichten des schriftlichen Ausdrucks*"). Von Deutscher Sprache, p304

49 See Johnston William M., The Austrian Mind: An Intellectual and Social History 1848-1938, University of California Press, Berkely, 1972. p127

North. Indeed, the Reformation could be seen as having torn the two countries apart irrevocably. The Legitimist paper Vaterland argued, for example,

We are of the opinion, that the characteristic of every closed, true, culture is the community of belief. Since Luther this country has been divided, and with it the whole cultural community. Since then a whole world divides us from "German culture"; ... the Austrian who is bonded to his old home culture cannot, may not, desire any community, any Anschluß to this pseudo-culture, which is diametrically opposed to his being.<sup>50</sup>

As is indicated by the quotation marks, "German culture" was looked down upon by many Austrians who saw theirs as being the superior culture. Once the German economy had recovered more quickly than the Austrian (spurred on by Nazi re-armament), this was one of the few areas in which Austria could feel superior.

Those in favour of a revised version of the Empire inevitably pointed out that Austrian German was also heavily influenced by its constant contact with different cultures and peoples. In particular, Austrian German was distinguished through its wealth of foreign loan-words. The Empire's multi-national character was reflected, for example, in its culinary terminology where one finds Buchteln, Palatschinken and Kolatschen. Where foreign

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50 Vaterland; Blätter für katholisches Österreichertum. 1 Jahrgang Mai, Juni 1927, Heft Nr 1, p95: wir sind der Meinung, das das Wesensmerkmals jeder geschlossenen, wahren Kultur die Gemeinsamkeit des Glaubens darstelle. Seit Luther ist dieses Land zerrissen und mit ihm die ganze Kulturgemeinschaft. Seither trennt uns eine ganze Welt von der "deutschen Kultur" ... [der] mit seiner alten Heimatkultur verbundene Österreicher kann, ja darf keine Gemeinschaft, keinen Anschluß an diese Pseudokultur wünschen, die seinem Wesen diametral widerspricht.

words were often "germanised" in Germany, they remained in the original in Austria. Communication and vocabulary continued to reflect Austria's multi-national heritage despite the breakup of the monarchy. For example, Friedrich Torberg characterised the language spoken by the famous and immensely popular inter-war cabaret-artist and film star Hans Moser as follows:

this German-sounding method of communication brought together the Moravian-Hungarian cultural circles with the Viennese cultural community - and was about as far away from real Yiddish, as spoken in the east of the monarchy, as it was from real German.<sup>51</sup>

The contributions made by different nations to the Austrian tongue had been fully assimilated, and could be presented as having become something peculiarly Austrian.

The Danubian Federationists' emphasis on Austria's openness to multi-national ideals could also be turned against them. For example, an article on "the German conscience" warned that the term "cosmopolitan" was crowding out terms such as "Fatherland", "Home" and "Volk", which were, after all, words dependent on borders, and delineations. Cosmopolitanism and "denationalisation" (*Entnationalisierung*) were here identified as being the cause of the increasing violence,

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51 Torberg quoted in Walter Fritz: Kino in Österreich, 1929-1945, Der Tonfilm. Österreichischer Bundesverlag, Wien, 1991. p88: *In jenem ans Deutsche anklingende Verständigungs-mittel, auf das sich der mährisch-ungrische Kulturkreis mit der Wiener Kultusgemeinde geeinigt hatte - und das vom richtigen Jiddisch, wie es im Osten der Monarchie gesprochen wurde, ebenso weit entfernt war wie vom richtigen Deutsch. Moser's manner of speech adapted to German racial policy as Austria became increasingly dependent on the German film market.*

corruption and immorality in modern society. The only solution was to recall one's German blood, and reclaim words such as "Fatherland".<sup>52</sup> This was a clever argument, because it fallaciously presented cosmopolitanism and loyalty to one's home (country, nation) as being mutually exclusive.

It was possible to argue that it was precisely the contact between German and non-German speakers which had fostered the German tongue. Thus Otto Behagel concluded his essay on German German and Austrian German with the statement:

Nowhere is the German so devoted to his mother tongue as in Austria, nowhere are, hand in hand with the general German language group, endeavours to work on the purity and beauty of a common German language fostered with greater dedication or stronger passion.<sup>53</sup>

This argument is familiar: in the discussion over Austria's mission, the German character of the Austrian people was also presented as having been strengthened rather than diluted by contact with foreign nationals.

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52 Das deutsche Gewissen ein Mahnruf?: Schön klingt das Wort "Zivilisationsideal", schön klingt das Wort "Kosmopolitismus", schön das Wort "intellektuell". Aber ihren Klang haben verloren; "Vaterland", "Heimat", "Volk". Diese Wörter haben ja einen beschränkenden, abgrenzenden Sinn und Trumpf ist heute nur das Grenzverwischende, Allumfassende.

53 Von Deutscher Sprache, p305: Aber gerade der Gegensatz gegen das fremde Volkstum wirkt auch wieder unmittelbar förderlich. Nirgendwo so wie in Österreich hängt der Deutsche an seiner Muttersprache, nirgends werden mit größerer Hingebung, mit stärkerer Leidenschaft die Bestrebungen gepflegt, die, Hand in Hand mit dem allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachverein, arbeiten wollen an der Einheit, and der Schönheit unserer gemeinsamen deutschen Muttersprache.

While sharing a common language would appear to be a unifying factor, even small differences can prove divisive by creating misunderstandings or disagreements. As Karl Kraus argued, echoing Oscar Wilde, Austrians and Germans were divided by a common tongue. This was popularly recognised, for example, in a radio sketch about two Carinthian boys who visit Hamburg, and in a cabaret sketch by Rudolf Weys called "Langenscheid für Schriftdeutschland" (A dictionary for written Germany). In this sketch a Viennese and a Berliner find that their vernacular forms of speech create an impenetrable linguistic barrier to communication. It concludes (deliberately ambiguously) that "zwischen Preußen und Wien gibt's keine Verständigung" (there can be no understanding between Prussia and Vienna).<sup>54</sup>

The issue of linguistic parity between Germany and Austria became particularly important when Austrian writers wished to distance themselves from German National Socialism, but had to express their thoughts in the same tongue. By 1939, the Legitimist novelist Joseph Roth, for example, had become an adamant supporter of a distinct Austrian identity, insisting that Austrian was an entirely separate language leading to a distinct, independent culture. By 1925, Roth was revolted by Germany and repulsed by the language:

Germany makes me sick. Every day I learn to hate more, and am so filled with contempt I

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54 Rudolf Weys, "Langenscheidt für Schriftdeutschland" in Weys, Rudolf, Wien bleibt Wien und das geschieht ihm ganz recht, Europaverlag, Wien, 1974, p136



could suffocate. The language also repulses me.<sup>55</sup>

As his ideas developed, Roth insisted that Austrian was an entirely separate language, leading to a distinct, independent culture. In 1939 he wrote:

Austrian authors differ from German ones through their own melody, a different sentence structure and sometimes even through a different grammar.<sup>56</sup>

The differences identified here were not only noticed by Roth. In Gegenwartsdichtung in Österreich, Franz Koch argued that on the one hand, Austrian literature could be divided into Tyrolean, Styrian etc. (stressing provincial identities). Nonetheless,

all these peculiarities of landscape somehow combine to give the tribal note of Austrianness, a concept, however, which from the very outset cannot be captured. For what can be considered Austrian in this literature is mood, intonation, the rhythm of the language and of the verse. The landscape, the atmosphere is that particular and frequently described - Nadler terms it aesthetic - quality of the German people.<sup>57</sup>

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55 Letter to Beno Reifenbert, 30 August, 1925. in Hermann Kesten (Ed.), Joseph Roth: Briefe 1911-1939 Kiepenheuer & Witsch, Cologne, 1970: *Es ist mir mies vor Dtschld [sic]. Ich lerne jedem Tag mehr hassen und bin mit Verachtung zum Ersticken gefüllt. Die Sprache ist mir auch schon zuwider ...*

56 Jochan Jung, (Ed.): Österreichische Portraits. Residenz Verlag, Wien, Salzburg, 1985. p36: *Die österreichischen Schriftsteller unterscheiden sich von den deutschen, durch eine eigene Melodie, durch einen anderen Satzbau und gelegentlich sogar durch eine andere Grammatik.* According to Salvador De Madariaga, "a grammar is a philosophy". Salvador De Madariaga: Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, an essay in comparative psychology. Oxford University Press, London, 1937, p183

57 Franz Koch: Gegenwartsdichtung in Österreich, cited and reviewed in Deutsch-Oesterreichische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Munich, May, 1936. *Aber alle diese landschaftlichen Besonderheiten finden sich letztlich doch irgendwie zur stammhaften Note des Östereichischen zusammen, ein Begriff der von vorneherein allerdings nicht zu fassen ist. Denn*

Koch concludes that two characteristics summarise Austrian literature: the experience of *Heimat*, of landscape "at times coloured according to the particular type of landscape and the particular kind of people in the individual region" but also "above this, however, the vast expanse of the one German firmament".<sup>58</sup>

Even where those in favour of *Anschluß* conceded that there were differences, they were not permitted to be unsurmountable problems. As was argued in reference to race and history, time could eradicate any differences between Germans and Austrians; Austria needed to look to the future, not the past. The Under Secretary of State Dr. Ing Bruno v. Enderes, for example, associated linguistic antagonism with lack of contact, adumbrating Karl Deutsch's theories:

How many Viennese are aware of how ridiculous their behaviour is, when they laugh at the "S-prache" (s-peech) of the Hamburgers, how many Hamburgers when they smile at the "Sch-prache" of the Viennese? In my many years of cooperation with colleagues in the *Verein Deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltung* [railway administration], I have made the experience ... the more often Germans of different *Stämme* meet, the closer their professional, spiritual and material relationships become, the more vitally their sense of being a common people (*Volksgefühl*) will develop.<sup>59</sup>

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was als österreichisch angesprochen werden kann in diesen Dichtungen, ist Stimmung, Tonfall, Rhythmus der Sprache und des Verses, Landschaft, Atmosphäre, ist jene besondere immer wieder beschriebene - Nadler nennt sie musisch - Artung deutschen Menschentums.

58 Ibid. zuweilen farbig getönt je nach dem besonderen Landschaftsbild und Menschenschlag des einzelnen Bezirks ... darüber aber riesenhaft das Sternenzelt des einen deutschen, großen Himmels.

59 The solution was partly a question of infrastructure, Enderes concluded. Not only should Austria's economy be linked with that of the Reich,

This quotation provides another indication that the differences between the languages were perceived by the populations, although it could be argued this was no different from ridicule between regions. It also indicates the inconsistency of the arguments raised: here it was argued that a common fate would provide unity between all Germans, yet the point that the lack of a common fate in the past had resulted in separate development was not conceded.

#### Conclusion:

The question of Austrian national identity was closely interwoven with the question of Austrian cultural identity. In turn, the latter was interwoven with the issue of the relationship between Austria and Germany, and the fact that they shared a common language. As Vladimir Jabotinsky suggests, the ideal nation would speak a language entirely unlike that of any neighbour across any frontier, better still, a language unlike any other in the world; a language created by the nation itself and reflecting all phases of its thought and

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but the "internal interweaving" ("innere Verflechtung") of the two, through roads and rail, should be a primary concern of both governments. D. Ing Bruno v. Enderes: "Verkehrswesen" in Die Anschlußfrage, p537 *Wie viele Wiener sind sich der Albernheit ihren Verhaltens bewußt, wenn sie über die "S-prache" des Hamburgers, wie viele Hamburger, wenn sie über die "sch-prache" des Wieners lächeln? In vieljähriger Zusammenarbeit mit Fachgenossen im Verein Deutscher Eisenbahnverwaltungen habe ich die Erfahrung gemacht ... je häufiger Deutsche verschiedener Stämme sich treffen, je inniger ihre beruflichen, geistigen und materiellen Beziehungen werden, desto lebhafter wird ihr Volksgefühl sich gestalten.*

emotion.<sup>60</sup> The heart of the Austrian crisis of identity was precisely because this was not the case. The fact that this is rarely the case in practice indicates the areas of difficulty when placing language on a par with nationhood. While the importance of language in helping to establish or retain a national identity should not be denied, language is only one of the distinguishing features of nationhood. It is one of the most accessible and visible forms of expression of national identity, but as Hertz writes:

[The] identification of a nation with a language group is ... untenable. It conflicts with both the legal and the sociological concept of a nation. The groups constituted by sentiment, citizenship and language very often do not coincide but overlap. In many cases, peoples of different tongues are citizens of the same State, and sometimes also regard one another as members of the same nation. On the other hand, many different nations in both senses speak the same language.<sup>61</sup>

The importance accorded to language by former and contemporary analysts of national identity is thoroughly justified. Language provides a very obvious symbol of national identity, shared by every member of a nation.<sup>62</sup>

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60 Dr Oscar K Rabinowicz: Vladimir Jabotinsky's Conception of a Nation The Beechurst Press, New York, 1946

61 Quoted in Louis L. Snyder, The Meaning of Nationalism Greenwood Press Publishers, Westport, Connecticut, 1954, p22.

62 Josef Weinheber wrote an ode to the German language supporting the thesis that individuals have an emotional attachment to their language. ("Hymnus auf die deutsche Sprache" in Deutsch-Oesterreichische Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Munich, January, 1937.) As so often with components of national identity, this attachment becomes particularly clear when language is perceived to be under threat. Consider, for example, British reactions to the preponderance of Americanisms, or French language policies.

It reflects changes in society as a whole in a way in which they are made readily apparent to the individual. Emotions run irrationally deep when changes are perceived. For example, Dr Oswald Straub was highly disgusted by the trend towards adopting German German modes of speech:

Today it counts as evidence of being a better German if one says "nee" instead of "nein" [no], or "nischt" [instead of "nicht"/not], and in Innsbruck one can no longer buy *Semmeln*, only "Brötchen" [rolls/baps] - trifling matters, but typical.<sup>63</sup>

It was on the basis of connotation, rather than on denotation, however, that the debate on language centred. In terms of national identity connotations are also more relevant. As Kurt von Schuschnigg pointed out in Dreimal Österreich,

The individuality of Austrianness most decidedly does not rest in the fact that one says Saturday rather than Sunday-evening, Rubbish instead of Great Stuff, and usually says God be with You, rather than *Sieg Heil* ... [It lies] far rather in the ability to avoid sharp edges, to lessen contradictions, to convey to the world German spirituality and culture in a way which gains them not only respectful and factual admiration, but also love and personal understanding.<sup>64</sup>

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63 Dr Oswald Straub: Zollunion oder Anschluß Selbstverlag, Wien, 1931, p5: *Heute gilt es ja schon als Beweis eines besseren Deutschtums, wenn man "nee" sagt statt nein oder "nischt" und in Innsbruck erhält man beim Bäcker keine Semmeln mehr, sondern "Brötchen". - Kleinigkeiten, aber typisch.* In "Die Sprache des Österreichers" in Vaterland, May 1933/34, 7 Jahrgang, 1 Heft, Leopold Andrian-Werbung makes a similar accusation. *Semmeln* are close to the Austrian heart, and indeed have a national mythology surrounding them.

64 Dreimal Österreich, p331: *Darin, das man Samstag statt Sonnabend, Unsinn statt tolle Sache und zumeist Grüß Gott statt Sieg-heil sagt, liegt gewiß nicht die Besonderheit des österreichischen Wesens ... vielmehr in der Gabe, nach Möglichkeit Kanten zu*

The relationship between language and national characteristics is not clearcut. In contrast to the belief in an Austrian individuality exhibited in the above quotation, there were claims that the shared language did result in a common nature. For example, in July 1928 Chancellor Seipel gave a speech at the tenth Deutsche Sängerbund Festival,<sup>65</sup> a massive orchestrated display of German cultural unity. Seipel pointed out that Austrians and Germans could appreciate Schubert because they shared a common understanding of the world through their common tongue:

Naturally, Schubert's art speaks particularly to those who understand the tones and simultaneously the language of his songs, because a related German soul lives in them, the same German mother tongue is theirs also. To express this commonality of spirit, you, German singers, have come to us to Schubert Land Austria.<sup>66</sup>

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vermeiden, Gegensätze zu mildern, deutsche Geistigkeit und Kultur der Welt in einer Art zu vermitteln, daß sie nicht nur respektvolle und sachliche Bewunderung, sondern auch Liebe und persönliches Verständnis finden ...

65 The festival was dedicated to the 100th anniversary of Franz Schubert's death. The speeches as well as the choirs' performances were broadcast on the radio, the emotion of the occasion encouraging sentimental pro-German speeches. The social democratic mayor of Vienna, Landeshauptmann Karl Seitz, for example, openly stated: "We wish to be one people and one state". ("Wir wollen ein Volk und ein Staat sein.")

66 Ignaz Seipel quoted in Franz Endler: Wien; Zwischen den Kriegen, OraC Pietsch, Wien 1983. p134 Selbstverständlich spricht Schuberts Kunst besonders zu jenen, die seine Töne und zugleich die Sprache seiner Lieder ganz unmittelbar verstehen, weil eine verwandte deutsche Seele in ihnen lebt, dieselbe deutsche Muttersprache ihnen zu eigen ist. Zur Bekundung dieser Gemeinsamkeit des Geistes sind Sie, deutsche Sänger, zu uns ins Schubertland Österreich gekommen. Seipel's description of his home country as "Schubert Land Austria" should be recognised as

This quotation captures the manner in which language and the soul were seen to be interwoven. It also indicates the importance of music to Austrian identity.

The debate on the existence of an Austrian culture could not be discussed on the basis of language alone. The next question to be addressed was whether linguistic parity could be extended to cultural matters as a whole.

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propaganda to boost a certain picture of Austria which encouraged the tourist trade.

## Chapter Seven

AUSTRIAN CULTURAL IDENTITY

*Austrianness ... the smile of the Cheshire Cat  
left over from the old monarchy.*

(Francois Bondy)

## Introduction

Although the end of the war had marked the end of a cultural epoch in Austria - the dissolution of the monarchy and the economic destitution which followed were hardly conducive to artistic endeavour - the interwar period was by no means culturally barren. Many of Austria's most respected artists in all fields were active in this period (Karl Kraus, Hugo von Hofmannsthal; Hans Moser, Paula Wessely; the artists of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* or the *Werkbund*); the Social Democrats in Vienna were embarking on an innovative attempt to create a working class culture;<sup>1</sup> Austrian scientists won a Nobel Prize seven times in this period;<sup>2</sup> Austria's football team ("*das Wunderteam*") appeared unbeatable; and mass media was creating possibilities which had hitherto simply not existed.

Given the German understanding of the concept "nation", if Austria was to be considered a nation, its cultural identity was more important than its political organisation. As Otto Maria Fidelis pointed out,

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<sup>1</sup> See Helmut Gruber: Red Vienna; Experiment in Working-Class Culture 1919-1934 Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1991.

<sup>2</sup> Julius von Wagner-Jauregg (1857-1940) medicine (1927); Karl Landsteiner (1868-1943) medicine (1930); Richard Zsigmondy (1865-1929) chemistry (1925); Erwin Schrödinger (1887-1961) physics (1933); Otto Löwi (1873-1961) medicine (1936); Viktor Franz Hess (1883-1964), physics (1936); Richard Johann Kuhn (1900-1967), chemistry (1938).



The question cannot be avoided of whether the Austrian person has also provided the basis of a distinct national development of his own: whether the Austrian *Volk* constitutes not only a nation state, but a cultural nation.<sup>3</sup>

Austria was a nation state defined from without (by the actions of the Succession States, by the victors of World War I); it was whether it considered itself a cultural nation that would largely determine whether it was a nation from within.

The equation of Austrian national identity with Austrian cultural identity was not a casual one. The battles for borders in the early years of the Republic's existence were paralleled by a vigorous defence of Austria's cultural heritage from the rapacious appetites of its neighbours. An observation by the journalist G. Gedye on the vigour with which Austria defended art claimed by the Succession States indicates that the country's cultural identity was close to the Austrian heart:

It is typical of Vienna that she attached more weight to her art treasures than to her territory, and fought more stubbornly - and more successfully - to retain her beautiful things than to retain the Austrians of South Tyrol.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Otto Maria Fidelis: Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. p88: *Nicht umgangen kann aber die Frage werden, ob der österreichische Mensch auch das Fundament einer eigentümlichen nationalen Entwicklung abgegeben hat: ob das österreichische Volk nicht nur als eigene Staatsnation, sondern auch als eigene Kulturnation anzusehen ist.*

<sup>4</sup> G. E. R. Gedye: A Wayfarer in Austria, Methuen & Co. Ltd. London, 1928. p66 Note also that Austrian cultural identity was often strongly associated with the capital. See article by Dr Ernst H. Buschbeck, the curator of the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna "Die Wiener Museen nach dem Weltkrieg" (The Viennese

On 30 April, 1919, Kemetter and his ministerial colleagues submitted to the Austrian government an appeal to protect Austrian art from Italian claims:

It is well known that the German Austrian population has a particular ability to preserve and practise the arts. This ability represents one of the greatest strengths of our people, which has not only cultural, but also economic ramifications. To preserve it, yes, to further it and to pass it on undiminished to future generations is one of the most important tasks of those, who are entrusted with safeguarding the interests of our people.<sup>5</sup>

The arguments put forward in defence of Austria's art show the different rôles that culture plays in national identity: apart from providing evidence of Austrian talent, her culture was also a reflection of her heritage; it played a vital rôle in the education of future artists, as well as in the conservation and education of artistic tastes in the population at large; it exercised an economic attraction to tourists, seen already in 1919 as being of particular importance for the future of "our so impoverished country". Italian demands were seen therefore as striking at the vital nerve of

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museums after the World War) in Revue autrichienne, Austrian Review, Vienna, May 1927

5 See Stenographische Protokolle der provisorische national Versammlung 1918-1919. Beilage 7 to 17 Sitzung, 30 April 1919; *Es ist wohlbekannt, das der deutsch-österreichischen Bevölkerung eine ganz besondere Befähigung zur Pflege und zur Ausübung der Künste innewohnt. Diese Fähigkeit stellt eine der stärksten Kräfte unseres Volkes dar, die sich nicht nur kulturell, sondern auch volkswirtschaftlich auswirkt. Sie zu erhalten, ja zu steigern und besonders den künftigen Generationen unvermindert zu vermitteln, ist eine der wichtigsten Aufgaben jener, in deren Hände die Wahrung der Interessen unseres Volkes gelegt ist.*

Austria's "Volkskräfte" (the strengths of her people) and of her economic existence.

Although the loss of the South Tyrol was a scar on the Austrian heart, it is perhaps nonetheless true to say that an individual territory was not as irrevocably linked with Austrian identity as was the idea of its cultural heritage. If impoverished in all other ways, Austria could at least be a country rich in culture, the one area in which Austria could still have a sense of self-worth. Dr Wilhelm Böhm argued that in this area Austria had retained its former position; "Here we have remained a great power, yes, a world power!"<sup>6</sup>

Austria suffered from "reduction shock" in a cultural dimension also, not so much from the point of view of the loss of her art treasures, but in a spiritual sense.<sup>7</sup> If the Austrian identity was to be expressed through its culture it was necessary to gain a new understanding of what this Austrian identity, no longer defined through the monarchy, was. The debate on

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<sup>6</sup> Dr Wilhelm Böhm: Österreich; Erbe und Aufgabe Österreich Institut, Herausgegeben mit Zustimmung des Bundesministeriums für Unterricht, Wien, 1947, p6: *Unbemerkt von den Kleinmütigen, die an ihrem Vaterland verzweifelten, wirkte die alte Machtstellung Österreichs auf kulturellem Gebiet. Hier blieben wir Großmacht, ja Weltmacht!* Böhm supports this idea with a list, a technique discussed below, including as proof the *Salzburger Festspiele*, the Viennese Medical School, and the Austrian school for theoretical economics (*die österreichische Schule der theoretischen Volkswirtschaftslehre*).

<sup>7</sup> See the example of Hotel Savoy in Chapter Five.

cultural identity should also be seen as an attempt to fill this vacuum.<sup>8</sup>

The question to be addressed in this chapter is the rôle which culture played in the discussions on Austrian national identity. As in the preceding chapters, there are at least two opposing modes of thought - those who recognised only a single German culture, and those who argued that there was a distinct Austrian culture. Greater German cultural unity was frequently countered with a view of a traditional, humanist, Catholic Austrianness which conserved an indigenous form of occidental cultural ideals. Sometimes this too was reconciled with German culture, by being equated with true greater German ideals.<sup>9</sup> It was a moot point in definitions of German culture which country provided the point of reference - Austria, or Germany.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter examines the debate as to whether an Austrian culture could be said to exist at all and what impact cultural matters had on national identity in practice. It will become apparent that cultural identity was highly developed in Austria. Its relationship to national identity and to Austria's independent existence was, however, problematic. The chapter concludes that

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<sup>8</sup> A distinction made vital by the fact that the key elements underpinning Austrian identity; the Kaiser, the Empire, the army, world status etc. were irrevocably lost.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Anton Orel: Kleindeutschland oder Großösterreich?, Die Notwendigkeit der Wiederaufrichtung des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation. Dritte Auflage Vogelsang-Verlag, Wien, 1921.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Oskar Benda: Die österreichische Kulturidee in Staat und Erziehung. Saturn Verlag Wien, 1936. p16

the strongest sense of an Austrian identity existed with respect to her culture, where a broad awareness of and pride in unique Austrian qualities was shown. However, Austria's cultural identity was also intensely vulnerable, owing to factors beyond her control (the economic situation, German aggression), but also owing to its inherent characteristics.

### A distinct Austrian cultural identity?

How was the relationship between Austrian and German culture perceived by those who recognised only one cultural nation? Oskar Benda pointed out how remarkably unified greater German cultural achievement was, despite the fact that it encompassed areas of different morphological and historical backgrounds. The academic Dr Friedrich Kainz argued in "*Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Literatur*" ("Greater-German cultural unity in literature"), that Austrians could not be considered as a people existing independently and producing their own culture, either from the point of view of anthropology or folklore, or in terms of linguistic-literary history: they were rather a subset of the German peoples, an outpost far in the south east, with an independent political past.<sup>11</sup> That which was

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11 Friedrich Kainz: "*Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Literatur*" in Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter; Heinz von Paller: *Die Anschlußfrage in ihrer kulturellen, politischen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung.* Wilhelm Braumüller, Wien, 1930. (Hereafter cited as *Die Anschlußfrage*) p257: *Österreich kann weder in anthropolitischer und folkloristischer noch in sprachlich-literarhistorischer Hinsicht als ein selbständig existierendes, selbstständig kulturell*

held in common and bound the two was more "fundamental and important" than that which divided the countries. It is worthy of note that an independent political past could be conceded here because it was seen as being so much less relevant to the concept of a nation than a cultural identity was.

Anschluß adherents did not necessarily argue that Austrian culture had no original elements. As was conceded by Kainz, it was certainly possible to identify certain peculiarities of *Stamm* in Austria's literary and artistic output:

The Austrian is - in consequence of the Dinar mixture of blood - warmer, softer, more vital, more direct and less rigid than the north German. Austria is the land of the more relaxed, easier form over the heavy, restrained north German, the land of the natural means of expression. Contemplative vitality of the emotions replaces the activist vitality of the will of the Protestant North.<sup>12</sup>

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12 produzierendes Volk angesehen werden; es ist vielmehr ein Teil des deutschen Volkes in weit nach südosten vorgeschobener Vorpostenstellung mit selbständiger politischer Vergangenheit. Privatdozent Dr Friedrich Kainz: "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der Literatur" in Die Anschlußfrage, p261 ...Der Österreicher ist - was eine Folge der dinarischen Blutzumischung ist - wärmer, weicher, lebhafter, unmittelbarer und weniger straff als der norddeutsche, Österreich ist das Land der gelösteren, leichteren Form gegenüber der schweren, gehaltenen norddeutschen, das Land der natürlichen Ausdrucksform; kontemplative Gefühlsvitalität tritt an die Stelle der aktivistischeren Willensvitalität des protestantischen Nordens. Freude am sinnfälligen, Schaubaren, farbigen, Sinn für das Äußere des Lebens, Abkehr von abstrakter Geistigkeit, betonte Lust an Schwank, Spaß und Parodie - all das sind Wesenszüge des Österreichischen Stammesstils, dessen man deutlich inne wird, wenn man Österreich Erzähler mit ihrem leichtflüssig unbeschwerten, behaglich stimmungsvollen Fabulieren der blasseren, aber gedankenkräftigeren Bedachtsamkeit norddeutscher Prosaepik gegenüberhält.

Austrians therefore found more pleasure in sensuousness and spectacle, rejected abstract intellectuality and preferred humour and parody, as became clear "if one compares Austrian writers with their fluid, unencumbered, pleasantly atmospheric fabling to the paler, but more thoughtful, deliberation of the north German prose-epic".<sup>13</sup> (Clarity of communication would not always appear to be an obvious objective in either country.) However, such differences were by no means "un-German", and were true of Southern Germans in general. Once again, although Austria is permitted some peculiarities, these are no greater than those found between provinces in Germany.

Many writers had no difficulty in accepting simultaneously an Austrian peculiarity (a term without negative connotations in German) and a Greater German identity. Hans Sedlmayr, for example, decried the fact that there was no satisfactory history of Austrian art, and argued that it was obvious that there was an identifiably unique quality (*Eigenart*) in Austrian artistic output. However he followed this by saying

The entire greatness of Austrian art, its meaningful originality, only becomes clear when one hears it as a voice in the entire "symphony" of German art, out of which it can only be torn with violence.<sup>14</sup>

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13 Ibid.

14 Hans Sedlmayr: "Österreichs bildende Kunst" in Univ. Prof Josef Nadler und Univ. Prof Dr Heinrich v Srbik: Österreich, Erbe und Sendung im deutschen Raum. Verlag Anton Pustet. Salzburg, Leipzig, 1936. (Hereafter cited as Österreich, Erbe und Sendung) p345: Die ganze Größe der österreichischen Kunst, ihre bedeutungsvolle Eigenart, zeigt sich erst, wenn man sie als Stimme in der Gesamt= "Symphonie" der

This type of argument is very familiar; it serves to underline that even those who did recognise only one German nation did not deny an Austrian identity within it.

Criteria called upon to provide evidence of a distinct Austrian cultural identity were challenged. For example, it was argued that any aspects erroneously singled out as epitomizing Austria's unique cultural identity had in fact little resonance in contemporary Austrian life. Thus Kleinwächter argued in "Der Deutschösterreichische Mensch und der Anschluß" that rather than the Baroque exerting a unique influence over themes and approaches in Austrian culture, it was an international movement which meant little to contemporary Austrians.<sup>15</sup> Given the fact that the Baroque was (and is) seen as being one of the most fundamental linchpins of Austrian identity, this was a most hard-hitting accusation.<sup>16</sup>

Where Austria was permitted characteristics not held by Germany, these were often seen as existing in order to

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- 15 *deutschen Kunst zu hören vermag, aus der sie nur gewaltsam herausgelöst werden kann.*  
 Friedrich F. G. Kleinwächter: Der deutschösterreichische Mensch und der Anschluß. Eckart-Verlag, Adolf Luser, Wien, 1926. According to Nadler, the Baroque was a Bavarian movement anyway. (See "Das geistige Eigenleben der deutschen Stämme" in Österreich, Erbe und Sendung.) Oskar Benda agreed that those elements of the Baroque identified with German-speaking countries were in fact international.
- 16 In his article on the greater German cultural unity in art and architecture, Hans Tietze argued that the Baroque was the strongest expression of that which was specifically Austrian within and without the Greater German context. Hans Tietze: "Die großdeutsche Kultureinheit in der bildenen Kunst und Architektur" in Die Anschlußfrage, p297



serve German culture as a whole. In his introduction to a school text book, for example, Raimund Kaindl argued

The German Austrians have expanded the German national territory well into the south east, and have expanded even further the German cultural territory. They have shown the German people the way to the Adriatic and to the Black Sea. For the German motherland they were a *Schutzmark* (protective borderland), behind which it could develop in peace.<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, in the metaphor of Austria as a bridge, which was dependent on Austria's geographical position which Germany could of course not claim, it was argued that Austria provided a bridge to the home of German culture and to the German Reich.<sup>18</sup> This interpretation of Austria as a passageway for the export of German culture met with the opposition of those for whom a bridge was a two-way construct. Thus Oswald Straub argued that Austria's cultural mission was precisely that - an Austrian cultural mission, not a cultural mission for Germany:

the culture which Austria radiates, which it not only radiates to the east but in all directions of the compass, that is simply no

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17 Raimund Friedrich Kaindl: Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreichisches von den ältesten Zeiten bis 1526 Auf Grundlage der "Geschichte Österreichs" von Franz Martin Mayer. Wilhelm Braumüller. Universitäts-Verlagsbuch-handlung. Wien und Leipzig. 1929. Introduction: *Die Deutschösterreichischer haben den deutschen Volksboden weit nach Südosten ausgedehnt, noch weiter den deutschen Kulturboden. Sie haben dem deutschen Volk den Weg zur Adria und zum Schwarzen Meere gewiesen. Für das deutsche Mutterland waren sie ein Schutzmark, hinter der sich dieses ruhiger entwickeln konnte.*

18 Die Deutschösterreichischer und der österreichische Staats-gedanke. Vortrag vor dem Hauptausschuß des Vereins für das Deutschtum im Auslande, Berlin 29 März 1917, von Prof. Rob Sieger, Graz.

longer a purely German culture, but a truly Austrian cultural product.<sup>19</sup>

Austria should provide a meeting place, not serve as a springboard for conquest.

If it could be shown that Austria had a distinct culture, then, given the German understanding of the concept "nation", (and in this respect Austria and Germany did share a common understanding) it would follow that Austria and Germany could not be equated politically either. Anschluß opponents needed above all, therefore, to establish that Austria had her own cultural identity.

For those opposed to the Anschluß, union with Germany was described as cultural death (*Kulturtod*).<sup>20</sup> Dr Oswald Straub argued, therefore, that the Austrian *Stamm* had to preserve its unique peculiarities (*Eigenart*).<sup>21</sup> By necessity, the emphasis had to be on

19 Dr Oswald Straub: Deutsch-Österreich oder Österreich. Eigenverlag Wien, 1934. (Hereafter cited as Deutsch-Österreich oder Österreich) p15; *Das, was die Zeit mit den oben beschriebenen fremdvölkischen Einflüssen hier im Donautal geschaffen hat, das ist etwas anderes als die deutsche Kultur von heute, das ist etwas wertvollere, besseres, das ist eine bodenständig gewordene österreichische Kultur. Die Brücke, über die deutsche Kultur nach dem Osten strömte, die ist schon lange nicht mehr nötig. Was nicht sagen will, daß Österreich nicht mehr der Kulturvermittler sei wie ehemals. Aber was Österreich an Kultur ausstrahlt, was es nicht nur nach dem Osten ausstrahlt, sondern in alle Richtungen des Kompasses, das ist eben nicht mehr rein deutsche Kultur sondern echt österreichisches Kulturprodukt.*

20 See for example, Dr Alfred Missong's article: "Österreichs Politik seit 1866\68; Eine politische Gewissensforschung" in August Maria Knoll; Alfred Missong; Wilhelm Schmid; Ernst Karl Winter; Hans Karl Zebner-Spitzenberg: Die Österreichische Aktion; Programmatische Studien. Selbstverlag Ernst Karl Winter, Wien, 1927. p110. (Hereafter cited as Die Österreichische Aktion.)

21 See, for example, Dr Oswald Straub: Zollunion oder Anschluß. Selbstverlag, Wien, 1931. (Hereafter

cultural identity based on common beliefs, preoccupations, and a common fate, rather than on a common language, although, as seen above, some linguistic arguments were raised in support of a distinct Austrian identity.

Where language was allowed to be a factor in Austrian cultural identity, the emphasis was not on the German tongue: because Austrians were accustomed to working in different languages, Anton Wildgans argued, they had had to learn different views on life.<sup>22</sup> This permitted the Austrian to empathise with other peoples, thus he became "a connoisseur of peoples, of persons, of souls, in a word, a psychologist".<sup>23</sup> The rôle of this argument for defining the Austrian individual has been outlined above. In this context, this quotation serves to indicate that language issues did not only feature in the views expressed by those in favour of Anschluß, but could also be used to indicate Austrian distinctiveness.

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cited as Zollunion oder Anschluß) p5: *Ein Stamm, der zum Heile deutscher Kultur nicht durch anderweitige Einflüsse geschädigt werden darf, der in seiner einzigartigen Eigenart erhalten bleiben muß.*

22 Wittgenstein followed a similar idea with the idea that all language was translation.

23 Anton Wildgans: Rede über Österreich. F.G. Speidel'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Leipzig, Wien 1930, p23: *So wurde er zu einem Menschen, der sich hineindenken konnte, ja, hineindenken mußte in fremde nationale Gefühlswelten, in fremde Volksseelen, so wurde er Völkerkenner, Menschenkenner, Seelenkenner, mit einem Wort: Psychologe.* Alphons Lhotsky points out in this context that the greatest school of this applied psychology was the Imperial Army. See his discussion on the Austrian individual "Das Problem des österreichischen Menschen" printed in Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur. Institut für Österreichkunde. Okt 1968 12 Jahrgang Folge 8.

The technique most frequently used to illustrate that there was a distinct Austrian culture was that of the list. The Communist Alfred Klahr, for example, supported the concept of an Austrian culture and the concept of an Austrian national character, both of which he saw as being distinct from the German.<sup>24</sup> Klahr identified authors and poets such as Grillparzer, Grün, Raimund, Nestroy, Schönherr, Wildgans, Kraus, Zweig; musicians including Haydn, Mozart, Schubert, Strauß, Bruckner; artists such as Mackart Defregger, Egger-Lienz and Waldmüller, in whose works, he argued, the Austrian national character could be perceived. Most articles discussing Austrian interwar culture contain lists of famous composers, artists, authors, scientists, statesmen, etc. compiled with slight variations. They were often seen as speaking for themselves, and it was assumed that readers would immediately identify the individuals named.<sup>25</sup>

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24 Although there had been similarities between the two, in the literature of the eighteenth century, for example, this had been prior to the development of nations. According to Klahr, Austrian culture is, like the culture of all capitalist countries, the culture of the dominating class. As such, Klahr emphasises that a distinct Austrian culture exists, although it could be termed reactionary, clerical and petit-bourgeois. Nonetheless there was also a counter-culture which could be found within democratic, progressive and socialist traditions and which could battle against the culture of the dominating classes. See reproduction of Klahr's article in Weg und Ziel, Monatsschrift für Theorie und Praxis des Marxismus-Leninismus 37 Jhg. Sondernummer Dez 1979. Kommunistische Partei, Wien.

25 It is interesting to note that in a 1980 survey on Austrian national identity, the First Republic was not considered an important period in Austrian history, yet many individuals who were prominent between 1918 - 1938 were singled out as well-known

Many of the areas drawn upon to support the idea of an Austrian cultural identity are familiar from the preceding chapters. The analysis of Austrian history, mission, race, and geographical position thus had a cultural dimension also.

The accusation that a distinct Austrian history had not been recognised by academics had its parallel in cultural fields. Otto Maria Fidelis, for example, complained that the only German literary history which paid any attention to Vienna's Baroque theatre traditions was Josef Nadler's history of German literature, organised according to *Stamm*.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, Professor Dr Heinrich Glück complained that Austrian art was too often treated as a provincial appendage of the German. All too often, it was judged by criteria which excluded precisely that which constituted specifically Austrian qualities. It interpreted the positive as negative, criticising, for example, the fact that Austrian art defied easy categorisation.<sup>27</sup> Articles sought to redress

Austrian individuals. See Ernst Gehmacher (ed.): Das Österreichische Nationalbewußtsein, In der öffentlichen Meinung und im Urteil der Experten. Eine Studie der Paul Lazarsfeld Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung. Vienna, Feb/March 1980.

26 Fidelis, Otto Maria (pseud: Karpfen): Österreichs europäische Sendung: Ein außenpolitischer Überblick. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, 1935. His only criticism of Nadler was that his studies did not allow sufficiently for Austrian statehood (*Staatsbegriff*).

27 Dr Heinrich Glück; "Österreichische Kunst". Austrian involvement with the Baroque was often the victim here, so that the Karlskirche could, for example, be labelled a "somewhat remarkable mixture of baroque basic emotions with antique memories". According to Glück, because it was not understood, western civilisation frequently overlooked Austrian art, which therefore remained misunderstood.

the balance, but were up against the dominant academic trend.

According to Dr Oswald Straub, even if Austrian culture had originally been German culture, in time this had become something better - an Austrian culture.<sup>28</sup> The rôle other nations had played was vital here. Austria had benefitted, for example, from association with Italian art, culture and peoples (a comparison no doubt aimed at pleasing Mussolini). Austrian culture had also been formed as much by the people of the Balkans as it had been by the Germans. According to Nikolaus Hovorka, the area of the monarchy had been the meeting point of the Roman/Catholic/Western cultural sphere, and the Byzantine/Orthodox/Eastern cultural sphere.<sup>29</sup> Schmid argued in this context that Austrians inhabited an ancient cultural lands which had amassed the inheritance of many peoples:

That is why we are not a German *Stamm* like, say, the Saxon or Bavarian, but an independent people with the blood and the spirit of the cultures which have blossomed here and borne their fruit.<sup>30</sup>

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28 Deutsch-Österreich oder Österreich, p14: *Eine neue Umgebung, neue Volker und neues Brauchtum haben in der Zeitenlauf aus dieser ehemdem deutschen Kultur etwas neues, etwas besseres geformt: eine österreichische Kultur.*

29 Nikolaus Hovorka (Ed.): Berichte zur Kultur- u. Zeitgeschichte. X Band. Nr 217-240. Reinhold Verlag, Wien, Leipzig, 1934/5, p8. (Hereafter cited by Berichte zur Kultur- u. Zeitgeschichte.)

30 Wilhelm Schmid "Die österreichische Jugend" in Die Österreichische Aktion, p282: *Drum sind wir kein deutscher Stamm wie etwa der Sachse und Bayer, sondern ein eigenständig Volk mit dem Blute und dem Geiste der Kulturen, die hier geblüht und ihre Früchte gezeigt haben.*

The choice of the Saxon and Bavarian is not as coincidental as it seeks to appear, as it is with these branches of Germanness that Austrians were most often equated.

The conclusion of these arguments was that Austria was a country of cultural absorption, which assimilated influences from the outside, worked them over, and formed them into a new creation according to principles of her own. German influences were no different from Italian or Spanish ones - they had been reformed into something uniquely Austrian. The only difference was that the incorporation of German elements was a faster process.<sup>31</sup> Straub is indignant that German nationalists deride Austrians in this context as being "Kulturdünger" - cultural dung, thus merely proving their inability to understand or appreciate Austrian culture, one presumes.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See, for example, Wilhelm Bauer; "Das Deutschtum der Deutschösterreicher" in Österreich, Erbe und Sendung, p382: *Österreich ist aber nicht bloß das Land der Zurückgebliebenheit, es ist zugleich das Land der kulturellen Absorption. es saugt das Fremde, das sich ihm von außen her aufdrängt, auf, verarbeitet es und formt es nach seinem Sinne um.*

<sup>32</sup> Deutsch-Österreich oder Österreich. According to the university professor Dr Heinrich Glück, these tendencies were manifested in Austrian art: Austrian art often defied easy classification, avoided rigid barriers between styles, allowed cross-fertilisation (an argument applied to Austrian culture in general). This tendency was of course rooted in the former diversity of Austria's national composition, but also in the variety found in its landscapes. These permitted objectivity, recognition of opposites, and made the Austrian disinclined to believe that things could be easily labelled and definitively judged.

Dr Ernst Buschbeck argued that Austrian art had been determined by Austria's geographical situation in Europe. Because western art movements had often reached Austria late, and in a diluted form, contemporary Austrian art was an art of the centre, characterised by

antipathy towards the extreme, characterised by sure taste and a kind of willingness to accommodate, as the inheritor and conservator of a past which had sometimes been great.<sup>33</sup>

Here, Austrian artistic output is used as an analogy for the Austrian character.

Certain aspects of Austrian culture were used to personify the whole. A particularly frequently invoked weapon in the arsenal of Austrian cultural identity was music. As one article in a collection on Austria argued, Austrian music was after all

the most immediate and most powerful expression of the Austrian soul, whose simplicity and closeness to the native soil, whose happy nature and joy of invention repeatedly found expression in its music.<sup>34</sup>

Austrians were seen as being peculiarly sensitive to music, in part in consequence of the "racial mixture" of

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33 Dr Ernst Buschbeck, "Zeitgenössische Kunst in Österreich," in Haberlandt, Michael: Österreich - sein Land und Volk und seine Kultur Verlag für Volks und Heimatkunde in Wien und Weimar. -. (Hereafter cited as Österreich - sein Land und Volk) p425. The conservative, introspective tendencies which were nevertheless at ease with the world at large, Buschbeck argued, were those befitting a people who had "been around" both in terms of countries and social classes (*Lebenskreis*).

34 Dr Erwin Felber; "Die österreichische Musik" in Österreich - sein Land und Volk, p470: *Österreichische Musik [ist] der unmittelbarste und wirkungsmächtigste Ausdruck der österreichischen Volksseele, deren Einfachheit und Urwüchsigkeit, deren Frohnatur und Lust am fabulieren immer wieder in der Musik durchschlägt.*



the Danubian territories. Austrian musical talent had great commercial possibilities, which encouraged the identification of the country with its music. Music also had the additional attraction that it avoided the problems with verbal communication which was a dominant theme in the literary establishment:

There is something mute about Austria, and there is much here and there to which words seldom point, something essential, unused, from which great power emanates at times of great significance. Much of it has at times become music. Music always finds its goal, where words can easily go astray.<sup>35</sup>

Identity is a difficult concept to express. Where language might fail to capture the essence of the Austrian soul, music had no such inadequacies. This was thus a particularly useful argument to those who wished to underplay the importance of a common language with Austria's German neighbour.

While the contribution of Austria's multi-national past to Austrian musical ability was not denied, once again, it was seen as having created something peculiarly Austrian:

Even if it [musical talent] was created when Austria was part of the Habsburg Empire, she drew together what had been taken from all the provinces of the old Empire, the different natures, the diverse folk songs and temperaments, and thereby brought together the

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<sup>35</sup> Harald Sterk: Industriekultur in Österreich. Dr Wandel in Architektur, Kunst und Gesellschaft im Fabrikzeitalter 1918-1938 Wiener Allianz, Wien, 1986. *ist etwas Stummes um Österreich, es ist vieles da und dort, worauf Worte nur selten hindeuten, etwas Wesenhaftes, Unverbrauchtes, wovon in großen Studien große Kraft ausgeht. manches davon ist zu Zeiten Musik geworden. Die Musik kommt immer an ihr Ziel, das Wort irrt leicht ab.*

melodic and rhythmic structures into one melting pot.<sup>36</sup>

Thus music, like language, might have had its foreign elements, but it was claimed for Austria. As Dr Erwin Felber concluded in his article "Die österreichische Musik" Austria had succeeded in chemically bonding diverse elements into a cultural artistic unity which had come to personify Austrianness. Time had been the important influence here: Croatian folk songs, alpine *Jodler* and *Schuhplattler* (folk dancers), all diversity had been fused together by a century-old cultural community, creating an artistic unity "which has become the distinctive sign of the joy the Austrian people (*des Österreichertums*) take in sound and in the senses".<sup>37</sup>

It was not only certain individuals who had musical ability, however, but the entire nation.<sup>38</sup> Musical analogies came easily to authors analysing national or provincial character, the Austrian soul, or Austria's future:

The life of the Austrian has lost its verve, but the ability to savour and the sensuous pleasure in art and life has remained with him. And with it, the hope, and the desire that,

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<sup>36</sup> Dr Erwin Felber; "Die österreichische Musik" in Österreich - sein Land und Volk, p473: *Ist sie doch in der Zugehörigkeit Österreichs zum Habsburgerreiche erstanden, sie hat aus allen Provinzen des alten Kaiserstaates verschiedene Wesenhaft, Mannigfaltigkeit des Volksliedes und des Temperamentes und damit der melodischen und der rhythmischen Struktur in sich aufgenommen und in einem Brennpunkt gesammelt.*

<sup>37</sup>

Ibid.

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A view supported in the present day also; in his amusing book on Austria and the Austrians, Hans Weigl describes Vienna as the only city in which even the dentists play the cello. (Hans Weigel: O du mein Österreich. Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, April, 1970. P22)

after all the darkness in the minor key of the Lehar-type music of the last few years, the sun of a kinder fate will shine over Austria in bright C-Major.<sup>39</sup>

That such analogies were chosen to strike a chord with the Austrian people is an indication that the choice of music as the epitome of Austrian cultural identity was one which did indeed resonate with the general public.

Above all, however, those wishing to argue against a single German cultural identity did so by comparing Austrian culture with that of Germany. The formulation and identification of a distinct Austrian culture received an added impetus after the success of National Socialism in Germany. Under the Corporate State, Austria's cultural mission was often seen to represent true German cultural values to the world, which might otherwise mistake Nazi values as representing the whole. Both countries liked to see their particular branch of German culture as superior. Cultural unification did in fact precede political unification. This *Gleichschaltung* also served to underline contrasts between the culture of the two countries, however. Josef Roth commented disparagingly, for example, on the German-Austrian film agreement reached in 1935:

Those places responsible for propagating this infamous "cultural exchange" state officially

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<sup>39</sup> Dr Erwin Felber; "Die österreichische Musik" in Österreich - sein Land und Volk, p476: *Der Lebenslauf des Österreichers ist nicht mehr Lieb und Lust, aber die Genußfähigkeit und die Sinnenfreude in Kunst und Leben ist ihm geblieben. Und zugleich die Hoffnung und der Wunsch, das nach all dem dunklen in der Leharschen Musik schluchzenden Moll der letzten Jahre wieder die Sonne eines gütigeren Schicksales in hellstrahlendem C-Dur über Österreich leuchten möge.*

that we Austrians and Germans have a common culture. What culture is there then to exchange? What should be exchanged? Grillparzer for Baldur von Schirach? Metternich for Goebbels? European, Christian, occidental culture for the culture of the Piefke<sup>40</sup> gone mad? <sup>41</sup>

As this quotation illustrates, the relationship between Austrian and German culture was not only argued in terms of language, themes, or styles. It was also a question of individuals.

The question of the extent to which Austrian culture can be examined outside German culture as a whole is one which still attracts attention in academic fields. Academics including Charles Magris, Franz Trommler, and J. M. Johnston have convincingly argued that there are certain specifically Austrian themes and approaches. These include, for example, Catholicism, an awareness of façade and theatricality, the dichotomy between appearance and reality, and the ability to amalgamate different cultures into one new culture.<sup>42</sup> Any of these

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40 A derogatory term for a German, particularly a Prussian, denoting a self-important arrogant show-off.

41 Joseph Roth quoted in Jung, Jochan, (Ed): Österreichische Porträts, Residenz Verlag, Salzburg und Wien, 1985. p359: *Jene verantwortlichen Stellen, die den famosen "Kulturaustausch" propagieren, behaupten ja offiziell, wir Österreicher und die Deutschen hätten eine gemeinsame Kultur!* Was ist hier also noch an Kultur "austauschen"? Was sollen wir austauschen? Den Grillparzer gegen Baldur von Schirach? Den Metternich gegen Göbbels? Europäische, christliche, abendländische Kultur gegen die Kultur des wahnwitzig gewordenen Piefke?

42 See Gerhart Baumann's essay "Österreich als Form der Dichtung" which identifies over fifteen criteria of the physiognomy of Austrian literature across the ages, amongst which he includes: the merging of reality and dreams, the relationship between humans and things, a sense of the possible; the ability to synthesise, form as conservation, loyalty to the past, a great perspective, the amalgamation of time

could be shown to have an interesting impact on Austrian national identity. The apolitical nature of much Austrian writing, for example, could be used to indicate disenchantment with political nationhood.

A major component of Austrian inter-war culture is the theme of escapism. In cultural fields, at least, the threats of the present could be replaced with an idyllic order, an order often identified with the past. Although rooted in the problems created by the gradual decay of the Empire, the theme of evasion which had been popular before the dissolution of the monarchy became more significant after 1918.<sup>43</sup> An inability or lack of desire to deal with contemporary issues was reflected in artists and audience alike.

Political disruption and economic upheaval were met with emotional flight; illusion and glamour could also provide an escape from mundane existence. This is illustrated in a short tale quoted in Der Abend in 1919. A soldier returning from Italy meets a friend at an operetta performance. He is surprised that seemingly nothing has changed in the last five years "no, five centuries", that there is apparently a desire to forget

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and soul. Cited in Frank Trommler: Österreich im Roman, Dissertations Druckerei, München 1965, p3. Trommler himself concludes this study of Austrian literature by saying, "Yet when all is said and done, Austro-German (or Viennese) culture reveals evidence of an openness to European influences unparalleled in Germany".

43 Claudio Magris: Der habsburgische Mythos in der österreichischen Literatur. Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, 1966. (Hereafter cited as Der habsburgische Mythos) p240

everything, the years of "torture and degradation", preferably at an operetta. His friend explains:

Well, you know ... it is better to imagine something comforting, fine, smart, funny, even if it isn't true. Damn it, life is more in the theatre, here in the operetta in Vienna than elsewhere ... I don't understand it either, but it is like that here with us: what counts is not what is true, we don't try to get to the bottom of anything. One imagines something, finds pleasure in superficial imaginings. Even the deluge couldn't change it. Vienna remains Vienna ...<sup>44</sup>

Even operetta could prove too demanding, however. Revues conquered the Viennese theatres in the twenties, especially those formerly dedicated to operetta.<sup>45</sup> Their programmes were composed of contemporary jokes, fashion, nudity, pop music and especially nostalgia and escapism complete with Emperor, Heurigen, Viennese Walzes and

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44 Der Abend, 12.9.1919 quoted in Wolfgang Broer: Wort als Waffe. Politische Witz und politische Satire in der Republik Österreich (1918-1927). Diss, Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs Verlag, Wien, 1973. (Hereafter cited as Wort als Waffe.) p647: Ja, weißt ... es ist besser man stellt sich irgendwas Tröstliches, Feines, Fesches, Lustiges vor, auch wenn's gar net wahr ist. Hol's der Teufel, das Leben ist im Theater, hier im Operettentheater in Wien mehr als anderwo ... ich kann's auch nicht begreifen, aber das ist schon so einmal bei uns: es gilt nicht das, was wahr ist, man geht keiner Sache auf den Grund. Man macht sich Vorstellungen, findet an oberflächlichen Vorstellungen Gefallen. Daran könnte nicht einmal die Sintflut was ändern. Wien bleibt Wien ... "Vienna remains Vienna" was and is a popular saying. The cabaret artist Rudolf Weys added "which serves it right" (Rudolf Weys: Wien bleibt Wien und das geschieht ihm ganz recht" Europaverlag, Wien, 1974); Vienna is a city which provokes love and hate, often simultaneously.

45 The revues provided a greater distraction than cabaret with its individual sketches, having at least a thin line of continuity throughout the production. But in the depression, large revues collapsed while the smaller cabarets could continue.

"*süße Wiener Madeln*" - "sweet Viennese girls". These latter themes were somewhat scathingly commented upon by cabaret, another popular art form in the interwar period. Cabaret scripts asked whether this was all Austria had to be proud of - a deposed monarchy and "*Wein, Weib und Gesang*" (wine, women, and song)?

Charles Magris has argued that the idealised version of the past, the glorification of the spirit of the monarchy were merely a substitute for developing viable forces, and a dynamic state.<sup>46</sup> The collapse of the Empire had shown up the myth that it was, but Austria was not prepared to face this reality. This is, no doubt, partly true. After all, the emphasis on Austria's supra-national conciliatory character and its leadership qualities could hardly be supported by events. However, perhaps it is also accurate to see the popularity of this theme as part of coming to terms with bereavement, a very necessary stage Austria had to go through before she could get on with her future.

Operetta would appear to offer an indication that this was indeed the case; what Austria required was time to work through the momentous changes which she had experienced. For example, in operetta in the immediate post-war years, the illusion was created that the multi-national Empire still existed. The lands of the former monarchy were still identified as "home", in particular Hungary ("*Wo die Lerche singt*", "*Putalibchen*", "*Grfin Mariza*"), placed in contrast to foreign regions, such as

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<sup>46</sup> Der habsburgische Mythos, p24

France, Italy, Russia, or America. This was not a re-creation of the past, however, as this multi-national Empire had little strife which was not centred around affairs of the heart; national differences existed only in slight differences of accent, often used for comic effect.

However, towards the end of the twenties, operetta would seem to indicate that people were moving away from the utopia of the Empire, and that authors and audiences were beginning to identify more with the reality of little Austria. Around 1930, the Austrian provinces began to take over the rôle previously played by Hungary ("*Im Weißen Röbl*", "*Sissy*", "*Saison in Kitzbühel*", "*Gruß und Kuß aus der Wachau*"), often to provide a counterpoint to Vienna.<sup>47</sup> The operetta "*Im Weißen Röbl*" did not constitute a complete break with the past, given that it focused on an area visited by the Kaiser, but nonetheless, this was at least a region which had remained within Austrian territory after the Treaty of St. Germain.

Escapism was not peculiar to Austrian interwar culture. The encouragement given to escapist entertainment by harsh living conditions and insecurity in the new technological world was common across Europe. Indeed, some of the most obvious Austrian examples, such

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<sup>47</sup> For extensive and fascinating discussion of these matters, see Martin Lichtfuss: Operetta im Ausverkauf: Studien zum Libretto des musikalischen Unterhaltungstheaters im Österreich der Zwischenkriegszeit. Böhlau Verlag, Wien, 1989. (Hereafter cited as Operetta im Ausverkauf)



as the monumental films of the early twenties with themes taken from the Bible, adventure novels, and trashy love stories, were intended for foreign markets and are therefore more reflective of the economic needs of the time than of any specifically Austrian preoccupations. However, in Austria there were ominous consequences. Oskar Schmitz, for example, identified operetta in particular as having a dangerous effect, especially on the young:

One takes young boys and girls, before their tastes have been formed, to the latest operettas, the unreal pointlessness of which creates a picture of the world where being smart is the most important ideal, an ideal beyond which so many Austrians of either sex never get. This view of the world cannot co-exist with reality, and that is why there are so many disappointed people in Austria ... As the sole food in an otherwise empty stomach, this is ruinous junk food.<sup>48</sup>

The rejection of reality demonstrated by the popularity of operetta did not provide a suitable foundation for an active promotion of Austrian ideals and independence, at a time when this is what Austria needed. Friedrich Heer wrote in 1971

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<sup>48</sup> Oscar A. H. Schmitz: Der Österreiche Mensch: Zum Anschauungsunterricht für Europäer, Insbesondere für Reichsdeutsche. Wiener Literarische Anstalt, Wien 1924. (Hereafter cited as Der Österreiche Mensch), p51: *Vielmehr führt man halbwuchsiges Buben und Mädels, ehe sich ihr Geschmack etwas gebildet hat, in die neuesten Operetten, deren irrealer Sinnlosigkeit ein Weltbild entstehen läßt, worin "fesch" der oberste Lebenswert ist, über den so viele Österreicher und Österreicherinnen ihr ganzes Leben nicht hinauskommen. Diese Weltanschauung muß sich natürlich an der Realität wund laufen, und darum gibt es so viele enttäuschte Menschen in Österreich ... als einzige Nahrung in einem sonst leeren Magen ist sie verderbliche Nascherei.*

Perhaps the Austrian film in the period from 1918 to 1938 is a good example of man's great ability to fool himself, to deceive himself, to pull the wool over his eyes, to represent a curious dream factory of the little man. To see the masses of unemployed with their abundant free time flood into the cinemas, was to see that here film was the hashish of the little man.<sup>49</sup>

The important factor here was that Austria had not failed to contribute films of value to the world because of an inability to do so:

If one considers what chances Austria would have had especially in the cinema to achieve something great. For if there was an old form of education in Austria, it was an education of the eye. We, however, produced sweet kitsch, others created more sour kitsch; but perhaps the sweet kitsch was in the long run, ... no less dangerous than bloody kitsch. In any event, one cannot say that in Austrian cinema, and in Austrian theatre, apart from a few well-known exceptions, anything was produced in these years which could be counted as a major documentation of a self-defence in the epoch of rising European fascism.<sup>50</sup>

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49 Friedrich Heer quoted in Walter Fritz: Geschichte des österreichischen Films. Bergland Verlag, Wien, 1969. (Hereafter cited as Geschichte des österreichischen Films) p96: *Vielleicht ist der Film, der österreichische Film von 1918 bis 1938 ein sehr gutes Beispiel für das große Vermögen, sich selbst zu täuschen, sich selbst zu betrügen, sich selbst etwas vorzumachen, eine ganz eigentümliche Traumfabrik des kleinen Mannes darzustellen. Wer die arbeitslosen in ihren reichlich freien Zeiten in Massen damals ins Kino strömen sah, der sah, hier war der Film das Hasch des kleinen Mannes.*

50 Ibid. Wenn man bedenkt, welche Chancen Österreich gehabt hätte, gerade auch im Film, großes zu leisten. Denn wenn es in Österreich eine alte Bildung gab, dann war es eine Bildung des Auges. Wir aber haben süßen Kitsch produziert, andere haben mehr sauren Kitsch produziert, aber vielleicht ist der süße Kitsch auf die Dauer gesehen, was die politische Verseuchung, Zersetzung, Verdummung, Verblödung betrifft, nicht weniger gefährlich als auch blutiger Kitsch. Jedenfalls kann man nicht sagen, das im österreichischen Film und auch im österreichischen Theater - von wenigen bekannten Ausnahmen abgesehen - in diesen Jahren etwas präsentiert wurde, was sozusagen eine groß angelegte Dokumentation einer Selbstverteidigung in der Epoche

The consequence of the perceived inadequacy of language, the non-political stance of both creators and audience, and the problems of the present, was a withdrawal from public life. This withdrawal weakened what opposition there could have been to an enforced Anschluß and encouraged passivity and lethargy. The retreat into the private sphere also inhibited the formulation or development of active bonds between Austrians, thus undermining the sense of communality that lies at the heart of national identity.

### Conclusion

In the cultural debate, the strands of the argument on Austrian national identity come together. For example, the Austrian mission was closely linked to the Austrian individual, whose character helped to define a cultural mission:

Austria's way is to be open also to those speaking a different language, and to be joyful in the giving and taking of cultural goods.<sup>51</sup>

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*des heraufsteigenden europäischen Faschismus gewesen sei.* As an example of the exceptions, C. E. Williams (in The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss, Paul Elek, London, 1974) pointed out that, while the Burgtheater was under the directorship of Robbeling, over forty contemporary Austrian dramatists were performed (dramatists who worked within the Austrian tradition and "avoided the excesses of contemporary Berlin plays"). Nonetheless, the problems of the age shone through: man's inhumanity to man (Hofmannthal's Der Turm); the effects of the police state (Csokor's Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte); brutal criminality (Mell's Nachfolge-Christi Spiel). Austrian cinema was not aided by the fact that many of its most talented representatives emigrated to America, where Hollywood was successfully dominating the film world.

51 Hans Karl Zebner-Spitzenberg: Gedächtnis Jahrbuch Jahrgang 1935/6. Arbeitsgemeinschaft

Austria's cultural riches were a product of her past; they also reflected and determined her unique mission. Austria's geographical position had helped to determine this - Austria's rôle had been predetermined by its central position, and through the great "cultural road of the Danube".<sup>52</sup> Austria's language and literature, art and architecture, music and myth, so greatly coloured by Austria's multi-national heritage, could be used to provide evidence that Austrian culture was more than simply a branch of German culture. The analogies used are also familiar; Austria is described as a bridge in cultural terms also.<sup>53</sup> When it came, however, to determining which of these factors of national identity was the most decisive - language, or community of fate, for example - the choice was dependent upon which criterion best served the particular bias of the argument. For the Legitimists, Austria's culture had been irrevocably moulded by the *Haus Österreich*, by the Habsburgs whose Empire had been founded "on the principle of the protection of cultural individuality".<sup>54</sup> Given what was understood by the nation, cultural criteria were the most important in determining Austrian nationhood - within these, however, there was still much scope for disagreement.

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österreichische Vereine, 1935. p1 *Österreichs Art is aufgeschlossen auch Anderssprachigen und freudig im Geben und Nehmen kultureller Güter.*

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Ibid. p32

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Ibid. p1: "So wurde Österreich Brücke für Kultur und Wirtschaftsaustausch."

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See for example Dr H. K. Zeßner Spitzenberg; "Die Zukunft des Hauses Österreich" in Die Österreichische Aktion, 1927.

The entire debate about Austrian cultural identity is an indication of the importance of understanding how the concept of nationhood was viewed by a specific country at a specific time. In Austria's case, it indicates that the "legal and sociological" concept of the nation was not seen as the vital component of national identity. The state should reflect the cultural community, not determine the nation from above. It was in the area of culture that a nation expressed its existence, a definition which had had its advantages in the Empire.

Even within the equation of cultural and national identity, however, the aspects of culture chosen to indicate national identity varied. For Anschluß adherents, language was the most important factor. Discussions of which political form Austria should adopt, whether it should strive for Anschluß, for example, should not be seen as a repudiation of Austrian individuality. Indeed, if Austrian national identity was largely Austrian cultural identity, as history had shown, it could exist under various systems of rule, and could co-exist with that of other nationalities - including the German.

For those against a single German state, the stress was on spiritual community;

A state is founded not so much on the linguistic community of a nation, as on the spiritual individuality of a nationality.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Oskar Benda: Die österreichische Kulturidee in Staat und Erziehung. Saturn Verlag Wien, 1936. (Hereafter cited as Die österreichische Kulturidee)

To those who did not favour the Anschluß as a solution to Austria's problems, this was in part precisely because it was associated with political nationalism rather than cultural identity. So, for example, Oskar Benda argued:

The world-political future of the German race cannot be founded on the state nationalism and national imperialism of the new Germany, but only on the universalism of the former Empire and the pure humanity of its underlying cultural idea.<sup>56</sup>

Whatever their agenda, those debating Austria's future never denied that Austria had a strong cultural identity. The acceptance of the view that the nation was defined by cultural identity meant that the exact form which the state took was of lesser importance. The independence of the Austrian state was therefore not paramount - until it was lost.

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*Staatlichkeit begründet sich nicht so sehr aus der Sprachgemeinschaft des Volkes wie aus der geistigen Individualität des Volkstums.*

<sup>56</sup> Die österreichische Kulturidee, p5: Die weltpolitische Zukunft des Deutschtums kann nicht auf den Staatsnationalismus und den Volksimperialismus des neuen Deutschland gegründet werden, sondern nur auf den Universalismus des alten Reiches und die reine Humanität seiner tragenden Kulturidee.

## Chapter Eight

### THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND AUSTRIAN CULTURE

#### Introduction

Throughout this thesis, the importance of the rôle of "the other" in stimulating a sense of self has been emphasised. The cultural sphere provides a perfect area in which to explore the influence of outside world in greater depth. This chapter is therefore divided into two parts. The first examines the positive effects of external influences, through their inadvertent encouragement of Austrian culture. A major issue in cultural fields was, as seen above, the relationship between Austrian and German culture. As the Anschluß was preceded by massive cultural *Gleichschaltung*, the theoretical debate outlined above had a practical dimension also. The second section examines this German cultural penetration and shows how, by undermining Austrian independence in the cultural sphere, the National Socialists undermined Austrian identity in its most vulnerable and crucial area.

#### I. External influences

Austrian interwar culture did not exist in a vacuum. Foreign influences frequently provoked a counter-reaction which encouraged the identification of Austrian values, and the sense of an Austrian identity. Escapism from the pressures of modern life and competition were found here too. Furthermore, a financial incentive encouraged the production of cultural output to fulfil (and create)

national tastes, and to present a vision of Austria attractive to foreign markets.

Austrian vulnerability to the influence of the outside world was ascribed to various sources. Identifying the Austrian character as at fault, Otto Boehm complained that it was time Austrians stopped gazing on foreign countries in wonder, simply because they were foreign countries. Although it was perfectly acceptable to learn from the outside world, "where our own strength and ability can produce good results, the sickly dearth of self-confidence must not make us blind". Austrians had to stop their complaining (*raunzen*), uphold their individuality, and seek recognition of genuinely imposing creativity. This did not need to involve unseemly boasting. The best propaganda for Austria would be self-respect.<sup>1</sup>

Prior to the Nazi accession to power in Germany, the rejection of foreign cultural influences was frequently the rejection of new trends, rather than a rejection of the culture of a specific political ideology. Berthold Dietrich in "Radio Scandal in Austria", complained that to hear Austrian composers such as Schubert, Mozart and Beethoven one had to go abroad, for on Austrian radio, only Jewish composers could be heard (Gaudriot, Pauscher, Korngold and Geiger, for example) playing, of all things, jazz music. While the Vienna waltz was receiving international acclaim, in Austria "musical-Americanism"

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1 Otto Boehm, p20.



prevailed.<sup>2</sup> Such antagonism was found in other cultural areas also. As early as 1923, for example, Herbert Ihering had argued that

American cinema is the new world-militarism. It does not destroy single individuals. It devours nations of individuals.<sup>3</sup>

Anti-semitism and anti-Americanism were reactions against change, the product of the fear of contemporary cultural trends, or more broadly, of contemporary life.<sup>4</sup> They did encourage, however, the identification of national counter-trends (the Viennese waltz versus jazz music, for example).

Scientific and technological advances in society were felt to have left humanity behind, and found a counter-reaction in the revival of *Heimatkunst* (rural/indigenous art).<sup>5</sup> The retreat from the modern period was paralleled in the provinces by a retreat from internationalism (thus going against the supposed

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2 Berthold Dietrich; "Der Wiener Radioskandal" in Ruf ins Land. Halbmonatsblätter christlicher Erneuerung. Heft 15, 14 August 1932.

3 Herbert Ihering quoted in Barbara Pluch: Der Österreichische Monumentalfilm - Ein Beitrag zur Filmgeschichte der zwanziger Jahre. Diplom Arbeit, Wien, 1989: *Der amerikanische Film ist der neue Welt-militarismus ... Er verschlägt nicht Einzelindividuen. Er verschlingt Völkerindividuen.*

4 This was not unique to Austria. In France, for example, similar fears were expressed through antagonism towards department stores which were associated with America despite having their origins in France. See, for example, Ellen Furlough: "Selling the American way in interwar France: Prix Uniques and the Salons des arts menagers." Journal of Social History 26/3 Spring, 1993.

5 This attention to the Austrian homeland and history, to great historic personages, to the simple life of the countryside, was associated with recognition of roots and therefore, especially given the tendency towards a Greater German approach to history, with the German people as a whole.

Austrian ideal of "Weltoffenheit" - openness to the world). Withdrawal from the capital as a spiritual centre was partly a consequence of the quest for new strength, for religious spirituality, closer community with nature, and an awareness of one's home territory (*Heimatbewußtsein*). Carinthia, Styria, and Salzburg developed as new cultural centres, partly to balance the influence of (red) Vienna.<sup>6</sup> This was paralleled in the literary world where provincial authors were seen as defending the country from the powerful foreign cultural influences of the capital.<sup>7</sup>

Austrian cultural identity was nonetheless identified very closely with the capital city. According to Gustav Arthaber, who wrote an essay justifying the city, Vienna defined Austrian culture and remained indigenous:

We orientate ourselves on Vienna and the Viennese ways, when we wish to know what culture is. We find strength in Vienna, when we are filled with repulsion at modern, human development.<sup>8</sup>

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6 There Felix Albrecht Harta and Anton Faistauer founded the artists' organisation "Der Wassermann" to found a new art school, independent of Vienna. This thus also manifested itself as a breaking away from the (red) capital.

7 So, for example, Max Pirker argued for provincial indigenous libraries (*bodenständige Volksbücherei*) similar to that set up in Carinthia (*Kärntnerisch-Julischen Feldebücherei*) to counter the trends of the capital. (Max Pirker: Die Zukunft der deutsch-österreichischen Alpenländer, Almathea Verlag, Zürich, Wien, 1919. p100)

8 Prof Gustav Arthaber; "Eine Rechtfertigung Wiens" in Donauland 4 Jahrgang, Heft 1. p429: *an Wien und Wiener Art orientieren wir uns, wenn wir wissen wollen, was Kultur ist. An Wien erstarken wir wieder, wenn wir von Ekel über die moderne, menschliche Entwicklung erfüllt werden.* The capital even possessed its own cultural format for self-

Vienna's cultural position within Austria could also be used as a counter argument against the Anschluß:

Anschluß to Germany would mean rejection of Vienna, for this unique German city, which can compete with other European centres in terms of old culture and significance, could not be subsumed into the Reich without sacrificing her west/east sphere of influence, and the Reich would not even be capable of mourning for it. But what are the German-Austrians without Vienna? ... The German-Austrian as a cultural individual stands and falls with Vienna.<sup>9</sup>

Without this city, unified with the Reich, Austrians would merely be second-rate Bavarians. However, as seen, the relationship of the provinces to the capital was not one of unadulterated respect.

Foreign influences were not only identified as coming from outwith Austrian borders; the Austrian capital was also frequently associated with negative cultural values. In deliberate contrast to Vienna's "big city literature" with its trend towards internationalism, the provinces aimed to develop their own independent alpine poetry or prose, for example. The Carinthian

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glorification, the Wiener Lied. These had their roots in the latter half of the nineteenth century if not earlier, but were particularly popular in the interwar period. The Wiener Lied should be differentiated from the Volkslied (folk song) and the Schlager (pop song) by their very specific themology. Viennese songs were paeons of praise to Vienna and permitted everybody to sing along.

9 Der Österreiche Mensch (Schmitz) p14: *Der Anschluß an Deutschland hieße Abkehr von Wien, denn diese einzige deutsche Stadt, die an alter Kultur und Bedeutung mit anderen europäischen Zentren wetteifern kann, wird sich nicht mit Verzicht auf ihrer west-östliche Einflußsphäre vom Reich einschlingen lassen, und das Reich würde sie auch gar nicht bedauern können. Was aber sind die Deutsch-österreicher ohne Wien ... Der Deutschösterreicher als Kulturmensch stet und fällt mit Wien.*

Josef Friedrich Perköning discussed the border problems of his home. Hans Klöpfer, a factory doctor in west Styrian Köflach, was noted for his works in the vernacular, as was the upper Styrian author Paula Grogger, whose novel "Das Grimigtör" was a world-wide success. In these provincial writings, the city was attacked as a seat of capitalism, as the spawning ground for (anti-religious) socialism, as the source of all the evils of the technical industrialised world and the subsequent rape of the countryside. Its artists were derided as "asphalt poets" and "coffee house literates", or "perfumed fashion artists". Conversely, the retreat into a rural agrarian idyll was derided in the cities as "provincial poetry" or "Lederhosen novelists" - even "Heimatsdichter" (indigenous poet/s) could be used with the derogatory overtone of "country bumpkin".<sup>10</sup>

The *Heimat* movement received encouragement from the Corporate State, partly as a conservative reaction against influences alien to the ideology of the state (see below), but also as part of the encouragement of Austrian national identity. Emphasis was put on museums and education fulfilling their purpose to preserve indigenous culture - folk art, for example. The leading museum of this nature was the K.K. Kaiser Karl Museum for

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10 There are exceptions, of course. The Vorarlbergian artist Herbert Reyl Heinisch is one of the few Austrians of the interwar period who tackled the industrial world in his paintings. (For example, "Die Verfolgung", 1932, oil on wood.) The chemist Franz Sedlacek (1901-1945) also depicted the frightening world of technology and warned against the masked world of inhumane science.

Austrian *Volkskunde* in Vienna, but provinces and municipalities also had their own museums with sections dedicated to *Volkskunde*.<sup>11</sup> According to one article, the problem with the latter was that they did not permit an overview over the entire nation (*Volksganze*), a criticism which indicates that this must therefore have been seen as being a desirable goal. In so far as the *Heimat* movement supported indigenous art and cultural heritage, it was positive for Austrian cultural identity. However, in so far as it was a conservative reaction against an unavoidable present, it was a denial of reality - itself of course identified as an Austrian tendency - a denial which would not aid Austria's survival. It had unfortunate parallels in the Nazi *Blut und Boden* literature.

There was some awareness that the potential of the new forms of mass media needed to be harnessed in service of the Austrian nation. (The manner in which the mass media could be turned against national identity is examined below.) The creation and retention of an independent Austrian film industry was seen as an imperative part of defending Austrian identity, for example. In April 1930, the Austrian film director Heinz Hanus demanded:

create the Austrian sound film ... The first high-quality indigenous Austrian sound film would already prove that a sound film, which, as it were, grows out of the earth of our splendid homeland and which reflects our great artistic words, the natural beauties of Austria, our historical and modern buildings,

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11 Berichte zur Kultur- u. Zeitgeschichte, p93

our music, our dramatic arts and our national life (Volksleben) must achieve success! For Austria has always managed to assert itself, when it has professed its faith in itself.<sup>12</sup>

Austrian culture and Austrian identity are clearly interwoven together here. Nor was the idea of using the cinema to support the idea of Austrian viability completely erroneous. The success of "Maskerade" (1934), fulfilled this prediction, for it was seen as having given back to the Austrians:

who had been erased from the map of filmmaking with the beginning of sound films, for the first time again the self confidence that one could make films in this country which made the world aware of Austria.<sup>13</sup>

The mass media would obviously play a great rôle in creating a collective identity. The Austrian radio, the Radio Verkehrs AG (RAVAG), gave its first official transmission on 1 October, 1924, for example, and by the

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12 Walter Fritz: Kino in Österreich, 1929-45; Der Tonfilm Österreichische Bundesverlag, Wien, 1991 (Hereafter cited as Kino in Österreich, 1929-45), p17: *Schaffet den Österreichischen Tonfilm! ... Der erste gediegene Österreichische Tonfilm schon würde bewiesen, daß ein Tonfilm, der gleichsam aus dem Boden unserer herrlichen Heimat herauswächst und in dem unsere großen künstlerischen Worte, die landschaftlichen Schönheiten Österreichs, unsere historischen und neuzeitlichen Baudenkmäler, unsere Musik, unsere darstellende Kunst und nicht zuletzt unser Volksleben sich widerspiegeln, Erfolg erringen muß! Denn Österreich hast sich noch immer durchgesetzt, wenn es sich zu sich selbst bekannt hat.* The first sound film distributed in Austria was shown in June 1928; the first Austrian sound film was "Geld auf der Straße" (1930). Weekly newsreels were shown from 1930 onwards (the Selenophon Tonfilmschau Austria), a resource exploited by the Corporate State.

13 Ludwig Gesek quoted in Kino in Österreich, 1929-45, p50 *"den Österreichern, die von der Landkarte des Films mit Beginn des Tonfilms überhaupt weg radiert waren, zum erstenmal wieder das Selbstbewusstsein gegeben, daß man in diesem Land Filme machen konnte, die die Welt auf Österreich aufmerksam machten."*

end of the month already had 37,348 licences, the majority of whom were in Vienna. Figures grew rapidly (1925 184,646 licences, 1927 256,089, more broadly spread out across all the provinces).<sup>14</sup> The RAVAG prided itself on being apolitical, despite being heavily criticised for bias by both sides of the political spectrum.<sup>15</sup> It set itself the task of providing entertainment (through the transmission of live concerts, popular music etc), and also of fulfilling a mission to educate (through literary readings; radio plays; educational programmes for schools, but also for interested adults, including an immensely popular English course).<sup>16</sup> Fichte's "host of invisible" which bonded a nation had a physical manifestation in radio waves.

Austrian cinema captured a mass audience at home if not abroad, and in consequence was particularly well suited to encouraging a national identity through its

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14 These figures were lower than in almost all European states, an indication of Austria's dire economic situation.

15 See for example, Berthold Dietrich; "Der Wiener Radioskandal" in Ruf ins Land. Halbmonatsblätter christlicher Erneuerung. Heft 15, 14 August 1932: *Wirkliches Österreichertum ist der Johannesgasse streng verpönt, niemals hörte man von dort einen Vortrag über Österreichs völkerversöhnenden, völkerverbindende Sendung, niemals auch nur ein Wort von oder über Richard Kralik, Enrico Handel-Manzetti, Franz Eichert ... Dagegen stehen gänzlich unbekannt und uninteressante Windekschriftsteller am Mikrophon, wenn sie nur von "draußen" kommen!* Similarly, Dr Oswald Straub was appalled that the RAVAG had transmitted the celebrations for the 60th anniversary of the founding of the German Reich in 1871, a date which signified an ignominious Austrian defeat. See Zollunion oder Anschluß, p16

16 Dr Leopold Richtera; "Die Entwicklung des Rundfunks in Österreich" in gives a brief background of the development of Austrian radio. The first live musical transmission of a concert was in March 1925.

creation of common symbols and its depiction of Austria and the Austrians.<sup>17</sup> Stars provided visible unifying symbols to the population; Paula Wessely, for example, was seen as the epitome of the sweet Austrian maiden. Sound films had the disadvantage that they were no longer international, but they did permit the actor's voice and accent to represent Austrian linguistic characteristics (see above comment on Hans Moser, for example).

Austrian cinema contributed to Austrian national identity not only by providing a common frame of reference, by building up individuals and by exemplifying "typical" Austrian themes, but by using the country itself as a backdrop. The use of Austrian landscapes had the additional advantage of foreign marketability, encouraging the much-needed tourist industry. Idealised versions of Vienna, and the Austrian provinces, particularly the glorious landscapes of the Salzkammergut,<sup>18</sup> were frequently used in interwar films. A genuine pride of the homeland comes across, however, alongside an awareness of profit margins. In 1920, for example, the journalist Victor E. Pordes wrote that it could only be in the interest of Austrian cinema if the beauty of the city of Vienna could at last be presented to the world:

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17 In 1926, for example, there were over 700 cinemas in Austria, many, however, only playing one or two days a week.

18 As Fred Heller puns in Wiener Tag 27/9/1931 (untranslatable!), what was depicted here was not so much a "Salzkammergut" as a "Salzkammerbesser". (Gut = estate/ good; besser = better) Heller quoted in Operetta im Ausverkauf, p201.



Propaganda for herself, she [the city] will also further and improve the art of filmmaking, for which she was a frame, a background, a stage. The Viennese film industry is beginning to get into the swing of things. The Vienna art of film making has yet to come. It can not begin in a better way than by using as its first symbol the blessed beauty of this city.<sup>19</sup>

Otto Boehm agreed, arguing that films set in Austria would unobtrusively educate the viewer, offering an entertaining introduction to Austria's landscapes and economy.<sup>20</sup>

The glorification of Vienna was itself vilified. It might have been economically expedient, but the marketing of Austria and its capital was vigorously criticised with a self-confidence and sense of irony which would further support the idea that it was in the sphere of cultural identity that the Austrian nation felt most secure. The cynical newspaper *Muskete* pointed out:

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19 Fritz Walter, Geschichte des österreichischen Films. Bergland Verlag, Wien 1969 p120: *Eine Propaganda für sich selbst, wird sie auch die Filmkunst steigern und heben, der sie zum Rahmen, zum Hintergrund, zur Bühne wird ... Die Wiener Filmindustrie beginnt in Schwung zu kommen. Die Wiener Filmkunst hat erst zu kommen. sie kann nicht besser beginnen, als wenn sie zu einem ihrer ersten Zeichen die gottgesegnete Schönheit dieser Stadt nimmt.* Walter shows how the film, "Der Jungen Medardus" was used to represent Austrian filmmaking, in particular the "Wien-Film", to the outside world. It was praised in reviews for its national character; seen in its author (Schnitzler), its subject matter (Austrian history), its scenery (old Vienna), but also in terms of its direction. Mihaly Kertesz (Hungarian by birth), will be better known to English speaking audiences as Michael Curtiz, the director of "Casablanca" (1943). For his direction of "Der junge Medardus" Kertesz was identified as personifying the Austrian style of directorship, exhibiting an artistic eye for framing and shots, for lighting and for the choreography of mass scenes (features identified as Austrian by the Hungarian film critic Béla Balázs, quoted *ibid.* p72) Austria proved too small, too repressive or too Nazi for many of her artists.

20 Otto Boehm, p19

The Austrian becomes a patriot  
When he can earn more as such.<sup>21</sup>

Whereas at the beginning of the thirties there were still some films which took as their subject matter more relevant contemporary issues, from 1934 onwards the "Wiener Filme" dominated the scene.<sup>22</sup> One subdivision of these films was the "Urania", where developing plot became secondary to providing a vehicle for singing stars, and where the story line existed to provide an excuse for song-numbers.<sup>23</sup> "Leise Flehen meine Lieder"<sup>24</sup> was followed by "Maskerade" (1934), "Episode" (1935), "Prater" and "Burgtheater" (both 1936). Often these films charted the rise of some singing talent, whose

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21 Muskete, 1.3.1922. in Wort als Waffe., p673:  
*Der Österreicher wird zum Patrioten,  
Wenn sich als solcher mehr verdienen läßt.*

22 There had been forerunners of these - the first of which was probably Ludwig Berger's "Ein Walzertraum" (Waltz Dream, 1925), after an operetta by Oscar Strauss. This German film established the enchanted Vienna which dominated the screen thence forward. Its components were gentle archdukes, tender flirtations, baroque decors, Biedermeier rooms, people singing and drinking in *Heurigen*, Johann Strauss, Schubert, and the venerable old Emperor. (It is ironic that in the same year the Austrian G. W. Pabst directed the film "Die Freudlose Gasse", which pictured Vienna during the inflation, concentrating on the pauperisation of the middle class. Pabst's realism was considered shocking; England prohibited public showings of the film.)

23 Even where films were not musicals, however, the musical soundtrack was a vital element which was seen as providing films with a particularly Austrian flavour and became identified with the Austrian genre of film-making.

24 "Leise flehen meine Lieder" (1933) put forward the case that Schubert's unfinished symphony was not completed as the result of an unhappy love affair. At a time of street violence, Hitler, unemployment, and the loss of Austrian democracy, this film sang the praises of the brave little man. Schubert is left with his art and his religion, far removed from reality.

success in his/her career was usually paralleled by success in love. Note also the catchy single word title, and the physical symbols of Vienna immortalised in the latter two films.

The light relief offered in these films did not escape contemporary criticism. The cellar cabaret in Café Dobner, the "Literatur am Naschmarkt", ridiculed the Austrian film world, dubbing the Austrian film industry the "Austrian dream factory". One sketch derided in particular the scripts by Walther Reisch when the cast sang (in Viennese vernacular):

Get lost, tired old nag, get lost:  
 Masquerade, Episode just hurt  
 Show in sound and illustration  
 Anything except inflation  
 Masquerade, Episode just hurt!<sup>25</sup>

Operetta proved capable of self-parody. In "Axel an der Himmelstür" (1936) the clichéd picture of Vienna was contrasted to Hollywood flair. In a rare parody of the *Wiener Lied*, operetta is shown to be escapist and formulaic:

Yes, the walzes and songs,  
 The Danube, the Prater,  
 they keep on drawing  
 people into the theatre!  
 ... The end is fantastic, and like a phantom  
 Earth-shaking and eternal,  
 Strauß takes his fiddle, plays "Home sweet  
 Home"  
 The bells start to ring from the Salzburgian  
 Dome,  
 And everything in English!

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25 Cabaret script for "Literatur am Naschmarkt" quoted in Kino in Österreich, 1929-45, p58:

Ziag oh, alter Schimmel, ziag oh.  
 Maskerade, Episode tut wehn,  
 zeige in Bild und ton  
 alles, nur ka inflation,  
 Maskerade, Episode tut weh!"

Jessie: (in English) And always in English!<sup>26</sup>

The criticism is loving, but the charge that the ridiculed productions were mere reflections of Hollywood productions for mass consumption denigrated Austria's treasured artistic output. In their defence, it could be argued that foreign hearts, warmed by the spectacle of such charm and elegance, might be inspired to aid brave, suffering little Austria. In a review of the operetta "*Im Weissen Röbl*" the contrast between its glamour and the reality of the depression was interpreted in a positive fashion:

It is a pleasure for an Austrian, that such a piece stems entirely from Austria - exists off the poor land, which would be capable of nurturing another dozen such productions.<sup>27</sup>

The cinema historian Walter Fritz argues that particularly shortly before the Anschluß the Wien films were intended to inspire the thought: "This Vienna, this Austria must be helped!"<sup>28</sup> But there was a narrow line between depiction and sterilisation, praise and glorification, reflection and self-stereotyping. What

26 Script to "*Axel an der Himmelstür*" (1936) quoted in *Operetta im Ausverkauf*, p184:

*Ja, die Walzer und die Lieder,  
Die Donau, der Prater,  
die zieh'n immer wieder  
die Leut' ins Theater!*

*... Der Schluß wirkt phantastisch, wie ein Phantom,  
Erschütternd und unvergänglich,  
Der Strauß nimmt die Geige, spielt "Home sweet home"  
Es läuten die Glocken vom Salzburger "Dom",  
Und alles auf englisch!*

Jessie: And always in English!

27 Ernst Decsey in *Neues Wiener Tagblatt*, 27/9/1931 quoted in *Operetta im Ausverkauf*, p210: *Es ist eine Österreicher Freude, daß einmal ein Stück so ganz von Österreich lebt, von dem armen Lande, das imstande wäre, noch ein Dutzend Stücke zu ernähren*

28 *Kino in Österreich, 1929-1945*, p100: "*Diesem Wien, diesem Österreich müßte geholfen werden*".

could begin as an exploration of the Austrian character, or the country's historical and geographical heritage, could easily become a pastiche. As Fritz pointed out:

Perhaps the world knew so little of Austria because in this country films were made about an Austria which had never existed. He who denies himself in his art, dies a living death.<sup>29</sup>

This would be particularly true when identity was so closely interwoven with cultural identity. An artificial construction designed for foreign consumption could not give the Austrian nation a solid sense of Austrian cultural identity, and thereby a secure awareness of an Austrian national identity. This would have particularly negative consequences when Austrian culture was heavily and seriously under attack.

## II. The cultural relationship with Germany

Austrian and German cultural identity have been seen to be theoretically interwoven. Economic realities meant that they were interwoven in practice also. The German language was a barrier to markets abroad, both in literature and in sound films (even when dubbing techniques were perfected, they were costly).<sup>30</sup> Despite legal measures taken to protect the home film industry,<sup>31</sup>

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29 Geschichte des österreichischen Films, p7: *Vielleicht wußte die Welt so wenig über Österreich, weil in diesem land so viele Filme gedreht wurden über ein Österreich, das es nie gab. Wer sich verweigert in seiner Kunst, stirbt bei lebendigem leib.*

30 The first dubbing in Austria took place in 1937 by Selenophon Film.

31 The quota law of 19.5.1926 set down that the number of domestic workers employed in the film industry must exceed 75%, and favoured domestic productions

Austrian productions required German markets if they were to make any profit. In publishing, sixty to seventy-five percent of Austrian publishers' income derived from German markets; in film, the Austrian market only covered 10% of production costs, whereas the German market brought in over 75%. Austria had been dependent on importing German celluloid since 1914; German studio space was cheaper; foreign competition, particularly American, encouraged co-operation with German studios in order to keep up with technological advances.

Despite producing over a hundred films a year in the early twenties, Austrian film production faltered owing to the depression, and as foreign competition stepped up.<sup>32</sup> Austrian film makers had to compete for domestic and foreign audiences.<sup>33</sup> In 1935/36, 112 German films and 155 American films were released in Austria, but only 21 Austrian films were produced. Dr Oswald Straub argued in

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over foreign ones, a law which played an important rôle in helping the film industry to survive.

32 There had been an independent Austrian film industry prior to World War I. However by 1923, the 1920 figure of 142 had dropped to 58, and by 1924 to 32 Austrian films made per year. As a point of reference, in the early twenties, 300-350 films were shown per year in 750 cinemas.

33 This means that analyses of Austrian themes must be applied with caution - both the Sascha and the Vita Film studios invested in such lavish productions as "Sodom und Gomorrhä" (1922) and "Samson und Delilah" (1922) which interspersed historical scenes with parallels from the present. However, these films aimed at bringing in foreign exchange, and were therefore more reflective of the economic needs of the time than of any particularly Austrian thematic preoccupations. Adaptation for foreign markets did not necessarily have to be at the expense of Austrianness, however. Even if the subject matter was chosen for foreign markets, the manner in which it was brought to the screen could nonetheless provide visual evidence of Austrian strengths.

1931 that in return for the Austrian film industry being permitted to compete with the American market in Germany, the Germans had negotiated access through Austria to lucrative eastern markets where Austria would now have to compete with the German - a transaction which cost Austria as much as she had gained.<sup>34</sup>

A similar dependency on foreign, particularly German markets, can be found in the field of literature. Dr Eduard Stepan complained in 1923 that despite Austria's rich poetic heritage, there was not a single magazine in which Austria's poets could be published:

"Donauland", "Österreichisch Rundschau" and the "Österreichische Illustrierte Rundschau" have folded in consequence of the insularity and caution of their editors, so that Vienna is now without a single leading magazine.<sup>35</sup>

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34 Zollunion oder Anschluß, p3: Österreich wird gestattet, seine Erzeugnisse auf den deutschen Markt zu bringen, wo ihm eine amerikanisierte, über- ächtige Industrie wohl die Konkurrenz in vielen Produktionszweigen sehr schwer, wenn nicht sogar unmöglich machte, dafür darf es seinen Buckel erhalten, damit Deutschland darüber hinweg das Geschäft im Osten erschließt. Für wen wohl? Als ob dies Österreich nicht eben so gut allein träfe, vorausgesetzt, es bestünden eben die Zollmauern im Osten nicht. Während also für Österreich, die Wirtschaftschancen im Osten dieselben blieben wie bisher und es in Deutschland eine nur sehr zweifelhafte Entschädigung fände, könne Deutschland den Wegfall einer Zollgrenze, eben der österreichischen, als Vorteil für sich buchen.

35 Dr. Eduard Stepan: Neu Österreich; Das Werk des Friedens von St. Germain. Seine Kultur, Bodenschätze, Wirtschafts-leben und Landschafts Bilder. S. L. Van Looy, Amsterdam/Wien, 1923. p157: Aber diesem reichen Dichterwalde steht nicht eine einzige Zeitschrift zur Verfügung, "Donauland", "Österreich Rundschau" und die "Österreichische Illustrierte Rundschau" mußten infolge der allzugroßen Abgeschlossenheit und Zurückhaltung ihrer Schriftleiter eingehen, so das heute Wien geradezu ohne eine einzige führende Zeitschrift dasteht.

Austrian authors could not survive on the sales of their works within Austria. By the early thirties, up to 90% of Austrian authors had German publishers and even the few belletristic publishers in Austria sold two-thirds of their output to Germany.<sup>36</sup> German publishers were obviously less interested in publishing works which were specifically Austrian (which concentrated on local colour, for example). As one author complained:

Just don't include Austrianisms! Everyone in the know recognises this demand. Of twenty novels, nineteen are set in Berlin, are sold in Austria, discussed passionately and serialised in Viennese and Austrian magazines while Viennese novels - with the exception of the classics - are sought in vain ...<sup>37</sup>

Dependency on foreign markets was not conducive to the creation of indigenous national culture. However, there were non-materialistic motivations for the close relationship between Austrian artists and the German audience. The German market was more open to innovation; Arnold Schönberg's composition "Begleitmusik zu einer Lichtbildszene" ("accompanying music to a film scene depicting impending danger, fear and catastrophe"), could

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36 Klaus Amann: Der Anschluß Österreichischer Schriftsteller an das Dritte Reich; institutionelle und bewußtseins-geschichtliche Aspekte. Athenäum Monografien, Frankfurt, 1988 p19 (Hereafter cited as Der Anschluß Österreichischer Schriftsteller)

37 "Das Elend des österreichischen Schrifttums" in Donauland. Wien, Sept 1918 to Feb 1919. p1281: Nur keine Austriacismen! Jeder Eingeweihte kennt diese Forderung. Von zwanzig Romanen spielen neunzehn in Berlin, werden in Österreich verkauft, in Wiener und österreichischen Blättern leidenschaftlich besprochen und nachgedruckt, während man Wiener Romane - von den Großen abgesehen - vergebens sucht, wenn man die fragwürdigen Ergüsse der gewissen Kolportageromane im Feuilleton einige Wiener Blätter unerwähnt lassen will.



not be performed in Austria, and had its orchestral première in Berlin. The architect Josef Frank also looked to Germany in preference to Vienna. Note his juxtaposition of the German with the Viennese as opposed to the Austrian, which indicates the importance of the capital in the cultural sphere:

Because what happens here, has the appearance of having been thrown on the streets by chance, and happy stupidity grins from the aperture of every window. Where the German attempts to use certain effects incorrectly, but effectually, the Viennese doesn't recognise them at all. What he calls his art is a conglomeration of any old motifs, which he has taken from a pattern book put together by someone of his own kind.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to German openness to innovation, political motives were also incentives to production abroad. Karl Kraus' play "Die Unüberwindlichen" ("The Invincibles"), for example, which attacked journalistic corruption and the Chief of Police, Schober, could not be performed in Austria for obvious reasons, but met with critical acclaim in Dresden.<sup>39</sup>

Mass media provided hitherto unknown possibilities for cultural interpenetration. This could be voluntary: co-operation between Austrian and German radio, for

38 Norbert Leser (Ed): Das geistige Leben Wiens in der Zwischenkriegszeit. Österreichischer Bundesverlag, Wien, 1981. p286 Denn was hier geschieht, sieht aus, als hätte es der Zufall auf die Straße geworfen, und fröhliche Dummheit grinst aus jedem Fensterloch. Während der Deutsche sich bemüht, irgendwelche Wirkungen zwar falsch, aber effektiv anzuwenden, kennt sie der Wiener überhaupt nicht. Was er seine Kunst nennt, ist ein Zusammenstellen beliebiger Motive, die er einem Vorlagenbuch, das seinesgleichen zusammengestellt hat, entnimmt.

39 See C. E. Williams, The Broken Eagle: The Politics of Austrian Literature from Empire to Anschluss. Paul Elek, London, 1974.

example, had been debated at the world radio conference held on the Semmering in 1931, at which closer collaboration between the German-speaking transmitters was agreed. On 28 March, 1931 the first report from two Berliners in Vienna was transmitted. Such co-operation was not only received positively: in 1932, for example, Berthold Dietrich criticised Austrian radio for sounding like a branch of Berlin, and for failing to fulfil its proper function as the voice of Austria.<sup>40</sup> In this case the problem lay in the fact that Berlin was identified with alien modernity.

However modern media also permitted involuntary cultural interference. The close cultural relationship between Austria and Germany took on a different character after Hitler's accession to power in 1933, when the potential for abuse of the power of mass media was also exploited. In 1933, Austrian radio audiences were subjected to Theo Habicht's propaganda programmes transmitted from Munich, aiming at "the spiritual conquest of Austria".<sup>41</sup> That year, over sixty tirades

40 Berthold Dietrich in Ruf ins Land.

41 Dr Rudolf Henz remembered: *Es begann im Juli 1933. Der Sender München war auf die geistige Eroberung Österreichs angesetzt. Habicht forderte Gegensendungen heraus. Dabei ist es unmöglich, einem so böartigen und auf Brutalität gedrillten Partner gegenüber nichts ins Hintertreffen zu geraten. War die Antwort sachlich und fair, griff er sogleich noch schärfer an. War die Antwort aber haart, so versicherte er, er sei beleidigt und provoziert worden. Damals war ein derartiger Radiokrieg neu. Die Propaganda gegen ein freies und unabhängiges Österreich zwang zunächst zu entschiedener Abwehr und damit aber auch schon zu eigenen Propaganda. Henz quoted in Viktor Ergert: 50 Jahre Rundfunk in Österreich; Band I, 1924-1945 Residenz Verlag, Wien, 1974. P137*

against Austria were transmitted, which could be picked up in most of the country. Such a radio war was new, and the propaganda against a free and independent Austria did provoke a counter-reaction.<sup>42</sup> But in many ways there was no defence; when RAVAG protested at the world radio organisation in Geneva against the Munich programmes, the organisation in charge of Radio Munich simply left the world organisation.

The aims of the National Socialists were laid down by the "Ausschuß für kulturelle Angelegenheiten zwischen Deutschland und Österreich" (the commission for cultural affairs between Germany and Austria) which strove for a Nazification of the Austrian cultural sector:

The reason and purpose of all cultural-political agreements between Austria and German can only be that the Austrian people in their entirety must be made internally ready for National Socialism and thereby bring the German-Austrian problem closer to a final solution.<sup>43</sup>

The National Socialists obviously had to try to bring Austrian culture into line with German; there was little point blocking Jews, Communists and Socialists from cultural life in Germany, merely to allow them in again through the Austrian back door. Interference in cultural matters had the advantage that it was unlikely to provoke

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42 The defence in Austria was led by Hofrat E Weber of the news department (Amtlichen Nachrichtenstelle) joined by Minister E. Ludwig und Dr Henz.

43 Der Anschluß Österreichischer Schriftsteller: Sinn und Zweck jeder kulturpolitischen Verständigung zwischen Deutschland und Österreich kann nur der sein, das Österreichische Volk in seiner Ganzheit für den Nationalsozialismus innerlich reif zu machen und damit das deutsch-Österreichische Problem einer endgültigen Lösung näherzubringen.

a reaction from the other European powers, who tended to see these matters as merely domestic affairs. The use made by Anschluß organisations of the *Sängerbund Fest* in 1928 is a case in point.<sup>44</sup> Because of its dependence on foreign markets, Austrian culture could not be utilised for domestic political goals to the same extent as was the case in Germany.

Massive political and economic pressure was brought to bear to achieve a *Gleichschaltung* of culture; it was met half way by Austrian cultural politics. Klaus Amann argues convincingly that insecurity and feelings of helplessness combined with the need for party-political support and state approbation led to self-censorship and over-accommodation (conformity).<sup>45</sup> In negotiations between the two sides, Austrian morale was low. Since mid-1933, for example, attempts had been made to extend the "*Reichsverband der deutschen Schriftsteller*" (RDS), the German writer's union, to Austria.<sup>46</sup> An official of the Austrian Ministry of Education summarised

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44 Oswald Straub argued that it showed just how adept Anschluß propaganda was that the *Sänger Bund Fest* had tackled the Viennese where they were at their most vulnerable, exchanging the brotherly kiss over wine, women and song.

45 Der Anschluß Österreicher Schriftsteller, p85. Amann illustrates this point with an example from the literary world which parallels the situation in the film market. In 1937, the Viennese branch of the German publishing company *Deutsche Verlag für Jugend und Volk* furnished a German functionary with details on the birthplace, date, address, religion and race of certain authors, despite the fact that according to 1934 statistics, it sold 86.5% of its publications in Austria, and should therefore have been independent of the Third Reich.

46 There was an illegal Austrian branch of the RDS which was dissolved in September 1934.

pessimistically that it was to be expected that only members of this organisation would have access to German publishing firms:

Membership of the Reichsschrifttumskammer presupposes, as far as could be ascertained, loyalty to and recognition of the state politics of the German Reich. This places Austrian authors in an extremely difficult position ...<sup>47</sup>

Some attempts were made by the Austrian state to accommodate authors denied markets in Germany, but more frequently German demands were anticipated and complied with: it was not economically expedient to publish authors who would not have access to German markets.<sup>48</sup>

Austria's economic dependency provided ample scope for blackmail, even when Austria did attempt to take a strong stance. During the negotiations to lift Austrian bans on German books, it was stated quite openly that Germany should exploit the fact that the Austrian film

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47 *Die Zugehörigkeit zur Reichsschrifttumskammer setzt jedoch, soweit in Erfahrung gebracht werden konnte, das Bekenntnis zur deutschen Staatspolitik des deutschen Reiches voraus. Hierdurch kommen die österreichischen Autoren in eine außerordentlich schlechte Lage ...* Pfoser in E. Talos; W. Neugebauer (eds): Austrofaschismus. Beiträge über Politik, Ökonomie und Kultur 1934-38. Verlag für Gesellschaftskritik. Wien, 1984. p232 (Hereafter cited as Austrofaschismus)

48 In 1935, faced with shrinking foreign markets, Germany offered subventions to book exports. This made German publications 25% cheaper; in response Austrian publishers managed to gain official support also through the "Verlagsforderungsfonds" (publisher assistance funds). These had plenty of money, but failed to use it systematically to shore up Austrian publishing firms. Austrofaschismus, p233  
Katzenstein offers the following statistics: "Between 1924 and 1936 the German share in Austria's foreign trade in printed materials rose from 85 to 90 per cent of imports and from 29 to 45 percent of exports. In 1934 Austria imported 45 % of its films from Germany. Disjoined Partners, p135

industry was dependent upon German money. In 1935, foreign films, including Austrian ones, were classed as luxury goods in Germany and were banned from import. Austria threatened retaliation, and a quota system was established. However, the Austrian film industry had to agree to eliminate Jews and immigrants from Austrian films; Austrian producers guaranteed that they would not support any film whose subject-matter or casting could be unwelcome in Germany; and were granted the privilege of passing the script and cast with the German Reichsfilmkammer prior to the commencement of filming.<sup>49</sup> Joseph Roth's reaction to this was quoted above, and he was not alone in his disgust. The Legitimist newspaper Vaterland protested against the number of German films entering Austria:

Many of the German customs and attitudes to life stand in contradiction to the Austrian national character; the ways and means of the north are foreign to us! And yet propaganda films from Germany rain down; be it the East Prussian with his dull steppes which are to be made palatable to us, then again the friendly Berliner, his "good manners", his "cheeky" attitude to life, then these eternal Saxons (not those who fought beside us at Königgratz so many years ago), or the Bavarian *Leimspindel* (?) for naive Austrians. There is sufficient

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49 In October 1934, an otherwise "golden year" in Austrian cinema history, a newspaper article reported rumours that an "Aryan paragraph" would be adopted that would not permit films to be made with casts contravening German racial law (Kino in Österreich, 1929-45, p59). Austrian filmmakers argued that this law could not be extended to apply to Austrian conditions, where Jewish contributions to the artistic world (both artistic and financial) were necessary to its survival. Nonetheless, German racial policies were adopted by several Austrian companies. Calls for an Austrian film industry independent of German control had fallen silent by 1938.

justification for us to reject, at least as long as we are so poor and cannot keep up with the resources of foreign propaganda, being presented with more foreign, to be more exact, more German propaganda than our own domestic, Austrian propaganda!!!<sup>50</sup>

After the quota system had been established in 1935, complaints that Austrian films barely differed from those made under the National Socialists became more frequent.<sup>51</sup> Eduard Heini, the former Minister for Trade and on the board of the Austrian film company Tobis-Sascha from 1937, argued in 1938 that,

an Austrian film and Austrian subject matter remain Austrian, even if this or that dialogue were altered, or if the choice of cast is, in some rôles, made according to the wishes of the German film buyers.<sup>52</sup>

This was sheer naïveté and did nothing to defend Austrian control over her own productions. However, there is the sense that the Austrians felt that they were fighting a

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50 Vaterland 9 Oct, 1933 2 Jahrgang, no 41: Dem Österreichischen Volkscharakter widersprechen gar viele Gebräuche und Lebensauffassungen der Deutschen, die Art und Weise aus dem Norden ist uns fremd! Und gerade da regnet es Propagandafilme aus Deutschland einmal ist es der Ostpreusse mit seiner faden Steppe, der uns verdaulich gemacht werden soll, dann wieder der liebe Berliner mmit seinen "guten Manieren" seiner "kessen" Lebensauffassung, dann wieder die ewigen Sachsen (längst nicht mehr die, die bei Königgrätz mitfochten!) oder die bayrische Leimspindel für naive Österreicher! Es liegt Berechtigung genug darin, dass wir, solange wir so arm sind, mit den Mitteln der ausländischen Propaganda nicht standhalten zu können, einfach ablehnen müssen, mehr ausländische, genau gesprochen deutsche Propaganda vorgesetzt zu bekommen, als unsere heimische, Österreiche Propaganda.

51 "Wiener Film" magazine worked out the financial consequences of giving up the German market, which would have been crippling.

52 Ein österreichischer Film und ein österreichischer Stoff bleiben auch dann österreichisch, wenn dieser oder jener Dialog geändert wurde, wenn ferner in der Wahl der Darsteller vielleicht bei manchen Rollen nach dem Wünschen des deutschen Filmeinkäufers vorgegangen wird. Austrofaschismus, p235

rear-guard action, and that there was no viable alternative to compliance; indeed that compliance on these matters might stave off more extensive demands.

Admittedly, some effort was made to counteract dependency on Germany by finding other markets for export. South America, for example, became an important market for Austrian films. Co-productions with Hungary and Czechoslovakia used bi-lingual actors who could make two films at one go (a German-speaking one, and a Czech, or Magyar one), which allowed substantial savings. However, such successes were rare: the Corporate State fought a battle of retreat, pressurised by Hitler, and hampered by its own insistence on its loyalty to German cultural unity.

Although there was some recognition that the Austrian people had to be ideologically re-educated to fall into line with the ideals of the Corporate State, the latter showed little imagination in how this should be done. The emphasis on Austria's inclusion in the greater-German cultural nation laid its culture open to Nazi penetration. In 1934 the Fatherland Front devised guidelines for its cultural work; it should encourage anything which supported the basis of the State, everything that grew out of the Austrian people (*Volkstum*) and everything that "developed out of the German nation and served to cultivate respect for Austrian achievement, work and essence".<sup>53</sup> If

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53 "aus dem Österreichischen Volkstum wächst und der Achtung vor Österreichischer Leistung, Arbeit und Österreichischem Wesen dient."



Austrianness was that which supported the state, un-Austrianness was thereby associated with Marxism, democracy, parliamentarianism, liberalism, pacifism, and Semitism, thus providing the Austrian state with the same enemies as National Socialism.

Ludwig Jedlicka has pointed out that the claim by leading members of the state that Austria represented a universal, open culture stood in direct contradiction with their actual cultural practice which was steeped in provincialism and anti-Semitism.<sup>54</sup> Anti-Semitism involved a rejection of many of Austria's creative artists, a high percentage of whom were of Jewish origin, or whose political bias was towards Austro-Marxism.<sup>55</sup> As the author Manfred Jasser described retrospectively in 1938:

that which one was so quick and avid to praise as Austrian poetry in the years 1919 to 1933,

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54 Anti-Semitic racial policies should not only be attributed to the influence of German National Socialism. Hugo Bettauer's murder in 1925 (and the trial of the perpetrator), the invectives against Freud, and the censorship and violence surrounding certain writings and films (Schnitzler's "Der Reigen" in 1921; Remarque's "All Quiet on the Western Front" (1930, banned January 1931)) can be seen as symbolic of an anti-democratic, anti-liberal, and anti-Semitic *Kulturkampf*, which sought to deny a substantial proportion of Austrian authors the opportunity to earn a living, and to force them out of the literary public eye.

55 Jedlicka, Ludwig: Ende und Anfang Österreich 1918/1919. SN Verlag. Salzburg, 1969 Not all Austrians adopted anti-Semitic attitudes. The newspaper Der Morgen had pointed out already in 1923 the idiocy of the National Socialist tendency to choose the Jews as a scapegoat:

National Socialist Logic: The French steal our Ruhr, the Poles took Upper Silesia from us; three and a half million are suffering under Czech foreign rule, the Eyeties rule German South Tyrol - there's only one solution: Down with the Jews!

Wort als Waffe, p831: Der Morgen, 29.1.1923.

that which is described by the names Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler, Werfel, Zweig, that was not Austrian, but a Viennese, or virtually a Jewish matter. The real Austria has never had anything to do with this so-called Austrian literature.<sup>56</sup>

By denying these artists markets, by forcing them into internal or external exile or suicide, by incarcerating them, Austria lost some of her greatest national assets.<sup>57</sup>

Many of the moves which could have had a positive impact on Austrian cultural life failed to do so. Even institutions which could have been expected to support Austrian creativity did not necessarily encourage an independent Austrian culture. The State prize for literature (awarded by the Ministry of Education from 1934) was intended for works which reflected the Austrian homeland or the Austrian individual, a potentially positive goal. Amann has shown, however, how the prize invariably went to mediocre writers whose sole

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56 Der Anschluß Österreichischer Schriftsteller, p68: *Das was man in den Jahren von 1919 bis 1933 so gern und eifrig als österreichische Dichtung anpries, das also was etwa mit den Namen Hofmannsthal, Schnitzler, Werfel, Zweig umschrieben ist, das war keine Österreiche, sondern eine wienerische oder schlechterdings jüdische Angelegenheit ... Mit dieser sogenannten Österreichen Dichtung hat das eigentliche Österreich, ... nie etwas zu tun gehabt.*

57 The Wiener Werkel must be recognised as the exception to the rule. A brief look at the famous names of inter-war cabaret makes this evident: Hans Weigel emigrated in 1938 to Switzerland, Otto Andreas fled to London in 1938, Carl Merz was arrested for criticism of National Socialism, Paul Morgan, Fritz Gruenbaum and Peter Hammerschlag did not flee in time and died in concentration camps, Jura Soyfer died of typhus in the concentration camp Buchenwald in 1939. Egon Friedell threw himself out of the window on 16 March 1938 when he saw Gestapo agents entering the building. Of those who emigrated, very few returned.

merit was that they wrote in line with Nazi ideology.<sup>58</sup> Literature was increasingly dominated by Catholic, "völkisch" - national and National Socialist themes. Three basic categories of literature were encouraged by the Nazis: *Heimat*, or *Blut und Boden* ("Blubo") literature; Austrian war literature<sup>59</sup>; and the historical novel. These should not be seen as a foreign imposition; *Heimat* literature, for example, was part of Austrian literary tradition. Withdrawal into the *Heimat* movement was a reaction against the Republic and industrialisation, the movement being characterised by antagonism towards the city, agrarian romanticism, anti-Semitism and German nationalism.<sup>60</sup> Josef Nadler, the literary historian, said that this movement "was a revolution of the provinces against a city class which dominated the state, was spiritually and biologically

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58 Der Anschluß Österreicher Schriftsteller

59 Austrian war literature, however, also functioned to fight the stereotype first propagated by Friedrich Nicolai in 1781, that the Austrians were limp, weak-willed, and undependable. Communists and Jews were frequently identified as the main propagators of this myth, although there was considerable bitterness at the cool attitude of German comrades-in-arms.

60 While Musil, for example, was dependent upon the financial support of the Prussian Academy of Arts and on a private organisation, books by the author Mirko Jelusisch reached numerous reprints - between 1929 and 1937 over 110,000 copies of his book on "Caesar" were sold, his novel "Der Soldat" sold 80,000 copies within two years. Authors of this type of literature often received more popular acclaim than the authors we would today associate with Austrian interwar literature. Musil, Schnitzler, Werfel and Zweig were not seen as representative at the time, while authors such as Felix Salten (of Bambi fame), Walter von Molo, Heinrich Waggerl, and Hans Sassmann were very popular.

divided from the provinces"<sup>61</sup> and had despised and attacked them for years.<sup>62</sup> However state cultivation of this trend did not serve to counter Nazi influence, nor encourage greater unity within Austria.

The Nazis were thus able to exploit existent tensions in Austrian culture. German cultural penetration and pressure exacerbated the problems Austria was experiencing, particularly between the provinces and the capital. There was nothing new in producers of cultural products being dependent upon their sponsors. When the sponsors had a particularly vicious axe to grind, however, the consequences could be tragic.<sup>63</sup>

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61 Der Anschluß Österreichischer Schriftsteller, p69: *Was hier vorging, war eine Revolution der Länder gegen eine von ihnen geistig und biologisch getrennte, im staatlichen herrschende Großstadt-schicht.*

62 The rift between the provinces and the cities, particularly Vienna, is well illustrated by the case of the state theatres. Throughout the First Republic these were repeatedly attacked in parliament, especially during discussions about the state budget. The delegates from the federal provinces argued that these institutions were subsidised by the monies of the provinces, who received little benefit. Delegates sought to ascertain how many Austrian dramatists were performed, what was done to attract tourists. Nonetheless, the history of Austrian theatre in the interwar period shows it maintained high standards, despite the difficult socio-political climate in which it had to function. Escapism was found here also, as was to be expected, in light historical costume dramas, but Schiller, Goethe and Shakespeare were also performed successfully. As in the field of music, the avant-garde found less support.

63 Of course, provincial contributions were not only in the field of literature. Dr Viktor Trautzl, for example, picked out wood carving (Holzschnitzerei) as an area where the provinces made some of the most profound contributions to Austrian culture. "Österreichische Holzschnitzerei" in Österreich, June 1927

What sense of national identity there was in Austria was closely intermingled with the sense of cultural identity that had been the Austrian heritage for centuries. Thus, German cultural penetration struck at a particularly vital nerve. In giving in to German pressure, the one area in which Austrians had had a definite sense of self-worth became tarnished. Nonetheless such penetration did also provoke counter efforts which served to formulate a sense of Austrian national identity distinct from its German counterpart. German cultural policies in Austria did not go uncriticised; attempts to precede political unification with cultural *Gleichschaltung* were recognised for what they were. For example, Straub objected to radio programmes on RAVAG entitled "History, People, Anecdotes" which exclusively discussed King Frederick II of Prussia and Bismarck:

By these means the Austrian is no doubt to be brought to forget his own great tradition and become receptive to his inclusion in Greater Prussia.<sup>64</sup>

The Legitimist paper Vaterland included a poem in its 1933 edition which was most scathing of German cultural practice:

Es reimt sich (German honour rhymes with)

German honour rhymes with  
The barren void of the heart  
Where muscle alone dictates  
Determines every argument ...  
What really goes with German truth

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64 See Zollunion oder Anschluß, p16: *Auf diese Weise soll wohl der Österreicher dazu gebracht werden, auf seine große Tradition zu vergessen und aufnahmefähig zu werden für seine Einverleibung in Großpreußen.*

Is bigoted German rigidity  
 Which, with a steady, stamping step  
 Treads others' cultures under foot  
 ... That is why here in Austria  
 "Germans, you are despised".<sup>65</sup>

Despising Germany was not enough, however. On 10 March 1938, Fritz Grünbaum was standing on the darkened stage of the Cabaret Simpl and soliloquising: "I can't see anything ... absolutely nothing ... I must have got lost in National Socialist culture."<sup>66</sup> Two days later, Austria was unified with Germany, and such comments were no longer possible.

### Conclusion

This chapter has stepped outside of the debate over Austrian national identity to examine a key area in which outside penetration had far-reaching effects - culture. The emphasis on cultural matters can be justified with reference to a point made by John Plamenatz

What distinguishes a people from other peoples  
 in their own eyes consists of ways of thinking,

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65 Österreichs Stern. Legitimistische Wochenschrift. 9 Oct, 1933 2 Jahrgang, no 41.

*Es reimt sich die deutsche Ehre  
 mit des Herzens öder Leere.  
 wo die Muskel nur diktiert.  
 jedes Argument regiert.*

*Und es reimt sich deutsche Sitte.  
 wahrlich mit dem Reich der Mitte.  
 wo man mordet im Akkord--  
 gleiche Art, ist hie und dort.*

*Wirklich passt zur deutschen Wahrheit,  
 die bornierte deutsche Starrheit,  
 die mit festem Trampelschritt--  
 die Kultur der Andern tritt.*

*auf das nette Wörtchen "peitsche",  
 reimt sich wahrlich alles Deutsche.*

*Darum hier in Österreich -*

*"Deutsche man verachtet Euch!"*

66 Quoted in Hans Weigl: Lachen im Keller; Von den Budapestern zum Wiener Werkel - Kabarett und Kleinkunst in Wien, Löcker Verlag, Wien, 1986.

feeling, and behaving which are, or which they believe to be, peculiar to them. Thus nationalism is primarily a cultural phenomenon, though it can, and often does, take a political form.<sup>67</sup>

The emphasis on cultural identity in Austria in this period had as a consequence that pan-German ideology would always play a significant part in any debate on Austria's future. This also held a potential cure for reduction shock. As Ignaz Seipel argued,

The more we follow this national Germanness (*Volksdeutschtum*), this cultural Germanness, the easier it will be for us to bear and be satisfied with our concept of state.<sup>68</sup>

If national identity lay within the cultural, not the political sphere, then Austria's diminutive status was no longer an issue, particularly if Austria could claim membership of a greater German cultural sphere. Austria's cultural identity was an uncontentious area of pride in any place, whether in a greater German context or not.

It is clear that the outside world has a major influence on internal national matters, both in terms of creating awareness of indigenous traits, and in terms of placing certain demands on output aimed for export. The picture that emerges over the past three chapters is that of a strong indigenous culture, vulnerable, however, to

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67 John Plamenatz: "Two types of nationalism": Eugene Kamenka (Ed): Nationalism: The nature and evolution of an idea, Edward Arnold, Great Britain, 1976. p23

68 *Je mehr wir diesem Volksdeutschtum, diesem Kulturdeutschtum folgen, umso leichter wird es uns erträglich, uns mit unserem Staatsbegriff zu begnügen.* Seipel quoted in Herbert Matis; Anton Burghardt: Die Nation-Werdung Österreichs. Historische und soziologische Aspekte. Österreichische Gesellschaft für Wirtschaftssoziologie. Wien, Heft 13, 1976. p20

outside interference and permeated by the dichotomy which pervaded all aspects of Austrian identity - the confusion over the extent to which Austria should be seen as German, and to which it should be seen as distinct. Even in cultural fields, therefore, Austrian national identity was not unambiguous. This is true of all areas in which Austria's identity was discussed except one - tourism. This provides the focus of the last chapter of this thesis.



## Chapter Nine

THE PHYSICAL FABRIC OF THE NATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITYTHE ROLE OF TOURISM

*A man travels the world over in search of what he needs and returns home to find it.*

(George Moore)

## Introduction:

The wealth of bonds between humans and their environment is apparent through all times and cultures: the Judeo-Christian concept of the Creation<sup>1</sup>; Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier";<sup>2</sup> academic studies of man and his environment (geography, geo-politics, geomentality<sup>3</sup>, ecology); these indicate the physical and emotional relationship humans form with the fabric of the world which they inhabit.

This chapter explores the rôle played by territory in nationhood. The introduction examines this relationship in general terms and provides a brief

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1 Genesis 1. For an interesting comparison of the Christian, Maori and Yin/Yang views of the world's creation, see Hong-key Yoon: "Maori identity and Maori Geomentality" in David Hoosen (Ed): Geography and National Identity Blackwell, Oxford (U.K.) and Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1994. (Hereafter cited as Geography and National Identity)

2 If I should die, think only this of me:  
That there's some corner of a foreign field  
That is for ever England. There shall be  
In that rich earth a richer dust concealed;  
A dust whom England bore, shaped, made aware,  
Gave, once, her flowers to love, her ways to roam,  
A body of England's, breathing English air,  
Washed by the rivers, blest by suns of home.  
Rupert Brooke: The Complete Poems. Sidgwick & Jackson Limited, London, MCMXLV p150

3 Geomentality is "an established manner (mentality) or taken-for-granted way of understanding the environment which conditions the relationships between humanity and nature." See Hong-Key Yoon: "Maori identity and Maori Geomentality" in Geography and National Identity p297

overview of the physical character of the First Republic; the body of the chapter analyses in greater depth the impact of geography on national identity through the examination of a specific field, tourism, in which man and environment interact.

It is no coincidence that geography as an academic study received increasing support during the nation building of the 1870s. Knowledge of the space the nation inhabited was seen as a crucial component of national identity.<sup>4</sup> Another indication of the relationship between the nation and the territory which it inhabits is frequently provided by the text of the national anthem. The historian Eric Hobsbawm remembers learning the Austrian national anthem as a schoolchild in the mid 1920's. This attempted to present Austria as "a coherent whole, deserving love and patriotic devotion" by describing its topography:

"German Austria", this curious and shortlived anthem began, "thou magnificent (*herrliches*) Land, we love thee", continuing, as one might expect, with a travelogue or geography lesson following the alpine streams down from glaciers to the Danube valley and Vienna, and concluding with the assertion that this new rump-Austria was "my homeland" (*mein Heimatland*).<sup>5</sup>

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4 See, for example, Paul Claval, "From Michelet to Braudel: Personality, Identity and Organization of France", or Gerhard Sandner, "In Search of Identity: German Nationalism and Geography, 1871-1910" in Geography and National Identity.

5 E. J. Hobsbawm: Nations and Nationalism since 1780; Programme, myth, reality. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990. p92 This is a reference to the second national anthem in the First Republic which replaced in 1920 the "*Gott Erhalte*" (melody by Haydn) associated with the Royal Family. The anthem remembered by Hobsbawm was never universally accepted nor did it become the official national

The fact that this "geography lesson" was part of Hobsbawm's primary education indicates an awareness at state level that love of the homeland could be taught specifically through imparting knowledge of territory.<sup>6</sup>

Yet although territory is acknowledged to be an important factor in national identity, little recent research has specifically addressed the connection between geography and national identity.<sup>7</sup> The connection is not clear cut. Geography does not define the nation. Natural borders rarely delineate the nation, for example, a nation's borders tend to be national, not natural, and can therefore shift.<sup>8</sup> They are as often the consequence of chance, diplomacy, or warfare as of natural phenomena such as mountain ranges. In the peace making after the First World War, the impossibility of reconciling national borders with geographical phenomena was made particularly clear.

The environment influences but does not necessarily determine: people alter their environment according to their needs. For example, humans exploit existing means

anthem. The Haydn melody was restored in 1929 with new lyrics.

6 For extensive and interesting discussion of the agenda behind education in the First Republic see Benda Oskar Achs: Die österreichische Kulturidee in Staat und Erziehung, Wien, 1936. (Hereafter cited as Die österreichische Kulturidee)

7 The only text which specifically deals with this issue is David Hoosen (Ed): Geography and National Identity Blackwell, Oxford (U.K.) & Cambridge (U.S.A.), 1994, which makes a similar complaint.

8 Prior to the nineteenth century and the advent of the "nation state", regions possessed a distinctive core but were divided from the next region by a transitional zone rather than a formal political frontier. See Geography and National Identity, p6.

of communication (e.g. rivers) but can also create alternative means (e.g. roads) in response to the physical features of a nation.

The topography of an area does have a profound effect upon its nationhood. Each nation is unique in terms of its dimensions and location: its size and shape; the forms of its surface; its climate; the reticulation of its rivers; its flora and fauna; the distribution of fertile and infertile land; its mineral resources. All help to determine a country's appearance, character and history. A country's natural resources determine its inhabitants' occupations; the climate influences their health; its physical features affects their leisure activities. Physical proximity to a particular set of neighbours, and a country's strategic placement are other factors influencing a nation's development.

Geography also has a profound influence upon the economic basis of the nation. If a nation is to survive, it must have an economic foundation capable of providing its nationals with employment and a basic standard of living. Occupations influenced by a nation's geography in turn affect national styles of living and preoccupations. The distribution of natural resources will affect the economy, as will climate and a country's physical location with regard to foreign markets.

There is also a spiritual aspect to the habitation of a specific area which is equally important for national identity. Prolonged inhabitation of an area provides a physical basis for that sense of a community

of space and time which lies at the heart of national identity. People develop bonds with the surroundings in which they grow up, with objects and landscapes. As a sociologist argued in 1927:

Within the home country are many memories of childhood and youth; of growing and becoming, the memory of ancestors; there is a profound connection with the earth and river, woods and fields, even with specific trees, buildings, gravestones, ruins, the spirit of the scenery with customs and songs ...<sup>9</sup>

This relationship is first developed with the immediate surroundings, but expands with the horizons of the child's experience. Thus affection for immediate territory can expand to include the whole territory of the nation. Factors encouraging this expansion include the written word; similarity of terrain, a search for occupation or leisure pursuits which lead to travel, and a growing awareness of the community of interest delimited by national borders.

The sense of time intertwined with the physical fabric of a nation means that history and geography interact; physical features of the homeland are frequently associated with a great individual or a great event, creating links between the contemporary individual and his/her forebears. Through inhabitation of a

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9 Gottfried Salomon (Ed): Jahrbuch für Soziologie: Erster Ergänzungsverband: Nation und Nationalität Verlag G. Braun, Karlsruhe, 1927. p63 *Um die Heimat kristallisieren sich zahllose Erinnerungen der Kindheit und Jugend, des eigenen Wachsens und Werdens, das Andenken der Vorfahren; es besteht eine innige Verbundenheit mit Boden und Fluß, Wald und Heide, ja selbst mit einzelnen Bäumen, Gebäuden, Grabsteinen, Ruinen, dem Geist der Landschaft, mit Sitten und Liedern.*

specific territory, the community of the present has links with the community of the past. As the historian Ladis Kristof argues in an article on the image and the vision of the Fatherland,

The original idea of the Fatherland is deeply traditional; it is the land of the fathers; it is the sacred land where their bones lie buried. We cannot repudiate or abandon it without repudiating or abandoning them. In other words, without the Fatherland we are fundamentally fatherless; a nobody; the scum of the earth.<sup>10</sup>

The physical existence of a country permits the individual to grow and perceive roots, provides a sense of community, and a sense of belonging.

Two different possible relationships between humans and territory are recognised in German vocabulary in the words *Heimweh* (homesickness) and its opposite *Fernweh* (a yearning for the unfamiliar, for far distant places). A sentimental story by Karl Mumelter, included in a First Republic reader, illustrates the former concept:

When the Lord God created the world, the angels begged him to lend them his all-powerful sceptre, they so wanted to create a little land on earth too. Because they begged so nicely, he gave them his mighty sceptre. And then they brought together from the world everything that had pleased them most - high mountains from Asia, wild waters and waterfalls from America, many woods and steep fields and sharp rocks and cliffs from the whole world, and they put it altogether in one spot and were thoroughly delighted with it. And when they were finished, they begged the good Lord to create people to populate this little land, which only

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10 Ladis K.D. Kristof: "The Image and the Vision of the Fatherland: the Case of Poland in Comparative Perspective" in Geography and National Identity, p221. These ties exist even in nomadic peoples.

he could do, "because", they said, "model (diddy) mountains need model people".<sup>11</sup>

This was the story behind the creation of the Tyrol: a composite of all the most beautiful features of the world. However, God was not convinced:

Then God looked at the new country and shook his head: "Oh, my dear little angels, no human would stay in this country, there isn't any room for houses, there's even less for pasture and the cattle will roll down the meadows if they're not wearing crampons, and then, in this country it will be winter three quarters of the year, and cold for the other quarter. My dear angels, no human would stay in this country."<sup>12</sup>

The angels were understandably heartbroken, and God felt so sorry for them that he tried to think of a solution:

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11 Karl Mumelter in Robert Lohan; Walther Maria Neuwirth; Viktor Trautzi (eds): Das Herz Europas. Ein österreichisches Vortragsbuch. Saturn Verlag, Wien - (Hereafter cited as Das Herz Europas) p204: *Wie der Herrgott die Welt erschaffen hat, haben ihn die Engelen recht schön gebettelt, er soll ihnen einmal seinen Allmachtzepter leihen, sie möchten auf der Weltkugel gern auch ein Landl erschaffen. Weil sie gar so schön gebettelt haben, hat er ihnen seinen Wunderstab gegeben. Und jetzt haben sie aus der ganzen Welt alles zusammengetragen, was ihnen am schönsten gedünkt hat: recht hohe Berg' aus Asien, recht wilde Wasser und Wasserfälle aus Amerika, recht viele Wälder und steile Felder und zackige Felsen aus der ganzen Welt, und alles haben sie auf einen Fleck zusammengebracht und dran die größte Freude gehabt. Und wie sie fertig gewesen sind, haben sie den lieben Gott gebettelt, jetzt soll er in dies neue Landl auch Menschen erschaffen, was er nur selber zuwege bringen kann "denn", haben sie gesagt, "in einen Krippeleberg gehören auch Krippelemandeln". This prefix of Krippele, not found in any dictionary, possibly refers to the Tyrôlese crib which usually includes model mountains.*

12 Ibid.: *Da hat der Herrgott aufs neue Landl abig'schaut und hat den Kopf g'schüttelt: "O meine lieben Engelen, in dem Landl bleibt mir kein Mensch, die Häuser haben keinen Platz, noch viel weniger die Acker und von den Wiesen kugelt das Vieh ab, wenn's nit Steigeisen hat, und dann - ist's in dem Landl Dreivierteljahr Winter und ein Vierteljahr kalt. Meine lieben Engelen, da bleibt mir kein Mensch."*

Suddenly he said - "I've got it. I'll fix it so that they want to stay in the country!" So God invented the Tyrôleans, and, so that they would stay in the little land, he gave them - homesickness. And what is the homesickness that leaves no Tyrôlean, wherever he may be on this earth, what is it but the enormous love for the fatherland, in which he was born?<sup>13</sup>

This fairy-story not only illustrates the concept of homesickness and man-land bonding, but also pride in the natural beauty of one's homeland. Even God's criticism of Tyrolean geography is counter-balanced by the fact that it is composed of the best features of the world.

Human interaction with geography has a further dimension relevant to nationhood. Geographical characteristics have long been felt to have an influence on the characteristics of a nation's inhabitants. The German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder argued that "every one bears the character of his country".<sup>14</sup> According to Herder, physical territory and climatic conditions had a profound impact upon its inhabitants:

Since man is no independent substance, but is connected with all the elements of nature ... shall not he also be changed by it?<sup>15</sup>

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13 Ibid.: Da haben die Engelen ganz erschrecklich geweint und gar nimmer aufgehört vom "rearn". So haben sie aber dem lieben Gott halt recht derbarmt und er hat angefangen nachzudenken und auf einmal hat er gesagt: "So, jetzt hab' ich's. Ich werd' schon machen, das sie gern im Landl bleiben!" - und so hat er die Tirôler erschaffen und, das sie im Landl bleiben, hat er ihnen-das Hoamweh anerschaffen. Und was ist das Heimweh, das keinen Tirôler läßt, mag er wo immer in der Welt sein, was ist es anders als die übergroße Liebe zum Vaterlande, in dem er geboren ist?

14 Johann Gottfried von Herder: Reflections on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind. University of Chicago Press, Chicago & London, 1968. p10

15 Ibid. p4



This is not to argue that climate determines character.

Herder, for example, concluded that

climate does not force, but incline; it gives the imperceptible disposition, which strikes us indeed in the general view of the life and manners of indigenous nations, but is very difficult to be delineated distinctly.<sup>16</sup>

A similar conclusion was reached by the French geographer Vidal de Blanche, who argued that it was in the moulding of his country that man created his individuality.<sup>17</sup>

In the First Republic geographical features were often seen as having a profound effect upon the people of Austria. As a contributor to Das Herz Europas postulated,

He who speaks of the landscapes of Austria must talk of the people of Austria: one belongs to the other, both are inseparably linked. That which impresses the stranger about our landscape he will also find in its people: this rhythm, this melody, this spiritual blessing, which cannot be understood by thought only by feeling, this culture infinitely diverse springing from old sources of character, senses, rhythm, tradition and taste, this artistic playfulness, a childlike, touching love of apparently superfluous things: strengths which appear as useless weaknesses to some; but in truth they represent our most valuable and unique possession.<sup>18</sup>

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16 Ibid. p20 This is an argument based very much around rural identity. It is more appealing to draw parallels between individuals and alpine majesty, for example, than it is to parallel individuals and over-crowded, polluted cityscapes.

17 See Paul Claval: "From Michelet to Braudel: Personality, Identity and Organization of France" in Geography and National Identity.

18 Das Herz Europas, p229: *Wer von den Landschaften Österreichs spricht, muß notgedrungen auch von den Menschen Österreichs sprechen: eines gehört zum andern, beide sind sie untrennbar miteinander verbunden. Was an unserer Landschaft den Fremden so bestrickt, das findet er auch in ihren Menschen: diesen Rhythmus, diese Melodie, diese nicht mit dem Verstand, nur mit dem Gefühl faßbare seelische Begnadung, diese unendlich vielseitige, aus alten Quellen des Gemütes, der Sinne, des Taktes, der Tradition und des Geschmacks entspringende Kultur,*

Thus territorial and national identity are intertwined, and an analysis of the former is clearly perceived as shedding light on the latter.

One should not, however, over-sentimentalise the bonds between individuals and territory. Beautiful mountains or cultural cities will not hold the individual if the home country is unable to provide a basic standard of living. At the outset of the Republic, immigrants from parts of the former monarchy moved to Austria. Between 1920 and 1923, 113,538 people took Austrian citizenship - an apparent victory for Austrian identity, but motivated more by economic expedience than patriotism. The industrialised regions in particular attracted immigrants from the Succession States and naturally migration from within the country itself.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1918 and 1930, however, there is strong evidence of *Fernweh*. Over 66,000 persons emigrated, despite official publications emphasising that Austria was a country of immigration and transit. The United States of America was the most popular destination,

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*diese lebenswürdige Anmut und Diferrenzierung, dieses künstlerische Verspieltsein, eine kindliche, rührende Liebe zu den scheinbar überflüssigen Dingen: lauter Kräfte, die manchen als unnütze Schwächen erscheinen mögen; aber in Wirklichkeit bedeuten sie unser kostbarstes und ureigenstes Gut.*

19 See, for example, Alois Hinner; Oskar Kende; Heinrich Montzka; Mathilde Uhlirz: Vaterlands-kunde. Geschichte, Geographie und Bürgerkunde Österreichs. Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky U.G. Wien, 1938. p193: *Größer ist die Binnen-wanderung; sie äußert sich überwiegend darin, daß die Landbevölkerung, die Hof oder Dorf der Heimat nicht zu ernähren vermögen, Wien oder die größeren Städte aufsucht, in der Hoffnung, dort ein besseres Auskommen zu finden.*

followed by Brazil and Argentina.<sup>(20)</sup> This emigration can be interpreted variously: as a search for wider frontiers; as a consequence of economic hardship; as a lack of belief in the new "rump state" (the catchphrase for Austria at the time was *Rumpfgebilde*); or as an attempt to avoid the harsh realities of life in Austria - an example of escapism outside literature and popular entertainment. Especially after 1934, Austria suffered a "brain drain" as artists, politicians, academics, and scientists sought ideological freedom abroad. It is possible that emigration figures would have been far higher had it not been for foreign quotas imposed by the recipient countries. Emigration from Austria indicates the importance of recognising that geographical bonds cannot be interpreted on their own: economic, political, historical and cultural aspects are also intermingled.

National identity requires the development of bonds between persons, as well as between persons and the impersonal. Bonds between individuals are forged through contact, language and culture; in turn, these aspects are affected by a country's physical features and infrastructure.

Austrian geography did not necessarily assist the development of a unified national identity in the First Republic. The First Republic was a new composition, its boundaries imposed from the outside. The Austrian

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20 For further information on emigration in the first Republic, see Reinhard Knoll: *Emigration aus Österreich in Austriaca - Deux fois l'Autriche*. Universite de Haute-Normandie, Fevrier 1979.

residue of the Empire consisted of two distinct areas: the huge industrial and multi-cultural city of Vienna in the east, and the predominantly agrarian west (with the exception of manufacturing and mining "islands" in Upper Styria, Graz and Linz). The satirist Karl Kraus called these the "two Austrias", and the gulf that epitomized political life was reflected here also.

The most obvious ties between Austrians and their territory are found in provincial identities. Local consciousness can be traced back at least as far as the Middle Ages. It found its visible expression in custom, regional dress and cuisine, in regional dialect and in provincial law. The first tourist organisation was founded in 1879 in Styria. The other provinces swiftly followed suit, and in the following three years, over 100 municipalities set up local tourist organisations.<sup>21</sup> While the corporate identity of the individual provinces stood in little doubt, the problems of the First Republic highlight the difficulties in expanding that identity to a national level; the problems in securing loyalty to the artificial creation of the centralised state; the

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21 State involvement in the Monarchy came through the establishment of a state department (the *Reichsstelle für den Fremdenverkehr*) within the *Ministry für öffentliche Arbeiten* (Ministry for Public Affairs). In the First Republic, the provinces retained their responsibilities for tourism despite the founding of the Ministry for Trade and Transport in October 1923, which examined matters relevant to motor transport, roads and rail, and thereby to tourism also. This Ministry, which published "Österreichische Reise und Verkehrs Nachrichten", acted as a federal tourist body. Despite minimal funding, it played a rôle particularly in organising links abroad.

difficulty in expanding the individuals' ties of loyalty from immediate surroundings to the entire nation. Little research has addressed the rôle of the provinces in the development of Austrian national identity.<sup>22</sup> However, it would seem reasonable to argue that provincial identity could either serve as a basis for the development of a Austrian national identity, or it could prevent its development through provincial separatism.

The subject *Heimatkunde* (the study of the home town, province or land) taught at Austrian schools was aimed at increasing the knowledge of the child of his/her immediate surroundings, with a view to expanding local to regional knowledge, and regional to national. As the 1926 curriculum for primary school classes one to five stipulated, *Heimatkunde* was intended,

to awaken the senses for that which has been historically created, related to the heritage and monuments of the *Heimat*; conservation and protection of the home (*Heimatschutz*) ... education encouraging love of the *Heimat*, the performance of willing duty for the *Heimat* and its peoples (*der Heimat und des Volkstums*), and respect for all that is good.<sup>23</sup>

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22 The collection edited by Walter Jambor (Ed): Der Anteil der Bundesländer an der Nationswerdung Österreichs, Verlag Kurt Wedl, Wien, München, 1971 barely addresses the issue. See also, however, the review article by William D. Bowman: "Regional History and the Austrian Nation" in The Journal of Modern History 67, December, 1995.

23 Die österreichische Kulturidee, p68: Der Lehrplan für die erste bis fünfte Schulstufe der allgemeinen Volksschulen vom 28 August 1926: "Weckung des Sinnes für das geschichtlich Gewordene in Anknüpfung an Überlieferungen und Denkmäler der Heimat; Heimatschutz. ... Erziehung zur Heimatliebe, zur Pflichtwilligkeit im Dienste der Heimat und des Volkstums und zur Ehrfurcht vor allem Guten."

The debate over which form Austria should take in the future was reflected in education also, however, with the question of what constituted the *Heimat*. Well into the thirties, the Greater German approach dominated, with Austria being placed firmly in the context of the German people. The geography book by Fuchs and Slaner published in 1936 showed, however, that interpretation of geographical factors permitted evidence for conflicting theories. It argued simultaneously that the Republic of Austria was only a small part of Germany; that one could not doubt that Austria was a geographical unit (*das Österreich eine geographische Einheit ist - "Einheit" has the connotation of unity, one-ness*); and that

the strong binding forces of the Danubian system and its surrounding mountains can be disregarded for a period, but will always be active and will assert themselves again and again.<sup>24</sup>

Thus Austria's geographical position was open to interpretation, conflicting agendas could all be substantiated through analysis of its geography. The nation is a question of interpretation, not of objective criteria.

In an essay on Austrian national identity in the inter-war period, Kurt Skalnik regrets that, despite extensive research, he has been unable to find any

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24 Hans Fuchs; Hans Slanar: Arbeits und Lernbuch der Erdkunde. Hrsg von der Vereinigung Christlich-deutscher Mittelschul-lehrer Österreichs. Deutscher Verlag für Jugend und Volk, Wien Leipzig, 1936: "die starken, verbindenden Kräfte des Donausystems und der dieses umrahmenden Gebirge können zwar eine Zeitlang mißachtet werden, wirken aber durch alle Zeiten weiter und werden sich immer wieder durchsetzen."

evidence of a positive stance being taken towards the First Republic.<sup>25</sup> However, there was one field in which Austria was always presented in the best possible light, and that was in the tourist industry.<sup>26</sup>

There is much justification for analysing the relationship between territory and national identity through tourism. Tourism and national identity both depend upon that which is specific (or that which is seen to be specific) to a particular nation for their existence. The selling points of tourism are those areas identified as contributing to a sense of national identity. In 1933, for example, a newspaper dedicated to promoting Austria as a tourist attraction defined its goals as follows:

What do we want? To participate energetically in the rebuilding of Austria.

With the toughness, strength and staying power of a soldier at the front we wish to fight for world recognition of the fact that Austria, this land rich in natural beauty, this land of glorious mountains, of warm lakes, of famous spas, of the oldest culture, this home of music, of polite and welcoming people, the most beautiful women, the cleanest restaurants, the best and the healthiest cuisine, BECOMES THE PLACE TO TRAVEL FOR THE OLD AND NEW WORLD ... OUR GOAL IS TO MAKE OUR BEAUTIFUL HOMELAND THE FOCUS OF ALL NATIONS' INTEREST.<sup>27</sup>

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25 Kurt Skalnik in Erika Weinzierl; Kurt Skalnik: Österreich 1918 - 1938; Geschichte der Ersten Republik. Styria Verlag. Graz, 1983. p14

26 "Tourism denotes the temporary, short-term movement of people to destinations outside the places where they normally live and work and their activities during the stay at these destinations." A. J. Burkart; S. Medlik: Tourism: Past, Present, Future. Heinemann. London, 1981, p1 (Hereafter cited as Tourism: Past, Present, Future.)

27 Österreichs illustrierte Fremdenverkehrs und Reise Zeitung. Erscheint monatlich einmal. Wien, Folge 1. November 1933, 1 Jahrgang: Was wollen wir? An dem Neuaufbau Österreichs energisch mitarbeiten.

Geography, culture, national character, and, above all, personal dedication and involvement - familiar areas to the student of national identity - are used here to sell Austria as a tourist attraction. The building blocks of tourism parallel many of those of national identity.<sup>28</sup>

This chapter explores through the tourist industry the relationship between the Austrian people and the physical space which they inhabited. First formulated in the interwar period, the concept of tourism as defined by the Swiss professors Hunziker and Krapf indicates the emphasis of this chapter: "Tourism is the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the travel and stay of non-residents ..."<sup>29</sup> These non-residents can be domestic or foreign visitors, although the division might not necessarily be so clear cut to the recipient area as it might be in tourist statistics. Interaction can be

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*Mit Zähigkeit, Kraft und Ausdauer der Frontsoldaten wollen wir dafür kämpfen, daß es der Welt bewußt werde, daß Österreich, dieses an Naturschönheiten reichste Land, dieses Land der herrlichen Berge, der warmen Seen, der berühmtesten Heilquellen, der ältesten Kultur, diese Heimat der Musik, der höflichen und gastfreundlichen Menschen, der schönsten Frauen, der reinsten Gaststätten, der besten und gesündesten Küche, DAS REISELAND DER ALTEN UND NEUEN WELT WERDE ... UNSERER SCHÖNE HEIMAT ZUM MITTELPUNKT DES INTERESSES ALLER VÖLKER ZU MACHEN, IST UNSER ZIEL.*

28 A country can sell itself on its cultural identity; on its traditions; on its scenic attractions; on "unique attractions not available elsewhere". See Michael Peters: International Tourism; the economics and development of the international tourist trade. Hutchinson of London, London, 1969. Hereafter cited as International Tourism) p48

29 Tourism: Past, Present, Future. p41. This definition was subsequently adopted by the International Association of Scientific Experts in Tourism.



negative or positive; whatever the outcome, however, it will have an impact on identity.

There are five areas in which it is instructive to examine tourism and national identity:

*First*, the manner in which a country promotes itself as a tourist attraction, and the arguments it employs to do so, shed light upon its self-perception.

*Second*, the tourist industry provides a financial incentive to foster elements which underpin national identity.

*Third*, a related point, tourism encourages the development and improvement of communication networks and infrastructure, stimulating the development of bonds between inhabitants.

*Fourth*, domestic travel can encourage bonding between persons, and between persons and the impersonal (humans and territory, for example).

*Fifth*, it can encourage an awareness of such bonding, through the introduction of foreign elements.

These five factors provide the structure for the discussion below.<sup>30</sup>

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30 For an introduction to tourism in Austria see Paul Bernecker's article "Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich" in --, Österreich - 50 Jahre Republik, 1918-1968. Hrsg. vom Institut für Österreichkunde Verlag. Ferdinand Hirt. Wien, 1968, which shows that Austrian tourism was already well developed in the 1880's. (Hereafter cited as Österreich - 50 Jahre Republik)

## Tourism

Tourism in Austria can be traced back at least as far as the Middle Ages, when it was the result of trade and pilgrimage.<sup>31</sup> From 1840 until the First World War, the tourist trade grew on average between 2 and 5 per cent per year.<sup>32</sup> It received much impetus from the expansion of the railway network, the popularity of health spas, and the development of alpine sports. The First World War obviously interrupted the development of the tourist industry across Europe.

The opening years of the Republic were not auspicious for tourism.<sup>33</sup> Fluid borders, border skirmishes, coal and food shortages and the collapse of transport systems did nothing to encourage travel; the early years of the Republic attracted foreign speculators rather than tourists. Political stability was imperative if the tourist trade was to flourish, and Austria remained vulnerable throughout the inter-war period to off-putting rumours of civil warfare and conditions perilous to tourists. The industry continued to have problems, including passport and customs difficulties, the supplemental charges on overnight stays levied by the

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31 I am indebted to Edith Puchinger, head of sales promotion for the Lower Austrian Tourist Board, who provided me with an unpublished chronology of Austrian tourism.

32 Klaus Arnold in Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur und Geographie. 22 Jhg Jänner-Feber 1978 Heft 1

33 The little town of Feldkirch, for example, was badly hit when on 2 August 1919 Liechtenstein cancelled its customs union. See Gerhard Wanner's article "Feldkirchs Fremden-verkehr von 1918 bis 1938, seine Probleme und Einrichtungen." in Kulturinformation. 100 Jahre Verkehrsverein Feldkirch 1985. Rheticus Gesellschaft. 1985

municipal governments, and the need to meet international standards in pricing and services.<sup>34</sup>

Nonetheless, Austria had certain factors in its favour provided that such problems could be overcome. The four determinants for success in the tourist industry: attractions, accessibility,<sup>35</sup> facilities and organisation, were all present.<sup>36</sup> Austria's location at the centre of Europe, and at the crossing of traditional travel routes between east and west, and north and south, could be exploited. The scenic variety, the city of Vienna, the tradition of culture and trade, all provided further "capital".<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Austria was

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34 According to Klaus Arnold, Vienna had over 300 hotels and Pensionen - B&Bs - in 1936, but only 17% counted as first class. Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur und Geographie, 22 Jhg Jänner-Feber 1978 Heft 1.

35 "Accessibility is a function of distance from centres of population, which constitute tourist markets, and of external transport and communications, which enable a destination to be reached." Tourism: Past, Present, Future, p46

36 In accordance with the 1920 constitution, provincial governments were formally made responsible for tourism issues, and formed *Landesfremdenverkehrsämter*. There were *Landesverkehrsämter* in every province except Vienna, where there was a "*Fremdenverkehrskommission der Bundesländer Wien und Niederösterreich*". The Federal Minister for Trade and Industry, Dr Hans Schuerff, brought together provincial representatives of the tourist trade in August 1923, with the formation of the "*Ausschuß für Fremdenverkehrsangelegenheiten*". This met three times a year and provided a forum for communication, largely serving as an advisory body. It included representatives of provincial government and tourist organisations, of federal ministries, and representatives of transport, boards of trade, hotel and publican associations, of spas and health resorts, of farmers, the ÖAMTC (similar to the RAC or AA), the Press and any other economic associations interested in tourism.

37 See "Ziele und Wege der Österreichischen Fremdenverkehrspolitik" by Sektionsrat Ing. Erwin Deinlein in Österreich. Verlag Österreichischer

comparatively cheap for foreign tourists. With an active approach to the promotion of tourism, the tourist industry had great potential.

Promotion of the industry was obviously vital for its success. Tourist propaganda was disseminated through advertising agencies and travel offices, through newspapers and magazines, through pamphlets and the radio. Trade fairs, particularly the *Wiener Messe*, also played an important rôle in promoting Austrian goods and services. The government encouraged the inclusion in school text books of praise of Austrian tourism and an emphasis on its economic importance.

Tourist publications can be divided into two types: those designed to provide information for people involved in the tourist trade, and those aimed at the potential tourist. The latter included articles about particular areas of interest and book reviews, as well as providing information on subjects such as local customs, tipping, transport conditions, or organised tours. The former provided statistics; discussed advertising methods; debated the impact of state policies; and lobbied for improved road markings, better prices on railways, better telephone connections between the provinces and Vienna, and less restrictive visa laws. Organising tours and

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Handels Courier. Wien, 1927. (Hereafter cited as Österreich, 1927) For motivations behind travel today see Michael Hitchcock; Victor T. King; and Michael J. G. Parnwell: Tourism in South-East Asia. Routledge. London and New York, 1993, (Hereafter cited as Tourism in South-East Asia) p3.

setting up exhibitions became an expanding element of the organisations' functions.<sup>38</sup>

The following sections are based primarily upon federal, provincial, and private publications aimed at the promotion of Austrian tourism. Many of these vehicles emphasised that they were politically neutral. The reasons were various. First, it was felt that tourist propaganda could and should stand above or aside from politics. The 1000 Mark Barrier (see below) was interpreted as proof that the mingling of politics and tourism could only be detrimental for the latter. Political bias was seen as an unnecessary element in tourist propaganda, although this view obviously changed over time, particularly under the Corporate State when the *Bund* ran national tourist propaganda. The rift between the political left and right was deliberately avoided here - a further indication of the general disenchantment with politics. There are some exceptions,

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38 An advertisement by the *Österreichischen Propaganda-dienst*, Central Office, Vienna in Österreich - Austria in Wort und Bild (Organ für Österreichs Fremdenverkehrspropaganda). III Sonderaufgabe, *Österreichischer Wintersport* December, 1933, gives a list of aims which can be taken as broadly applicable to many of the tourist organisations: it sought to publish tourist propaganda, leaflets and newspapers, to provide a centralised dissemination point; create information centres; visit international trade fairs, advertise hotels across Europe; monitor advertising claims; provide free advice on advertising; create an advertising group both at home and abroad, and hold courses. Advertising came under the *Werbedienst* of the *Staatssekretariates für Fremdenverkehr*, based in Vienna, which had the inspiring motto "Wir tun unsere Pflicht" (We do our duty). When the secretariat was dissolved in 1934, its remit reverted to the Ministry of Trade.

however, to the apolitical nature of tourist propaganda, particularly with regard to those associations which did not necessarily favour Austrian independence - these are discussed in Section V. Although Austria was always presented in the best possible light, tourism does not necessarily present an area where there was unconditional support of Austria within its interwar borders.

### I. Self-perception

This section examines the manner in which Austria was sold to the tourist, and those aspects of the country which were presented for consumption, analysing their position in the national identity debate. The areas covered include the presentation of the Austrian landscape; the perceived links between Austria's geography and its historical and cultural identity; the emphasis on diversity and harmony; and the understanding of the Austrian individual as determined by environment.

Tourism promotion is informative to the student of national identity because of its requirements. Selling a country to consumers necessitates the construction of a national image. Specific sites and sights are identified for the tourist, but in addition, as Burkart and Medlik argue, it is necessary to create

an identifiable image of its country's tourist attractions, subsuming to some extent the diversity of attractions within one country into a single coherent image.<sup>39</sup>

Austrian tourist propaganda places great emphasis on both diversity and harmony. John Urry sheds light upon the

reasons this image is a vital part of tourism in his theory that tourism involves the collection of signs. Tourists raid the landscape for signifiers of certain pre-established notions.<sup>40</sup> Urry quotes J. Culler:

the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself. . . All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs.<sup>41</sup>

The tourist is attracted to an image, an image which must first be created through propaganda. Enticement of the visitor involves distillation and generalisation of national identity, and the emphases and the omissions shed light on perceived or idealised national identity. This section examines the component parts of that image.

The style of promotion is also informative on the question of national identity. The fortnightly tourist newspaper Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr, for example, stated in an editorial that it wished to educate through entertainment, and that this entertainment should be in true Austrian style ("wir wünschen, daß diese Unterhaltung österreichisch geführt werde"). This style is then defined; not hectoring, not with the false pathos of overestimation, but

40 Theodore Zeldin places much of the blame for this type of tourism on Karl Baedeker's guide books, which made "travel essentially a matter of sightseeing, looking at places rather than at people", leading to a "cult of 'sights'". Theodore Zeldin: The French. Flamingo, Fontana Paperbacks, London, 1983. p7

41 John Urry, The Tourist Gaze; Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies Sage Publications, London/New Delhi, 1991. (Hereafter cited as The Tourist Gaze), p3

entertaining. Österreich wished to be analogous to a stimulating cigarette, (an image which has very different connotations today) which aids the wings of thought. Its goals are stated clearly:

What we want: to carry a little of the Austrian air into foreign parts, samples of spiritual Austrianness, tasteful Austrianness.

What we don't want: To bore the foreigner with excessive descriptions of Austrian landscapes, which tell the foreigner as little about the essence of a country as a visit to a city museum tells the visitor about the ways and the life of its inhabitants. We want to be amusing and Viennese.<sup>42</sup>

The editorial ends with the plea "more, still more propaganda!" Tourism required propaganda for Austria and thrived on the manifestations of Austrian national identity. The latter also benefitted from the positive depiction of Austria in tourist propaganda.

Österreich's views on landscape descriptions were not typical. Indeed, landscapes were seen as encapsulating Austrian identity in a unique way. Austrian territory had to provide the basis of the tourist industry: as such, it had to be promoted. Austria's assets had to be presented in the best possible light; demerits had to be converted to merits. The geography of the Austrian nation, so reviled after St. Germain, was turned into a major attraction. In tourist advertising, the lack of cohesion between the areas of the newly constructed Austria became diversity; the "bare bones of the Alps"<sup>43</sup> became magnificent mountains, and

42 Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr. No 4, 1-15, 1929.

43 The journalist Gedye commented in 1928, "The new state of Austria ... was simply the residue, the



ideal sports terrain. Even the most obvious loss could be down-played, the loss of a coastline:

With the sole exception of the sea, which appears, as it were, however, to have been replaced a plethora of large and small wonderful lakes, all types of landscape in the central latitudes are represented within the borders of Austria.<sup>44</sup>

This emphasis that Austria could cater to any tastes was found in many areas, as will be seen.

The techniques used were often more direct than those used in advertising today, but were not necessarily less sophisticated. For example, a 1934 tourism handbook theorised that the Viennese were bound to their city by its features (echoes of the Tyrôlean fairy story!), and by one feature in particular:

If a Viennese is in foreign parts, in the most magnificent metropolis, at the most chic health resorts, then he does not deny them his unenvious admiration, and is genuinely enthusiastic about many an achievement, but a corner of his heart a little bit of homesickness stirs for his Viennese coffee house, which he often misses from the very first day.<sup>45</sup>

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dregs and lees of Empire, the part which nobody thought worth while absorbing, just the huge city of Vienna and the bare bones of the Alps." G. E. R. Gedye: A Wayfarer in Austria, Methuen & Co. LTD. London, 1928. p302

44 Erwin Deinlein, "Österreich als Reiseland." in Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr. p21: Mit einziger Ausnahme des Meeres, das jedoch durch eine reiche Fülle großer und kleiner wundervoller Seen gewissermaßen ersetzt erscheint, sind innerhalb der Grenzen Österreichs alle Typen der Landschaft mittlerer Breiten vertreten.

45 Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr. p14: Wiener Cafe: Und kommt der Wiener in die Fremde, in die glänzendsten Metropolen, die modernsten Kurorte, dann versagt er ihnen gewiß nicht neidlose Bewunderung und ist von mancher Errungenschaft ehrlich begeistert, immer aber, in einem Winkel seines Herzens, rührt sich ein Bißl

This is a sophisticated technique for offering the tourist a chance to imbibe indigenous culture and traditions. Carefully avoiding offending the tourist's love of his/her own home, the pamphlet offers the privileged visitor access to insider knowledge (Viennese coffee houses are special), which also serves to make the Viennese people endearing, thus underlining the stereotype of the *gemütlicher Wiener*. The quotation implies the latter's superior tastes could be the tourist's if s/he simply seized the opportunity. The tourist is tempted with a new experience which is nonetheless safe, and which provides a justification for the weary tourist to sit down, eat and drink, without forfeiting his/her dedication to new educational experiences. Furthermore, if the Viennese coffee house could be promoted as a tourist attraction, it was an attraction which already existed and required little financial outlay; the older and quainter the better. As in the case of the Alps, this turned a feature into an asset.<sup>46</sup> This quotation also provides an exemplary Austrian trait discussed for the benefit of foreigners, with the result that an aspect of Austrian (or, here, Viennese) identity was delineated.

A further imaginative way of promoting Austria was found in its music, which was used to sell the country

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*Heimweh nach seinem Wiener Kaffeehaus, das er oft schon am ersten Tage vermißt.*

46 For a discussion of Austrian coffee house culture see Milan Dubrovic: Veruntreute Geschichte: Die Wiener Salons und Literatencafes, Paul Zsolnay Verlag, Wien, 1985.

and its inhabitants at home and abroad. Austrian character was presented as shaped by Austrian musical ability. The most obvious example of this image is found in the Salzburger Festspiele. Such festivals, aimed at fostering the tourist trade, presented a version of Austrian identity. The Salzburger Festspiele encouraged the identification of Austria with the Baroque. The idea for the Festspiele was first suggested by Max Reinhardt in 1906, and realised in 1920. Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote of the festival in 1921:

Organising musical, theatrical festivals in Salzburg means permitting the basic instincts (*Urtriebe*) of the Bavarian-Austrian branch to thrive, and helping these people, among whom the "gift of song, of human mimicry, of painting and of musical composition is almost universally distributed", to find their way back to their own spiritual element.<sup>47</sup>

The Salzburger Festspiele are interesting in that they, like the Sängerbundfest, laid great emphasis on German cultural community. As seen, it was in cultural fields that the greatest emphasis on German unity could be found; this was not the case across the whole spectrum of tourism.

Austria did claim certain cultural assets for herself. Operetta was considered an ambassador for

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47 *"Musikalisch theatralische Festspiele in Salzburg zu veranstalten, das heißt: Den Urtrieb des bayerisch-österreichischen Stammes gewähren zu lassen, und diesem Volk, in dem die "Gabe des Liedes, des Menschennachspielens, des Malens und des Tonsetzens fast allgemein verteilt ist", den Weg zurückzufinden helfen zu seinem eigenen geistigen Element."* Hugo von Hofmannsthal quoted in Harald Sterk, Industriekultur in Österreich: Der Wandel in Architektur, Kunst und Gesellschaft im Fabrikzeitalter 1918-1938, Wienerallianz, Wien 1986. (Hereafter cited as Industrie-kultur in Österreich)

Austria, as was Austrian cinema. The latter could be aimed at both foreign and domestic audiences, although the indigenous population was also wooed with documentary films such as "*Mit dem Postkraftwagen durch Österreichs Alpenwelt*" ("Through Austria's alpine world in a mail bus"). As far as fictional films were concerned, in particular the genre known under the name of "Wien Film" played an important rôle in promoting Austria at home and abroad, especially after the imposition of the 1000 mark tax. Films such as "A Day in Vienna" (1935); "Carnival in Vienna" (1935); "Vienna - Home of Waltzes" (1936) or "How a Frenchman perceived Vienna" (1937) used a glorified depiction of the capital as a backdrop. Another prime example of the deliberate promotion of specific aspects of Austria is provided by the film "*Singende Jugend*" (1936). In this tale a poor provincial lad with a beautiful voice, but an evil stepfather, succeeds in joining the Wiener Sängerknaben.<sup>48</sup> The action takes place against the background of the mountainous scenery of the Groß Glockner and East Tyrol. Released after the construction of the Groß Glockner alpine pass (1935), this film promoted three Austrian tourist attractions at once - the modern infrastructure, the mountains, and the Vienna Boys' Choir.

The inspiration which Austria's geography provided to great composers was drawn upon to provide conclusive evidence of the value of the landscape. In an article on

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48 The Wiener Sängerknaben, who had sung at mass in 1498, were revived in 1924 by Josef Schnitt, director of the Hofburg orchestra.

the landscapes of home, Moritz Scheyer was thus able to pontificate that the substance of Austrian landscapes was

something infinitely gentle, fleeting, diverse yet also indestructible. It contains some of that reverent transfiguration on which the ardent radiance of Brucknerian music kindled itself in pious humility, and in it the sensuality and dancing *joie de vivre* of a Johann Strauß sings. ... Everywhere, in Lower Austria as in the Tyrol, in Burgenland as in Upper Austria, or in Carinthia, or in Styria, or in Salzburg: everywhere the Austrian landscape is an embodiment of the fine arts and blessed with all the graces of humanism ...<sup>49</sup>

Ludwig Heer, the *Landeshauptmannstellvertreter* (the vice head of the provincial government) of the Burgenland in 1927, similarly resorted to a musical analogy to argue that the beauty of the Burgenland was "not monotone, but variously modulated", the modulations of Haydn's music:

nowhere a spot of earth that seems boring. Woods, meadows, hills, valleys, corn fields, vineyards and fruit trees are interwoven, bringing out the magic of the landscape ... This rich mixture of colours and lines formed the landscape painting in the music of our great composer Haydn. We recognise it in the charming scenery of the 'Four Seasons'.<sup>50</sup>

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49 Das Herz Europas, p229: Die österreichische Landschaftssubstanz: sie ist etwas unendlich Zartes, flüchtiges, Mannigfaltiges und zugleich etwas Unzerstörbares. Sie hat etwas von jener andächtigen Verklärung, an der sich der inbrünstige Glanz Brucknerscher Musik in frommer Demut entzündet hat und es singt in ihr die Sinnlichkeit und tanzende Lebensfreude eines Johann Strauß. . . doch überall, in Niederösterreich wie in Tirol in Burgenland wie in Oberösterreich oder in Kärnten oder in der Steiermark oder im Salzburgischen: überall ist die österreichische Landschaft eine musische, mit allen Grazien des Humanismus gesegnet ...

50 Landeshauptmannstellvertreter Ludwig Leer, "Burgenländische Fremdenverkehr" in Österreich. 1927. p53: nirgends ein Fleckchen, das langweilig wirken würde. Wald, Wiese, Berg, Tal, Kornfeld, Weingarten und Obstbäume miteinander verwoben, ineinandergeschoben, bringen jenes Zauber der Landschaft hervor, den man nur auf einer Wanderung von Schützen am Gebirge bis Winden angriff. Dieses reiche

In particular, it was in its capital that music was identified with the Austrian soul:

One is close to Vienna, whenever one sings a song by Schubert, or hears an opera by Mozart or a symphony by Beethoven.<sup>51</sup>

Such association of scenic beauty or specific cities with music and composers was a popular technique which had the advantage of promoting two images at once - Austria as the home of musical ability, and the beauty of the Austrian landscape.

Diversity and harmony were presented as the complimentary opposites Austria could offer to the tourist. The disparate nature of the provinces could lure people away from their homes, whether within or outwith Austrian borders. In his article "The Austrian Landscape", Erwin Reinhalter argued that a brief look at a map proved that one should not speak of the Austrian landscape, but rather of the Austrian landscapes. Nonetheless,

Anyone who travels through this state by express train from west to east - although its size is much shrunken, this is still a considerable journey of about sixteen hours - will see as he travels along, marked, almost irreconcilable opposites melt into a confusing unity.<sup>52</sup>

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*Gemisch von Farben und Linien hat die Landschaftsmalerei in der Musik unseres großen Haydn geformt. Wir erkennen sie in der lieblichen Szenerie der "Vier Jahreszeiten".*

51 Erwin H. Reinhalter "Österreichs Landschaft" in Österreichs illustrierte Fremdenverkehrs und Reise Zeitung. Wien, Folge 1. November 1933, 1 Jahrgang. p5: Man ist Wien nah, so oft man ein Schubert-Lied singt, eine Mozartoper oder eine Beethovenische Symphonie hört.

52 Ibid. p2: Wer diesen Staat, der zwar sehr zusammengeschumpft ist, aber von West nach Ost immer noch eine beträchtliche Strecke mißt, im

Reinhalter described the Austrian regions near Switzerland or "alemanic Germany" as lush and fertile, the Tyrol and Salzburg as mountainous and awesome, while the Burgenland was simply "God's Garden".<sup>53</sup> Austria was thus as diverse in landscapes as it was in the types of tourist for which it could cater. Österreich im Ausland confirmed this view:

The magic of the Austrian landscape - hundreds of thousands of foreigners confirm it again and again - lies in its diversity, the gigantic mountain scenery united with regions of the most charming grace.<sup>54</sup>

This emphasis on foreign opinion is one which crops up frequently and will be discussed below. In this context it is important to note that individual provinces claimed similar popularity and equal diversity within their own borders. In a tourist publication on Carinthia, the author wrote:

Apart from its abundance of centres of industrial and commercial production, Carinthia should be highlighted amongst the Federal Provinces as the centre of tourism. The favourable climate, the unique sheltered position of the province, and the glorious lake areas so rich in scenic charms have made Carinthia a brilliant attraction for tourism.<sup>55</sup>

*Schnellzug durchfährt - er braucht dazu etwa 16 Stunden-, dem verschmelzen auf dieser Reise scharfe, fast unüberbrückbare Gegensätze zu einer verwirrenden Einheit.*

53 A claim reminiscent of the tale on the creation of the Tyrol. No higher witness could be sought.

54 "Österreich - Internationales Fremdenverkehrsland" in Österreich im Ausland. 1 Jhg, Nr 2, 15 März, 1936: *Der Zauber der österreichischen Landschaft ... - hunderttausende von Fremden bestätigen es immer wieder - liegt in ihrer Vielfältigkeit, die gigantische Hochgebirgsszenerie mit Gegenden von lebenswürdigster Anmut vereinigt.*

55 "Kärnten" in Österreich, 1927. p58: *Kärnten ist außer durch seinem Reichtum an industriellen und gewerblichen Produktionsstätten ganz besonders als*

A 1937 propaganda leaflet showed that, not surprisingly, Vienna could also claim to offer a little bit of everything:

Come to Vienna! - Vienna in winter, with its carnival, its opera, two hours away from the ski-slopes of the Semmering, the Rax and the Schneeberg! Vienna in spring, with its great fashion houses, birthplaces of the new fashions, its innumerable possibilities for excursions to the Vienna Woods, to Baden, to Laxenburg! - Vienna in summer, with its great bathing areas, its sports festivals, the pleasure trips on the Danube, the coach excursions to the mountains! - Vienna in autumn, with its Heurigen, its large congresses, its trade fair, its exhibitions!<sup>56</sup>

Regional publications indicate that provincial identities were indeed secure.

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Zentrum des Fremdenverkehrs unter den österreichischen Bundesländern hervorzuheben. Das überaus günstige Klima, die einzigartige windgeschützte Lage des Landes und das Herrliche an landschaftlichen Reizen so überaus reiche Seengebiet haben Kärnten zu einer hervorragenden Anziehungskraft für den Fremdenverkehr gestaltet. Der gastfreundliche Charakter der Bewohner, die selbst verwöhntesten Ansprüchen genügenden Hotels und Vergnügungsmöglichkeiten tragen wesentlich dazu bei, einen von Jahr zu Jahr steigenden Zustrom von fremden Besuchern und Erholungsuchenden ins Land zu bringen und Kärntens Ruf als das Land der Seen, Berge und Burgen in alle Welt zu tragen.

- 56 Hans von Hortenau: Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke. Österreichische Aufklärungsdienst Heft 3, Wien, 1937. (Hereafter cited as Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke.) p45: Besuchen Sie Wien! - Wien im Winter, mit seinem Fasching, seiner Oper, zwei Stunden von dem Skiterrain des Semmerings, der Rax und des Schneebergs entfernt! - Wien im Frühling, mit seinen großen Modehäusern, Geburtstätten der neuen Modelle, seinen zahllosen Ausflugsmöglichkeiten in den Wiener Wald, nach Baden nach Laxenburg! - Wien im Sommer, mit seinen großen Strandbädern, seinen Sportfesten, den Vergnügensfahrten auf der Donau, den Autokarerausflügen ins Gebirge! - Wien im Herbst, mit seinem Heurigen, seinen großen Kongressen, seiner Messe, seinen Ausstellungen!



There is evidence of both co-operation and rivalry between the provinces.<sup>57</sup> In 1926, Vienna and Lower Austria decided to form a joint commission for tourist administration; the "*Fremdenverkehrskommission der Bundesländer Wien und Niederösterreich*". Vienna also attracted the most antagonism, however. In an article on Salzburg it was proudly pointed out that in August 1927, the province had registered 48,672 visitors (as compared with Vienna's 62,808), despite having only 2,200 hotel beds (while Vienna had 24,000 hotel beds). In relative terms, Salzburg had therefore had nine times more visitors than Vienna.<sup>58</sup> Such rivalry did little harm to the tourist industry. It was in the interest of all the provinces to promote tourism and improve the infrastructure within the country to permit better travel within Austria.

It should be emphasised that, as seen in Reinhalter's quotation above, according to its promoters, whether province or capital, country or city, Austria blended all differences into a unique whole:

Opposites of cultures, of landscapes, impact upon one another here, are reconciled, are

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57 Not all provinces took identical measures; a 1934 handbook complained that Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Vorarlberg and the Burgenland had no provincial laws to foster the tourist trade. Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr. Gewerbeförderungsdienst des Bundesministeriums für Handel und Verkehr/ Österreichische Gesellschaft für Fremdenverkehr, Augustinus Druckerei, Klosterneuburg, 1934. p56. (Hereafter cited as Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr.)

58 "Salzburg 1927 - ein Bericht vom Ausbau des alpenländischen Gästeverkehres" by Regierungsrat Hans Hofmann-Montanus (Leiter des Landesverkehrsamtes in Salzburg) in Österreich 1927. p119

resolved. They create a picture which fits into a broader framework, which is determined by this framework ... Grillparzer's words, that to understand the essence of Austria one must look at the country from the Kahlenberg, are not entirely true. One should stand on the Großglockner, at the highest point, so that the horizon reaches almost the boundaries of the whole state. In this wide area opposites and contradictory cultures are reconciled into a single melody. And this melody is the indefinably Austrian.<sup>59</sup>

Reinhalter alludes to a sense of the Austrian mission of reconciliation, quotes an Austrian dramatist, identifies two symbols of Austria, speaks with pride of the Austrian landscape, and draws it together with a musical analogy - five building blocks of Austrian national identity in one quotation.

Austria could cater to everyone, including "the rushed, the window shopper, the city tourist, the rucksack tourist, the art lover, the spa visitor, the summer holiday-maker, the sportsman, the student ..."<sup>60</sup>

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59 Erwin H. Reinalter: "Österreichs Landschaft." in Österreichs illustrierte Fremdenverkehrs und Reise Zeitung. Erscheint monatlich einmal. Wien, Folge 1. November 1933, 1 Jahrgang. p6: Gegensätze der Kulturen, der Landschaft platzen hier aufeinander, versöhnen sich, lösen sich. Sie schaffen ein Bild, das in einen weitläufigen Rahmen eingefügt, durchaus von diesem Rahmen bestimmt wird ... Das Wort Grillparzers, das man vom Kahlenberg das Land überblicken müsse um Österreichs Wesen zu begreifen, ist nicht ganz wahr. Vom Großglockner muß sich die Schau auftun, von höchster Höhe, so daß der Horizont fast bis an die Grenzen des ganzen Staates hinausgerückt wird. In diesem weiten Bezirk werden Gegensätze und widerstreitende Kulturen versöhnt zu einer einzigen Melodie. Und diese Melodie ist das undefinierbar Österreichische.

60 Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten. Österreichische Verkehrsbureau Wien, 1934. "Was bietet Österreich?" (Hereafter cited as Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten.) A similar list can be found in Österreich - Eine Werbeschrift. Österreichischen Credit-Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe. Wien, 1928, pl. The Austrian bank for trade and industry had an active publicity department. The emphasis on

All of these tourists had one thing in common: they "are bound to find in Austria manifold features full of interest, and congenial to their individual nature and outlook on life".<sup>61</sup> There is an interesting emphasis here on the individuality of the tourist, underlining perhaps Austria's openness to different cultures, and which indirectly ascribes the same individuality, and yet versatility, to Austria. In their English guide of 1931, the publicity department of the Austrian Railways also categorised the type of visitors Austria hoped to attract. In so doing, they categorised those elements of Austria they saw as worthy of recognition. For example,

A sightseer mainly interested in cities will have ample opportunity to inspect the collections of sumptuous epochs, to study architectural changes and niceties in the magnificent buildings of various ages, to admire the great monuments of the past, and enjoy the living art of the present day in theatres, concert-halls, modern picture-galleries and exhibitions.<sup>62</sup>

This emphasis on Austria as the recipient of a great cultural heritage is typical. Austria was not resting on its laurels but continuing in the great tradition of the past, remaining an active participant in, or even a leader of, modern movements.

Promoters seemed assured that foreigners would recognise Austria's traditional position at the forefront

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diversity is not unique to Austria - see Geography and National Identity.

61 Austria. A Guide through the most beautiful country traversed by the Austrian Federal Railways. Issued by the Publicity department of the Austrian Railways. Österreichische Verkehrswerbung, Vienna, 1931. (Hereafter cited as Austria. 1931.) p8

62 Austria. 1931. p5

of the arts and sciences. In 1947, Wilhelm Böhm scoffed at those Austrians who had not done so:

Unnoticed by the faint-hearted, who doubted their Fatherland, Austria retained her old position of power in cultural areas. Here we have remained a great power, indeed a world power! To prove this, we need only to point to the Salzburger Festspiele, the Viennese Medical School, or the Austrian school of theoretical economics ...<sup>63</sup>

Similarly, discussing visitors from across the Atlantic, Österreich argued that Austria, and in particular Vienna, were concepts associated with art and songs:

They have heard many beautiful things about Austria; Austria is spoken of frequently whenever somebody returns from their "trip to Europe", in the American view, Austria is the stronghold of the culture termed European, and charm and music and taste are the constant attributes of Austria.<sup>64</sup>

Note the emphasis on foreign opinion, and the manner in which Austrian culture is seen to epitomise European culture. Emphasis on Austria's cultural identity was not always in the context of Greater Germany.

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63 Wilhelm Böhm: Österreich: Erbe und Aufgabe. Österreich Institut, Wien, 1947, p6: *Unbemerkt von den Kleinmütigen, die an ihrem Vaterland verzweifelten, wirkte die alte Machtstellung Österreichs auf kulturellem Gebiet. Hier blieben wir Großmacht, ja Weltmacht! Wir brauchen, um dies zu beweisen, an dieser Stelle unserer Darstellung nur auf die Salzburger Festspiele, auf die Wiener medizinische Schule und auf die österreichische Schule der theoretischen Volkswirtschaftslehre, die Grenznutzen-schule, hinzuweisen.*

64 Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr. No 1 15 VIII-31 VIII, 1929. *Österreich und insbesondere Wien, das sind Begriffe, die auch drüben und gerade drüben mit Kunst und Liedern umworben sind. Von Österreich haben sie so viel Schönes gehört, von Österreich wird so oft gesprochen, wann immer einer von seinem "Europatrip" zurückkehrt, Österreich ist nach amerikanischen Begriffen die Hochburg jener Kultur, die man die europäische nennt, und Charme und Musik und Geschmack sind die ständigen Attribute Österreichs.*

Members of the Austrian tourist industry were advised to provide practical examples of Austria's cultural identity for their guests. Hans von Hortenau, for example, proposed the provision of a small library in each hotel, and of a broad range of newspapers. Even the musical needs of the guests should be catered for, however lowbrow they were:

Now and then one should order good modern operettas, dance and film hits, stamp them with the hotel stamp, and leave them lying on the piano. If one or the other of these should really disappear, the loss is not too great.<sup>65</sup>

One implication of this quotation, that hotels provided pianos for their guests as a matter of course, is perhaps a small indication that Austria's view of itself as a musical nation was not entirely unfounded.

Austria's Habsburg past was obviously a commodity which the tourist industry could exploit. As is argued in The Tourist Gaze, "If the past is a foreign country, nostalgia has made it 'the foreign country with the healthiest tourist trade of all'".<sup>66</sup> Cicely Hamilton found in her travels in the early thirties that the cult of old Vienna was particularly popular. Postcards and prints depicted scenes from the Biedermeier period to Franz Joseph's day. The emphasis was very much on Royalty and the traditions centring around the court, for example, on the daily ceremonies of the changing of the

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65 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke, p26: Man bestelle ab und zu gute moderne Operetten, Tanz und Tonfilmschlager, versehe sie mit dem Hotelstempel und lege sie frei beim Klavier auf. Wenn wirklich ab und zu eines dieser Notenblätter verschwindet, ist der Verlust kein allzu großer.

66 Lowenthal, 1985 quoted in The Tourist Gaze, p1

guard around the imperial palace, or on the "gay old uniforms". Hamilton concludes, "in no other city with which I am acquainted are the life and manners of a bygone age so frequently brought to your notice".<sup>67</sup>

Quaint examples of Austrian traditions also provided visual fodder for the hungry tourist - folk dancing; folk customs including the "Berchtenjäger", the "Perchtlspringer", the "Glöckler"<sup>68</sup>, or the celebration of Krampus and St. Nicholas on the 5th and 6th of December.<sup>69</sup> Trachten clothing (regional costume) was also seen as a symbol of provincial identity standing firm against mass-produced city clothing, a hint at the rift between the capital and the provinces. It was also a tourist attraction:

What foreigners in Austria and particularly in the Alpine regions notice and like are the lovely and unique Trachten, which one still sees today despite the influences of industrialised city clothing production, even if often only on particularly festive occasions.<sup>70</sup>

According to August von Miller zu Aichholz, the period after World War I saw a great revival in interest in Trachten, spurred on by nationalist sentiment. The

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67 Cicely Hamilton: Modern Austria as seen by an Englishwoman, London & Toronto. J.M.Dent & Sons Ltd. 1935. p36

68 Traditional carnival characters.

69 Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten. Österreichische Verkehrsbureau, Wien, 1934. (Hereafter cited as Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten.)

70 "Volkstrachten" in Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten. p70 Was dem Fremden in Österreich und besonders in den Alpengebieten immer wieder auffällt und gefällt, das sind die schönen und einenartigen Trachten, die man trotz allen Einflüssen industrialisierter städtischer Kleidungserzeugung auch heute noch sieht wenn auch oft nur mehr bei besonderen festlichen Gelegenheiten.

setting up of "Trachten-vereinen" (Trachten organisations) which researched into lost designs, contributed greatly, von Miller argued, to Austrian cultural history. A similar revival was concerned with rustic furniture.<sup>71</sup>

Such manifestations of Austrian culture contributed to the image of Austria. Harald Sterk, for example, points out at the first production of Hofmannsthal's "Jedermann" at the Salzburger Festspiele on 22 August, 1920, the celebrated actor Werner Kraus played the Devil wearing *Lederhosen*. To Sterk this marks the transmutation of the Austrian identity into an alpine provincial one. Pastoral idyll and folklore charm were an attractive commodity. City folk adopted regional dress (ironically, with stylistic changes in the name of fashion) when on holiday, creating what Sterk terms "*homo alpinus*".<sup>72</sup> It is interesting to note the durability of this image, which may be familiar to the contemporary reader.

Austrian customs were presented as traditional and yet contemporary. As argued in Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten, for example,

As ancient and manifold as the cultural and settlement history of the Austrian alpine provinces are the plethora of traditions which still play an important rôle in the life of the Austrian people today.<sup>73</sup>

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71 August von Miller zu Aichholz: "Die Wiedererweckung des Trachtenwesens" in Tauriskia, p258

72 Industriekultur in Österreich, p107

73 Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten, p80: *Volksbräuche: Uralt und vielgestaltig wie die Kultur und Besiedlungsgeschichte der österreichischen Alpenländer ist die Fülle alle Bräuche, die auch heute noch im Leben des österreichischen Volkes ihre bedeutende Rolle spielen.*

Like the country, Austria's customs united historicism with modernity. In all their variety, these customs had a common factor:

In their most simple, touching forms as in their crude tomfoolery, in the simplicity of their traditional faith as well as in the hubbub of colourful festivals, they are so rich in intrinsic, often deeply mysterious meaning, that even the stranger, who does not understand them - or not entirely - is nonetheless captivated by their magic ...<sup>74</sup>

Again, the tourist is privileged to share in a mysterious, authentic experience.

While Austria's cultural identity was assumed to be widely acknowledged, its possibilities for sporting activities, on the other hand, had to be introduced to the outside world. Tourism based on sports was still in its infancy.<sup>75</sup> Advertising was very direct: "Austria, four-fifths of which are alpine regions, is the ideal country for hill climbers and walkers of all types" or, more succinctly, "Austria is one big winter-sports terrain".<sup>76</sup> In their diversity, the mountains could provide a location for winter sports such as skiing and

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74 Ibid. *Sie sind in ihren einfachsten, rührendsten Formen wie in ihren derbsten Narrenspossen, in ihrer altglaubigen Schlichtheit wie im Trubel bunter Volksfeste so überreich an innerern, oft tief geheimnisvoller Bedeutung, das auch der Fremde, der sie nicht oder nur unvollkommen versteht, von ihrem Zauber ergriffen wird, wenn er sie sehen und miterleben kann.*

75 Winter sports advertising had begun in 1906. Sporting organisations which had an interest in the tourist industry included the "Österreichischer Auto-Mobil Club", the "Österreichische Schiverband", which was in charge of the official reports on snow conditions for winter sports, and the "Alpenverein".

76 Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten p83: *Österreich, zu vier Fünfteln Alpengebiet, ist das Idealland für Bergsteiger und -wanderer jeder Richtung.*



glacier climbing, as well as summer sports such as walking and climbing.<sup>77</sup> Tourist leaflets were quick to point out that hiking was a national sport and that standards were therefore high:

Hiking in Austria is the communal property of all social groups; hence the high standard of all equipment and facilities and the extensive support given by the state and transport organisations for tourist-traffic.<sup>78</sup>

This quotation illustrates the point made in the introduction to this chapter that geographical terrain affects the leisure activities of its inhabitants, and can bring together disparate nationals. The view of hiking in the above quotation was supported by the existence of active and popular alpine organisations.<sup>79</sup>

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77 Gertrude Sterk: Österreich - Werbeschrift Österreichischer Wintersportplätze und Kurorte. Eigenverlag, Wien, 1936. Survey of Austrian Winter Sport Districts. (Hereafter cited as Österreich - Werbeschrift Österreichischer Wintersportplätze und Kurorte.) p11. The First Republic saw the emergence of tourist seasons, encouraged by the increasing popularity of winter sports, the rising number of spectators, and improvements in means of transport.

78 Österreich, Hauptsehenswürdigkeiten. p84: *Das Bergwandern ist in Österreich Gemeingut aller Volkskreise; daher der hohe Stand aller Einrichtungen und die weitgehende Förderung, die Behörden und Verkehrsunternehmungen dem Touristenverkehr zuteil werden lassen.*

79 The popularity of the "Österreichischer Alpenverein" is evidenced in its membership figures; by the 1930's the Austrian part of the organisation boasted 93,000 members in 107 sections. New organisations were also founded, for example the Österreichische Bergsteigervereinigung in 1921 (7000 members, mainly in Lower Austria). Close links between hiking and tourism had existed from the outset of the Austrian tourist industry. The first Austrian Alpenverein was founded in 1862, many others followed. These organisations took on the task of providing paths and erecting mountain shelters. The first tourist organisation proper, founded in 1879, was linked with an alpine organisation; under the auspices of the Styrian Gebirgsverein a tourism section was formed which set itself the task to foster and

Travel to the mountains was also encouraged by the recognition of the rôle played by alpine air in curing tuberculosis, a disease which thrived particularly in the unfavourable climate of Vienna. Increased medical attention to the effects of industry and commerce on the health of blue and white collar workers encouraged the emphasis on getting away from the unhealthy city into the fresh air.<sup>80</sup> The country was therefore not only an attraction for the fit. Advertising was divided between presenting Austria as the sporting capital of the world, and as its convalescent home:

Others again may come to Austria as patients in search of a cure; the salutary force of famous springs may restore to them their health; to enjoy Alpine air and sunshine they may reside at first-class sanatoria or at simple mountain inns, making their choice among hundreds of suitable resorts ...<sup>81</sup>

Even in the mountains Austria could be a sportsman's paradise without sacrificing its identity as a cultural haven:

The famous resorts are not lonely outposts of culture in an arctic desert; they are the most

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support all undertakings aimed at increasing increase visitors.

80 For example, according to Hans von Hortenau, "*die Lungen und Atmungsorgane der Stadtbewohner, ermüdet und gereizt von Rauch, Staub und bazillengeschwängelter Atmosphäre, finden erquickende Erholung in der würzigen Landluft, die vom künstlichen Licht und der täglichen Arbeit überanstrengten Augen ruhen aus im saftigen Grün der Wälder und Wiesen, die überanstrengten Nerven beruhigen und entspannen sich*". Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke, p32. Ironically the affluent city dweller frequently escaped city pollution by private car.

81 Austria: A guide through the most beautiful country traversed by the Austrian Federal Railways. Issued by the publicity dept of the Austrian Railways Publisher Österreich Verkehrswerbung, Vienna, 1931.

elegant representatives of the large-scale, comprehensive sports organisation of the whole of the Austrian alpine region.<sup>82</sup>

The bare bones of the Alps were proving more useful than foreseen in 1918. The Alps provide an example of how a perceived disadvantage (Austria's alpine character) could be turned into an asset; how individual interests could become national interests; and how catering to the latter could be in the nation's economic interest, a point examined in greater detail in Section II.<sup>83</sup>

Analysis of Austria's unique characteristics was also associated with characterisation of the Austrian people. The desire to lure visitors to travel to or within Austria resulted in the identification of Austrian characteristics which might otherwise have remained unformulated. In tourist literature, the unified landscape was complemented by the Austrians. While intellectuals were busy seeking definitions of "the Austrian individual", tourist propaganda could already define Austrian character. Once again, it is foreigners who provide evidence that the scenic beauty of Austria is complemented by its inhabitants:

The magic of the Austrian landscape is united with the charm of the Austrian people, which has become renowned throughout the world, and which leads to foreigners returning to Austria again and again, to become so fond of Austria that they regard it almost as their second home.<sup>84</sup>

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82 Österreich - Werbeschrift Österreichischer Wintersportplätze und Kurorte. p8

83 I have seen no evidence which would indicate that the provision of hiking trails etc was perceived in any way as a violation of territory.

84 "Österreich - Internationales Fremdenverkehrsland" in Österreich im Ausland. 1 Jhg, Nr 2, 15 März, 1936. *Mit dem Zauber der österreichischen Landschaft*

Welcoming and warm, witty and winsome, the Austrian was the perfect host. Generalisations abound: on "Wiener Gemütlichkeit" (Viennese aplomb) or the "allgemein herrschenden Frohsinn" (general zest for living) of the Austrian. The Austrian was always charming, and disliked formality or stiff reserve. Warm-hearted politeness ruled, epitomised by "Küß die Hand" - the hand-kiss - the perfect greeting for a lady. Indeed, the Austrian maiden had much to offer tourism, as the magazine Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr argued in a brief article on beautiful women:

The pride of every country is its beautiful women. We Austrians have all reason to be proud: the outside world knows the reputation of our women, who uniquely unite beauty, race and charm.

Send us pictures of beautiful women, help us to enliven our paper with them, and bring beauty to foreign countries, who have already heard so much about Austrian women.<sup>85</sup>

At least in terms of the beauty of their country's inhabitants, Austrians could be proud of their nationality. As seen, Österreich was planned as a fortnightly publication in which foreigners would be invited to discuss Austria, its values and basic nature

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aber verbindet sich der in der Welt sprichwörtlich gewordene Charme des österreichischen Menschen, der die Fremden veranlaßt Österreich immer wieder aufzusuchen und es fast als zweite Heimat ins Herz zu schließen.

85 Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr. No 4, 1-15, 1929. Schöne Frauen: Der Stolz jedes Landes sind schöne Frauen. Wir Österreicher haben Ursache stolz zu sein: Das Ausland kennt den Ruf unserer Frauen, die Schönheit, Rasse und Charm unvergleichlich in sich vereinen. Sendet uns Bilder schöner Frauen, helfet mit, unser Blatt mit ihnen zu beleben, und Schönheit mit hinauszutragen in fremde Länder, die schon so viel von der Österreicherin gehört haben.

("Werte und Wesen"). Despite gracing its first cover with "Miss Austria/Miss Universe", however, Österreich had to be discontinued after two issues.

In summary, what does the tourist industry tell us about Austrian self-perception? In contrast to its interpretation in economic debates, in the sphere of tourism, Austrian territory, and the Austrian people, are seen as both beautiful and valuable. Natural assets are exploited, indigenous features identified to attract the tourist. Tourist publications appear confident that what Austria has to offer in terms of culture is broadly recognised at home and abroad. Austria is presented as a country rich in tradition, but capable of modernity where necessary, in terms of infrastructure for example.<sup>86</sup> This claim is not unsubstantiated: consider, for example, the exploitation of the increasing popularity of sports. Great emphasis is placed on Austria's rural, alpine nature. Provincial identities appear secure, but Austria is also promoted as a unified country, with blatant disregard for the actual political situation.

Above all, tourism proved that it was possible to identify an Austrian identity, of which its inhabitants could be proud. This identity was composed of features equally important to national identity - a sense of

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86 The Tyrol experienced a distinct winter season, largely thanks to the development of the first method of alpine skiing (the *Arlberger Methode*, developed by Hannes Schneider) and the building of the first cable cars. The first cable car was opened in 1926 (the *Zugspitzenseilbahn*), followed in 1928 by the *Hahnenkammseilbahn* in Kitzbühl, the *Patscherkofelseilbahn* in Igels and the *Nordkettenseilbahn* in Innsbruck.

territory, a cultural identity, a national character, an awareness that constituent elements were nonetheless part of a whole. The next question was whether there was any economic evidence for the success of this construction.

## II. Financial Incentive

This section examines the impact of tourism on the economy before analysing in greater depth the financial issues involved in domestic and foreign tourism. It considers the effects of the prospects of material gain on the construction of national images.

The need to sell Austria as a product meant that a positive stance on the Austrian nation was consistently taken in the tourist industry. An advertisement in a 1934 tourist propaganda magazine made a clear link between selling the homeland and loving it:

We advertise for Austrian tourism, industry and trade abroad and at home.  
He who loves his home country will join us prepared to help!<sup>87</sup>

A successful tourist industry could provide practical, economic evidence to its inhabitants that Austria was an attractive country, worthy of the expenditure of time and money, thus fostering Austrian self-confidence.

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87 Advertisement by the Österreichischen Propagandadienst, Central Office, Vienna in Österreich - Austria in Wort und Bild (Österreichische Propaganda Dienst für Fremdenverkehr). III Hauptaufgabe; Österreichische Sommerfrischler. 1934. Note the slight change in title from the earlier edition (footnote 38): "Wir werben für Österreichs Fremdenverkehr, Industrie, u. Handel im In und Ausland. Wer seine Heimat liebt, schließt sich hilfsbereit an!"

What is the economic impact of the tourist? By definition, the tourist is a pure consumer within the destination visited. The economic impact of a tourist consists not only of what the tourist buys, but also of what activities s/he undertakes and which services are used.<sup>88</sup> The manner in which tourist expenditure increases the income of the destination by an amount greater than itself is known as the multiplier concept. It arises as accommodation and food providers, local transport operators and others receive income from visitors, wages, suppliers' bills, rents and rates. In turn, employees spend their wages, suppliers pay their employees' wages, landlords and other recipients spend their income.<sup>89</sup> Thus it is not only those who are directly involved in the tourist trade who benefit financially. The tourist industry can provide the resident population with income, jobs and amenities.

There was some disagreement in the First Republic about the economic consequences of domestic tourism. Domestic tourism in the interwar period in Austria was characterised by the relatively brief duration of stay (between 5 and 9 days, slightly longer in the east of Austria, particularly in Vienna). Winter holidays were shorter still. Foreign tourists spent slightly longer

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88 Tourism: Past, Present, Future. p48

89 How large the multiplier is depends on how much of the original income is respent at each stage, i.e. not saved, and on leakages which occur through money leaving the economy through import purchases. For example, money spent by a tourist on imported goods increases domestic income by very little.

periods in both seasons.<sup>90</sup> Hans von Hortenau quoted an article in which domestic tourism is likened to a person who takes money out of his right pocket and places it in his left, without having made a penny.<sup>91</sup> However, Hortenau denounced the comparison as an understatement of the contribution domestic tourism made to the redistribution of wealth in the economy (upon which a country's prosperity was seen to depend), an argument supported by the school book author Richard Marek:

A small national migration takes place annually between town and country; as yet, exact figures are lacking, but it must be at least a million people who are attracted to the natural beauty of the alps nature in the summer, and with them, money travels into the remotest alpine farmyard.<sup>92</sup>

It was widely recognised that the sport industry played an important rôle in encouraging tourism within Austria:

for example, skiing in the alpine provinces, which in winter creates a veritable migration to our alpine provinces, this naturally has excellent economic consequences for these areas.<sup>93</sup>

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90 See - Beiträge zur Handels- und Verkehrsgeschichte Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Band 3. Institut für Geschichte der Univ. Graz. Graz, 1978.

91 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke, p27

92 Richard Marek; Max Kullsch; Heinrich Montak; Lehrbuch der Geographie, Bürgerkunde und Geschichte für die oberste Klasse der Mittelschulen. Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, Wien, 1924. p94 Eine kleine Völkerwanderung vollzieht sich alljährlich zwischen Stadt und Land; noch ist ihre Stärke nicht einwandfrei in Ziffern auszudrücken, aber eine Million Menschen sind es gewiß, die in einem Sommer die Schönheit der Alpennatur anzieht, und mit ihnen wandert das Geld bis in das letzte Gebirgshof.

93 Josef Klettlinger; "Sport in Österreich" in Erich Braunveller - Tannbrunn; Taurinika; die Entstehungsgeschichte der österreichischen Alpenländer. Andre Hofer, Parach bei Salzburg, 1931. (Hereafter cited as Taurinika) "wie zu das Ski-laufen in den Alpenländern, das zur Winterszeit eine wahre



Modern analysts confirm that "the flow of money generated by tourist expenditure finds its way into the overall economy of the tourist destination, as the money is turned over and re-spent".<sup>94</sup>

A 1936 definition of domestic tourism implies a further consequence for the economy:

[domestic tourism is] the double consumerism created by the temporary change of location within the home country (particularly place of residence), consummation of traffic services, and the fulfilment of the increased needs and desires created by such travel.<sup>95</sup>

Tourists tend to spend at a higher rate than they would at home. It is obviously in a country's economic interest to keep such double consumerism within its own borders. In Austria's case this was particularly relevant because Austrians travelling abroad encouraged the problematic foreign currency deficit. As the pro-Anschluß Österreichische=Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs= und Reisezeitung pointed out, in 1926 70,000 Austrians went to France during their summer holidays, a destination described as "the country of the currency of the Franc". According to the Reisezeitung, this was not only

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*Völkerwanderung nach unseren Bergländern hervorruft, was sich natürlich in wirtschaftlicher Beziehung für diese Gebiete vorzüglich auswirkt".* Provincial winter tourism depended almost entirely on sports, attracting visitors as participants, but also as spectators at sporting events. Summer sports on offer in Austria included watersports, hiking, hunting and fishing.

94 Tourism: Past, Present, Future. p60

95 Definition given in Dr. Erwin von Naswetter (Direktor der Österreichischen Verkehrswerbung): Die Zukunft des Österreichischen Fremdenverkehrs. Sonderabdruck Wiener Wirtschaftswoche. Wien, 1936, p2. (Hereafter cited as Die Zukunft des Österreichischen Fremdenverkehrs.)

economically unfavourable because of the loss of trade in Austrian summer resorts, but also because Austrian currency thus went abroad. Assuming each tourist spent about 500 schillings on his holiday, Austrians had given France 350 thousand million Kronen. And to add insult to injury, the article concluded, the French were not even grateful for this foreign influx.<sup>96</sup> The tone of the article implies that travelling to France (often identified as the enemy owing to its association with the Treaty of St. Germain) is paramount to being a traitor.

The state also hoped to encourage domestic travel over foreign. In a cabinet meeting of 25 May, 1934, the hope was expressed that all civil servants would spend their holidays at home [i.e. in Austria], unless there were exceptional circumstances (health reasons for example). According to official sources, in 1934 Austrians spent 57 million Austrian schillings abroad, while foreigners spent 144 million schillings in Austria (assuming a daily expenditure of 33 schillings). When this latter figure is added to the 7.5 million schillings spent by foreign students, there is a balance of 94.5 million schillings in Austria's favour.<sup>97</sup> It was obviously in Austria's interest to widen this gap.

The issue of balance of payments is more apparent in the case of foreign tourism. Foreign tourism was

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96 Österreichisch=Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs= und Reisezeitung, 1926

97 Gustav Otruba; "Die grosse Wandlung im Österreichischen Fremdenverkehr als Folge der Tausend-Mark-Sperre." in Beiträge zur Handels und Verkehrsgeschichte, p190

defined in one tourist manual of 1937 as the "peaceful entry of foreigners to consume domestic services and products".<sup>98</sup> The economic impact of foreign tourism is more easily measured because most statistical measurement was predominantly concerned with foreign tourism. Tourism was one of the few areas which offered the prospect of substantial foreign currency earnings. The income from foreign exchange fluctuated between 144.7 million schillings (at its nadir in 1934) to 307.7 million schillings (its zenith in 1928).<sup>99</sup> In 1935, 6.83 million overnight stays by foreigners were recorded, which brought in 250 million schillings: the first time income from tourism could cover the unfavourable balance of trade (231 million schillings in 1935).<sup>100</sup> The tourist industry thus played a vital part in the Austrian economy by permitting a favourable balance of trade.

The fact that the state recognised the economic importance of the tourist industry is indicated not only by the existence of state institutions responsible for sponsoring tourism, but also in the law of 8 June, 1935 enacted to protect the tourist industry, and aimed specifically at deterring terrorist activities by National Socialists.<sup>101</sup> The law decreed that anybody who

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98 As will be seen, however, not all so-called "tourists" entered Austria with peaceful intentions.

99 Contrasted to foreign exchange expenditure ranging between 47,7 million schillings (1928) to 74 million schillings in 1937. Unpublished chronology of Austrian tourism.

100 Ibid.

101 The constitution of 1 May 1934 declared that promotion of provincial tourism, and coordination between local tourist organisations was the responsibility of the relevant provincial capital.

deliberately damaged or endangered tourism on a Federal, regional, or local level could be punished by fines of up to 2,000 schillings and/or arrests up to six months.<sup>102</sup>

A healthy economy, however, cannot depend for its prosperity on a single industry. On the one hand, domestic and foreign tourism within Austria (measured in statistics by the number of overnight stays<sup>103</sup>) rose steadily until 1933. In 1931 a record number of overnight stays was recorded: 9,362,500 by foreigners, 11,221,500 by domestic visitors, giving a total of 20,584,000

The constitution also declared that the fostering of the tourist trade, in so far as it related to the entire Federal area, was a matter for Federal Government (Article 34, No 9). The resultant *Österreichischen Verkehrswerbung Werbedienst des Bundesministeriums für Handel und Verkehr* (set up by the law of 9 October, 1934) was the most centralised the industry became, a consequence of the recognition that increasingly threatening developments would have a negative impact on Austrian tourism unless the state could exercise some control over the industry, an attitude in accordance with the authoritarian principles of the Corporate State, as Gustav Otruba points out. (Gustav Otruba; "Die grosse Wandlung im Österreichischen Fremdenverkehr als Folge der Tausend-Mark-Sperre." in Beiträge zur Handels und Verkehrsgeschichte. Grazer Forschungen zur Wirtschafts und Sozialgeschichte Band 3. Graz 1978. (Hereafter cited as Beiträge zur Handels und Verkehrsgeschichte) The Austrian *Verkehrswerbung* was liquidated after the Anschluß.

102 In the cabinet meeting of 30 October 1934, Buresch argued that the acts of terrorism by National Socialists and the events of July had led to a drop in income from tourism from the predicted 200 million to 100 million. Terrorist activities continued.

103 There are some problems with tourist statistics in the interwar period. Gustav Otruba, for example, points out that the growth of recognised tourist sites from 811 (1933) to 1993 (1934) to 2140 (1937) is dubious. In 1933 only those locations which registered over 500 foreign visitors and over 3000 overnight stays had been counted. Gustav Otruba in Beiträge zur Handels und Verkehrsgeschichte.

tourists (compared with 9,681,900 in 1923).<sup>104</sup> However, this success could not be sustained. From 1932, the industry was badly hit by the depression; most European countries brought in foreign currency laws (*Devisenbewirtschaftung*). The expansion of the tourist industry became a matter of state concern. After 1933 there was an increase in tourist publications and an increased interest in providing innovative holidays to promote Austria.<sup>105</sup> Their effect would be limited. In May 1933, a 1,000 mark tax on German travellers to Austria was introduced as a way of exerting pressure on Austria to toe the German line. Combined with the effects of the depression, the tax led to a massive drop in visitors to the country. In 1934 only 4,384,300 overnight stays were recorded, the nadir of the industry. The proportion of German visitors to Austria fell from 32.2% in 1932, to 1.7% in the summer of 1934 (dropping

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104 Unpublished chronology of Austrian tourism.

105 State intervention took several forms: the industry featured in economic agreements between states, for example, where quotas of goods were compensated with tourist quotas. Further state support for the industry involved financial aid for measures which would foster the tourist trade (hotel building, investments); a simplification of relevant laws (on registration, bilateral agreements on visa laws); price controls; improvement of infrastructure and transport possibilities (electrification of the railways west of Salzburg, building cable cars); creation of specific tourist events such as the Salzburger Festspiele and the Wiener Festwochen; laws intended to protect spas, landscapes and sites of national interest; publication of tourist information; education of the population on the importance of tourism to Austria; collating and improving tourist statistics; cooperation between ministries to foster tourist trade. See Paul Bernecker's article "Die Entwicklung des Fremdenverkehrs in Österreich", Österreich - 50 Jahre Republik, p242

from 4 million overnight stays in 1931/2 to just over 900,000 in 1935/6).<sup>106</sup> The 1000 mark Barrier underlined the necessity for Austrian tourism to broaden its basis of appeal and to strive for an international market; it proved possible to make up the deficit by encouraging domestic tourism, and by attracting other Western European and American visitors. However, although the *Österreichische Werbung* succeeded in attracting sufficient trade to make up this drop, and even managed to raise the figure of overnight stays,<sup>107</sup> the statistics mask the fact that it was difficult to attract the new travellers to areas left destitute by the absence of German hikers - particularly small mountain villages, reliant on passing climbers.<sup>108</sup> For non-industrial areas with few resources other than climatic and scenic attractions, tourism was a rare source of employment, and one for which it was difficult to find an alternative.

The 1000 mark Barrier was officially discontinued after the July agreement between Austria and Germany in 1936, when restrictions on travel between the two countries were lifted, and currency relations settled. In his study on the impact of the July agreement on

106 For details on the 1000 mark tax see Gustav Otruba; "Die grosse Wandlung im Österreichischen Fremdenverkehr als Folge der Tausend-Mark-Sperre." in Beiträge zur Handels und Verkehrsgeschichte.

107 Across Austria, over the same period the percentage of tourists from Western European states grew from 4.8% to 12.4% (Czechoslovakia 7.7%, Hungary 4.2%, England 3%, France and Italy both 2.1%, and Switzerland and Liechtenstein both 1.9%). Ibid.

108 This goes some way towards explaining the hope expressed in tourist vehicles after the 1938 Anschluß that the new extended borders would provide a major boost to the domestic tourist industry.

Austrian tourism, Gustav Otruba points out that the perceived drawing together of the two countries cost Austria the goodwill of many of their newly won Western European visitors.<sup>109</sup> Certainly, the figures of foreign overnight stays never reached even their 1928 level after 1934 (although domestic visits helped make up the drop). The agreement failed to bring as much of an improvement as hoped; Otruba quotes statistics showing that, following the agreement, as many, if not more, Austrians travelled to Germany as Germans came to Austria. Despite all these problems, however, in 1937, the record number of 20.6 million overnight stays was recorded, 33% from abroad,<sup>110</sup> providing clear evidence that this remained a vital area for Austrian economic prosperity.

Domestic tourism had the advantage over foreign tourism that it was less dependent on foreign political situations and provided one rare area over which Austrians could exercise some control:

[domestic tourism] is part of our own economy, it can be influenced by its own people and by its own leadership; it is therefore a factor which can be counted on quite differently from foreign tourism, which depends upon a thousand variables, over which we have no influence.<sup>111</sup>

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109 Gustav Otruba: "Die Folgen des Juliabkommens 1936 für Österreichs Fremdenverkehr" in Politik und Gesellschaft im alten und neuen Österreich. Festschrift für Rudolf Neck zum 60. Geburtstag. Verlag für Geschichte und Politik. Wien, 1981. Hereafter cited as Politik und Gesellschaft im alten und neuen Österreich.

110 For the purpose of comparison, in 1966 64.4 million overnight stays were recorded. In 1937, 33% was constituted by foreign tourists, in 1966, 71%. Paul Bernecker in Österreich - 50 Jahre Republik, p246

111 Fremdenverkehr No 3 Wien am 31 März 1938 Jahrgang 11: "Morgenrot für Österreichs Fremdenverkehr" *Er ist ein Stück unserer eigenen Wirtschaft, er kann*

The Corporate State, for example, offered an extra week holiday to those civil servants who took their holidays in the areas most badly affected by the 1000 mark barrier. Statistics show that between 1934 and 1935, domestic tourism rose from 11,516,000 to 13,662,000 overnight stays, which played a major part in compensating for the dramatic drop in German visitors. However, even domestic tourism could not remain untouched by world events, as was shown by the impact of the depression outlined above.

To ensure the continued custom of foreign nationals, the reasons why they were attracted to Austria needed to be identified and exploited. One tourist publication explained that the guests from England were interested in art history and constitutional questions; visitors from Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland often sought medical advice in Austria, and spent time in sanatoria and spas; Americans were particularly interested in historical matters, in national dress, and were attracted by diverse sporting activities (skiing, sailing, climbing, hunting, fishing). Tourists are rarely perceived as individuals, but are categorised in stereotypes by receiving populations. Attributions of foreign corporate identities will have implications for awareness of

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*unmittelbar vom eigenen Volke und von der eigenen Führung beeinflusst werden; er ist daher ein Faktor, mit dem ganz anders gerechnet werden kann als mit dem Auslandsverkehr, der von tausenderlei Umständen abhängt, auf die wir keinerlei Einfluß nehmen können.*



domestic corporate identity, an observation explored in the following section.

There were sound economic reasons for studying foreign tastes:

The function of every foreigner as a "willing advertisement" should not be underestimated. The foreigner who is happy in a country, and whose wishes and interests have been satisfied there, is happy to speak of his visit, and through this individual propaganda encourages his fellow nationals to visit.<sup>112</sup>

The epitome of foreign business acumen was believed to be found in Americans, and in an article entitled "Mr Brooks in Austria", it was in an American's mouth that the advice on how to market Austria was placed. The article was written in a mixture of English and German, and is left in the original here:

Look here, ich habe für meine business in Vienna freigemacht eine Woche - and jetzt ich bin 14 days hier. My business is finished, aber ich bleibe noch eine Woch, weil ich bin sehr happy zu sein in Austria. Austria is very nice! Ja, sehr schön, nur schlecht verkauft! Wenn ich habe eine sehr schöne Ware und niemand weiß das, dann kann niemand meine sehr schöne Ware kaufen. I muß das sagen zu sehr viele Menschen, daß ich hab eine sehr schöne Ware und sie sollen kaufen.<sup>113</sup>

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112 Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr. p59: Die Funktion jedes fremden als "freiwillige Reklame" ist nicht zu unterschätzen. Der Fremde, der sich in einem Lande wohl fühlt und auch seine Wünsche und Interessen befriedigt gefunden hat, erzählt gern von diesem Aufenthalt und veranlaßt durch diese individuelle Propaganda wieder andere Landsleute zum Besuch.

113 Österreich: Halbmonatschrift für Reise, Sport und Fremdenverkehr. No 4, 1-15 1929. Look here, I allocated a week for my business in Vienna - but now I've been here for fourteen days. My business is finished, but I am going to stay another week, because I am very happy to be in Austria. Austria is very nice! Yes, very nice, but badly sold! If I have a very nice product and nobody knows it, then nobody can buy my lovely product. I have to tell a

The message is very simple: Austria is a product, Austria must be sold as a product; knowledge of the product must be widely disseminated. Business travellers were particularly important to target as the initial challenge to get them to come into the country had already been overcome; the task was to ensure that they stayed beyond their business requirements.

According to the fictional Mr Brooks, if Austria could advertise itself adequately, riches would flow in:

Ich habe gesehen die Austrian Alps - das ist eine sehr schöne Ware - und viele - Wassern - ja, Seen, das ist auch eine sehr schöne Ware, aber ich habe früher nicht gewußt, daß da ist alles so allright. Well, diese amusement in the Alps and in Eure Wien ist mir wert 1000 Dollars, also ich bleibe länger als eine Woch.<sup>114</sup>

In this article an Austrian uses an American mouthpiece to argue that Austria is both very beautiful and very badly sold. The Alps, elsewhere associated with incomparable majesty and beauty, are reduced to their financial value. Austrian features are commodities (*Waren*); not only culture but the physical fabric of the nation can be turned into a commodity. Such arguments seemed more legitimate if placed in the mouth of a foreigner, particularly one who could provide vital foreign exchange in large amounts. In our fictional American's case, for example, the Alps and Vienna are

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lot of people that I have a nice product and that they should buy it.

114 Ibid. I saw the Austrian Alps - that is a very nice product - and many - waters - , yes, lakes, they are also a nice product, but I hadn't known that everything here is so all right. Well, this amusement in the Alps and your Vienna is worth 1000\$ to me, so I'm going to stay longer than a week.

seen as being worth 1000 dollars of Mr Brooks' money, and a week if not two of his time.

Foreign examples of how to market Austria's charms were frequently provided by its neutral neighbour. A 1926 school book presented a familiar catalogue of Austrian charms, and added a telling comparison:

With its scenic appeal, its opportunities for mountaineering, automobile tours, and all kinds of winter sports, with its lakes, rivers, spas and health resorts, its well developed transport system and especially with its capital Vienna, which is distinguished by its charming sites, with beautiful buildings, artistic and scientific collections, and its cultivation of the theatre and music - Austria has a vocation to direct tourism in and around its area. Like Switzerland, Austria can draw great benefit from its tourism.<sup>115</sup>

As in economics in general, Switzerland provided a practical example of how a small, mountainous country could promote itself successfully.

The image of Austria which was promoted was coloured by the desire to profit financially. The fact that the image was constructed need not necessarily undermine its contribution to the imagined nation, itself a construct. Traits strongly identified with Austrian identity were

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115 Karl Goll: Die Republik Österreich - Ein Behelf für den Unterricht in der Vaterlandskunde Österreichischer Bundesverlag. Wien, 1926. p83: Österreich ist mit seinen landschaftlichen Reizen, seinen Gelegenheiten zu Hochtouren, Automobiltouren und zu aller Art Wintersport, seinen Seen, Flüssen, Bade und Kurorten, seinem gut entwickelten Verkehrswesen und vor allem seiner Hauptstadt Wien, die durch die Anmut ihrer Lage, die Schönheit ihrer Bauten, ihre künstlerischen und wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen, ihre Theater und ihre Musikpflege hervorragt, berufen, den Fremdenverkehr in und über sein Gebiet zu lenken. Gleich der Schweiz kann Österreich aus dem Fremdenverkehr großen Nutzen ziehen.

emphasised for their financial potential. Both its cultural identity and its alpine identity could be presented from this viewpoint. As Fritz Rodeck argued in his article on Vienna as a city of culture,

There are three things, which no one will ever be able to deny the Viennese operetta: that there is, as yet, nothing comparable elsewhere, that it is still, even from the purely musical point of view, much better than its reputation, and that over the last few decades it has developed into an article for export such tremendous commercial significance that the layman cannot possibly estimate its magnitude.<sup>116</sup>

Austrian culture could be of a high standard, and as a fortunate by-product still generate money. Indeed, the fact that it could generate money could be used in evidence that it was of high quality, an argument of somewhat dubious logic.

Recreation was never far from economic profit in the tourist industry. As an excerpt from a speech given to the "Alpenverein" by Dr. Buresch, a cabinet minister, in 1931 shows, sporting activities were recognised by the state as benefitting Austria in many ways:

The fostering of mountain sports means a great deal also for the physical and psychological training (toughening up) of our people. As far as the economic benefits are concerned, I do not claim too much if I say that since its conception the Alpenverein has made a unique

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116 "Wien als Kunststadt" by Dr. Fritz Rodeck in Österreich, 1927. p23: *Drei Dinge aber wird der Wiener Operette niemand streitig machen können: Daß es anderwärts etwas Gleichwertiges heute jedenfalls noch nicht gibt, das sie - auch rein musikalisch - noch immer weit besser ist als ihr Ruf und - daß sie sich in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu einem Exportartikel entwickelt hat, dessen ungeheure kommerzielle Bedeutung der in die einschlägigen Verhältnisse nicht Eingeweihte gar nicht abzuschätzen vermag.*

contribution to Austrian tourism, effective, and costing public administration nothing whatsoever. What great benefits, both direct and indirect, the Alpenverein has brought to our economy, and to those alpine inhabitants who have to struggle so hard for their living! The rich spiritual stimulus given to the alpine people by the lively tourist industry must also not be forgotten! <sup>117</sup>

The implication was that financial gain could be a by-product of existing features. However the measures adopted by Austrians to attract tourists and their money were also criticised as fake. Karl Kraus objected strongly to the "quaintness" of the Austrian language. It was designed, he felt, to attract tourists and propagate the myth of Austrian *Gemütlichkeit* (laid-backness); for example, through the use of vague phrases such as the famous "*sich durchwursteln*" (to muddle through); and the Austrian tendency to use diminutives - where *Mädel* become *Maderln* and *Buben* become *Buberln* - which again contributed to the picture of *Gemütlichkeit*.

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117 Theodor Brieger: Wie Werben Wir? Das 1 x 1 der Fremdenverkehrspropaganda. Eigenverlag - 1936 (Hereafter cited as Wie Werben Wir?) (Aus der Rede des Minister Dr. Buresch in der Hauptversammlung des d. u. Österreich Alpenvereines zu Baden, 1931.), p207: *Viel bedeutet die Pflege des Bergsportes auch für die körperliche und seelische Ertüchtigung unseres Volkes. Was aber wirtschaftliche Vorteile betrifft, so behaupte ich wohl nicht zu viel, wenn ich feststelle, daß der Alpenverein seit seinem Bestehen für Österreich eine Fremdenwerbung einzig dastehender Art leistet, die unvergleichlich wirkungsvoll ist und außerdem unsere öffentliche Verwaltung keinen Groschen kostet. Welchen Gewinn haben durch den Alpenverein teils mittelbar, teils unmittelbar, unsere Wirtschaft und namentlich unsere um ihren Lebensunterhalt schwer kämpfenden Bergbewohner gezogen! Unvergessen soll auch die Fülle geistiger Anregungen sein, die der rege Touristen-verkehr dem Alpenvolk gegeben hat.*

Kraus also denounced the Salzburger Festspiele as a combination of "cult, culture and commerce".<sup>118</sup>

The negative consequences for indigenous cultures when elements are adopted as tourist attractions have been documented. Tourism can be seen as encouraging the preservation of heritage, but it can also be accused of commercialisation (termed "commoditisation of culture"). Davydyd J. Greenwood, for example, argues that tourism turns culture into a commodity which is then packaged and sold to tourists, with the result that local culture is destroyed.<sup>119</sup> Robert Wood has characterised this approach to tourism in terms of its positive and negative effects on culture as the "billiard ball model", in which a static sphere (culture) is hit by a mobile one (tourism).<sup>120</sup> In the study of national identity, it becomes clear that adaptations made to the tourist industry cannot be seen as extraneous to culture, which is constantly fluid and developing (rather than static) in any case.<sup>121</sup> Tourism is not simply an exogenous

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118 Manfred Schneider: "Was heißt und zu welchem Ende wird man Satiriker? Karl Kraus als Repräsentant und Kritiker der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft im Kaiserreich und in der Ersten Republik" in Das geistige Leben Wiens, p255

119 See Davydyd J. Greenwood: "Culture by the Pound: An anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization" in Valerie L. Smith (ed): Hosts and Guests: the Anthropology of Tourism. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1989. See criticisms of Greenwood's theories in David Wilson's article "Time and Tides in the Anthropology of Tourism" in Tourism in South-East Asia, p8.

120 Robert Wood (1980) quoted *ibid*.

121 There are parallels between "touristic culture" (a phrase coined by Michel Picard), which describes the culture which is modified to tourism, and Hobsbawm and Ranger's idea of the "invented tradition". However tradition and culture at any point in space

force. Crick points out that there is a sense in which all cultures are "staged" and are in a certain sense inauthentic: "cultures are invented, remade and the elements reorganized".<sup>122</sup> This is a constant process, at times deliberate, at times unconscious. Tourism is but one of the contributing factors.

The incentive of financial gain could have positive consequences for Austrian national identity. Most obviously, tourism could provide evidence that the country was viable. In addition to being a source of income and employment, attempts made to foster the tourist industry in order to increase revenue could also have positive consequences for the indigenous population, improving facilities and infrastructure available to visitors and inhabitants alike (this is examined in Section IV below).

The financial incentive also encourages a fostering of those elements of a nation that sell. The latter are frequently those peculiar to it, which are also those elements which underpin a country's unique national identity. For example, there can be close ties between tourism and *Heimatspflege*. *Heimatspflege* is the preservation of the beauty and individuality of human settlements, landscapes and traditions. What is tradition to one country and often taken for granted, is

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and time are in the process of being created, and being constructed, by any amount of input. See, for example, Robert E. Wood in "Tourism, culture and the sociology of development" in Tourism in South-East Asia, p58

122 Crick quoted in The Tourist Gaze, p9

a new experience for nationals of another country who seek to discover that which *Heimatspflege* seeks to preserve. In an article on the relationship between *Heimatspflege* and tourism, Dr K Giannoni pointed out that a single object of interest (an outdoor sculpture, for example) can be enough to draw tourists to an otherwise unprepossessing area. Because *Heimatspflege* identifies and publicises such objects it can serve to attract tourists.<sup>123</sup> Conversely, because identification can attract tourism, the desire to attract tourists can also lead to identification, thus increasing the knowledge of the homeland which can underpin national identity.

*Heimatspflege* did not only involve offering quaint examples of Austrianness such as folk dancing in traditional dress, although this was also an element. As seen, the Austrian idea of the *Heimat* was closely associated with the Alps. By recognising the economic and the scenic value of its landscape, early steps towards nature conservation were taken, and nature reserves and national environmental protection agencies expanded - in 1924, for example, Lower Austria had the first law for the protection of the environment to ensure the survival of the province's flora and fauna. The Austrian *Naturschutzbund* (nature protection league), which was divided into specific areas of interest, such as the branch "*Wienerwaldschutz*" designed to protect the

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123 Dr K. Giannoni: "*Heimatspflege und Fremdenverkehr*" in *Tauriskia*, p108



countryside in the areas around Vienna, provides a further example.

It was recognised that the age of the masses and the motor had dawned and that their impact would not be strictly positive. In 1936, Dr Erwin von Naswetter, emphasised that the idyllic peace of some areas of Austria would be shattered if too many tourists were permitted to seek it.<sup>124</sup> This was not an argument against tourism, but in favour of considered tourist strategies. If Austrian scenery was to continue to deserve to be praised as amongst the most beautiful in the world, the consequences had to be considered:

The question is also justified, if we do not have the duty, at least towards foreigners, to protect the landscape around Vienna from being deformed or dirtied, landscape which we have praised throughout the whole world as incomparably beautiful. Foreigners associate the names Beethoven, Schubert, Raimund with the term "Vienna Woods". What will they think of their descendants if the latter leave behind unpleasant traces?<sup>125</sup>

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124 Die Zukunft des österreichischen Fremdenverkehrs, p2  
Naswetter also pointed out that the speed of travel had risen by 100% within five years.

The issue of crowding is a consistent problem in tourism. Geographical space is a limited resource; as Mishann argues "What a few may enjoy in freedom, the crowd necessarily destroys for itself." Quoted in The Tourist Gaze, p42. This criticism arises most often, as here, with reference to the countryside, where the "romantic" ideal of enjoyment (involved in the early emergence of mass tourism) is based on solitude, privacy, and a quasi spiritual communion with nature. Other tourist attractions require a multitude - a city, for example. For further discussion of these matters see The Tourist Gaze.

125 "Naturschutz und Fremdenverkehr" in Der Fremdenverkehr 1 November, 1930 Number 1. Jhg III. p4: *Auch ist dann doch die Frage berechtigt, ob wir nicht zumindest den Ausländern gegenüber die Pflicht haben, Landschaft um Wien von Entstellung und Besudelung zu schützen die wir ihnen in der ganzen Welt als unvergleichlich schön angepriesen*

If Austrians would not take care of their country for their own sake, they might be persuaded to do so in order to gain approbation and income from the outside world.

The economic impact of tourism was not entirely understood although it is apparent that the financial importance of tourism was recognised by the State. As much of the argument on whether Austria was a nation rested on the question of its viability, a successful tourist industry was a key financial asset which could enable the nation to exist. In a country adapting to new circumstances and re-examining its identity, the Austrian tourist industry offered an economic incentive to construct a national identity. The fact that the national identity encouraged by tourism was often based on superficialities, or on faked or one-sided distortions, makes it little different from any identity construct. In these matters, there is no consistent truth in the first place.

### III. Communication Networks

The physical make-up of a country will obviously have a great effect on the relationships between its component areas, and between it and the outside world. For example, antagonism towards Vienna was encouraged by the city's eastern location: the capital was criticised for not being central. In terms of tourism, theoretically, the capital city should be in the best

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*haben. Die Ausländer verbinden mit dem Begriff "Wienerwald" die Namen Beethoven, Schubert, Raimund. Bemögen sie sich wohl über deren Nachfahren denken, wenn sie ihren unerfreulichen Spuren nachgehen!*

position to fulfil the three criteria which determine the importance of any tourist destination: attractions<sup>126</sup>, accessibility and amenities.<sup>127</sup> However Vienna's position was not ideal; it was a fair distance from the other major European cities (400 km from Munich, 1,300 km from Paris and 1,600 km from London). Vienna's slightly offside position meant that it was not included in many major foreign organisations of Air Inclusive Tours (Amexco, Globus) which linked London, Paris and Rome, and only included Vienna noticeably later.<sup>128</sup>

Austria's mountainous character placed natural obstacles in the way of transport networks. Infrastructure plays a vital rôle in permitting contact between different areas of a country, providing a basis for communication and a sense of unity.<sup>129</sup> However, the dissolution of the monarchy had resulted in the dissolution of its infrastructure. Austria lost 75% of her rail network (but retained 34% of rail employees) and retained one-fifth of the road network. Traffic links

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126 "The attractions may be site attractions (for example, climatic, scenic, historical), or event attractions (for example, congresses, exhibitions and sporting events), both of which exercise a gravitational influence on non-residents." Tourism: Past, Present and Future, p46

127 Ibid.

128 Klaus Arnold in Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur und Geographie. 22 Jhg Jänner-Feber 1978 Heft 1.

129 Tourism: Past, Present and Future, p232: Infrastructure includes all forms of construction on and below ground required by any inhabited area in intensive communication with the outside world and as a basis for intensive human activity within. It includes roads and parking areas, railway lines, harbours, and airport runways, as well as utility services of water supply, drainage and sewage disposal, electricity and power supply.

between some of the provinces were extremely poor (East Tyrol was completely cut off, for example); Trieste, seen as Vienna's natural harbour, was separated by Italian territory; the Danube was placed under international control; rail routes were incoherent with important junctions now abroad, only 6600km of railway track remained. Many former main routes were divided by borders (for example, the Nord und Nordwestbahn, Wien-Preßburg-Budapest, Wien-Marburg-Südtirol). The province of Vorarlberg was virtually cut off from the provinces towards the east by the high alpine chains; its neighbouring province of the Tyrol could only be reached over difficult alpine passes. To the west, however, the country was wide open with easy connections to Germany, France and Switzerland via the Rhine.

Despite the dislocation of infrastructural and transport provisions in the new Republic, Austria's geographical location would always determine its importance as a transit country. For example, many international train routes ran across Austrian territory either north-west/south-east or north-south (from the French/Dutch North Sea coast to the Balkans, and from the capitals of Germany and Italy). The Westbahn travelling west/east was Austria's main arterial route. Other routes gained in importance, for example, Neumarkt via Passau to Berlin, connecting the German and Austrian capitals with Czechoslovakia. The capital's location at the junction of the European transport lines would always secure Vienna's importance as a trade centre.

Infrastructure, internal communications, and tourism have important links. The tourist industry is an industry concerned with movement. As Burkart and Medlik point out, although not all travel is tourism, all tourism includes some travel.<sup>130</sup> This helps to explain why transport organisations had been involved in the Austrian tourist industry from the outset.<sup>131</sup> In 1922, the *Österreichische Verkehrswerbungs GesmbH* was founded. It took on the task of promoting the entire country, finding its funds in the advertising monopoly held by the *Österreichische Bundesbahnen* (ÖBB - the Federal Railways). The monopoly covered all advertising on buildings and areas owned by the Federal Railways; money was raised predominantly through poster advertising on ÖBB premises. As well as including representatives of the ÖBB the following organisations were also represented in the *Österreichische Verkehrswerbungs GesmbH*: the *Donaudampfschiffgesellschaft*, the Danube Shipping company; the *Gemeinde Wien*, the municipality of Vienna; and the Austrian *Verkehrsbüro*, the travel agency founded in 1918, which had the exclusive right to sell Austrian rail tickets. In 1923, the *Österreichische Verkehrswerbungs GesmbH* became the official propaganda

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130 Ibid., p42

131 In April 1884 the representatives of local tourist organisations met in Graz to discuss how to promote tourism in the Austrian alpine provinces. The meeting also attracted representatives of the k.k. trade ministry, the railways, postal, and alpine organisations. The railways played an organisational rôle in tourism from the 1890s, when they began calling a central conference twice a year with representatives of provincial tourist organisations for mutual consultation in the provinces.

organisation of the Federal Railways.<sup>132</sup> Tourism can therefore provide an important stimulus to the improvement of infrastructural provisions. This not only has a significant knock-on effect in terms of the diversification of the economy and for the development of other industries, but obviously has implications for national identity also.

If Austria was to exploit its potential as a tourist attraction, it would have to permit tourists to travel easily and comfortably to their destinations.<sup>133</sup> There was much room for improvement. For example, an article in the "Burgenländischen Heimat" written in 1924 decried the fact that

Everything is ruined by the bad roads of the Burgenland. The farmers in remote villages are not interested in large-scale production, because they cannot even get their products to larger neighbouring villages or towns, let alone to a railway ... Similarly, the tourist industry cannot be intensified. Many tourists would stay in the Burgenland in summer, if they did not get bogged down in dung the first time they went for a walk.<sup>134</sup>

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132 An agreement was reached between the *Verkehrswerbung* and the publicity department of the Austrian Federal Railways which provided for the creation of joint representatives abroad, and for the dissemination of tourist literature, etc. The *Österreichische Verkehrswerbung*s opened its first foreign branch in Berlin, and expanded to ten offices abroad. (Amsterdam, Berlin, Brussels, Budapest, London, Milan, Paris, Prague, Rome and New York.)

133 Ibid. p196. Accessibility in tourism involves transportation to the attraction, and in a wider sense the proximity of the attraction to a sufficiently large population to constitute a market for the attraction. Proximity is best interpreted in terms of the time and the cost expended to reach the attraction rather than in terms of physical distance.

134 "Burgenländischen Heimat" quoted in Christian Brandstätter (Ed): Lothar Rübelt, Österreich zwischen den Kriegen: Zeitdokumente eines

This quotation not only reveals the infrastructural problems which would have to be addressed (road surfacing was a particular problem), but also indicates how improvements would benefit both tourism and the broader economy. Infrastructure within Austria, and between Austria and the outside world had to be improved both in quality and quantity, including roads and railways; telegraph, telephone and radio networks.<sup>135</sup> The subsequent income from tourists could help to fund infrastructural provisions which would benefit the indigenous population.

Economic motivation assisted the development of traffic networks, given their importance to both trade and tourism. Successes were achieved: the electrification of the rail system in the thirties, the construction of cable cars on popular mountains with spectacular views

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Photopioniers die 20er und 30er Jahre, Molden Edition, Wien, München, Zürich, ---- (Text by Gerhard Jagschitz) p159: *An den schlechten Straßen des Burgenlandes scheitert alles. Die Bauern der entlegenen Ortschaften haben kein Interesse an einer Mehrproduktion, weil sie ihre Erzeugnisse nicht einmal in einen größeren Nachbarort, geschweige denn zu einer Bahn bringen können ... Ebenso kann der Fremdenverkehr nicht intensiviert werden. Viele Touristen würden sich im Sommer im Burgenland niederlassen, wenn sie nicht bei ihren ersten Fußwanderungen im Kot stecken bleiben würden.*

135 The radio played a rôle in promoting Austrian tourism, for example, through the transmission of the Salzburger Festspiele in 1925, or the Beethoven Festival on 26 March, 1927, to Germany, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. It should be remembered that the Sängerbundfest was a highpoint of Anschluß propaganda. As such, then, not all uses made of communication networks necessarily encouraged an independent Austria. Similarly, improving infra-structure to permit and encourage the peaceful invasion of the tourist was an anathema to militarists trying to prepare for less friendly intercourse between foreign nations and their own.

(Aussichtsberge), the rebuilding of Innsbruck train station, and many roads, including the Gaisbergstraße (opened 1929), the famous Großglockner-Hochalpenstraße (built 1930-1935 at an expense of 25.8 million schillings), the Packstraße (1935), the Wientalstraße (1937), as well as the Reichsbrücke over the Danube in Vienna (1937). In 1922 the Österreichischen Luftverkehrs AG was founded, the first Austrian enterprise aiming to provide a regular air service.<sup>136</sup>

Most traffic in Austria was by land; waterway traffic was minimal. Motor vehicle traffic competed with the rail network for trade.<sup>137</sup> Especially in the alpine provinces, it served to foster the tourist trade by linking the east/west valley rail routes through north-south road networks. Rail travel was encouraged through the electrification of the railways, investment in rolling stock, and the development of attractive pricing offers aimed at tourists and business travellers.<sup>138</sup>

The Federal Railways (ÖBB) had many financial difficulties which they sought to overcome with vigorous propaganda and pricing policies and innovative

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136 By 1938, despite allied restrictions, Austria had managed to expand its air network to six airports: Wien-Alpern, Graz-Thalerhof, Klagenfurt-Annabichl, Salzburg-Marglan, Innsbruck-Reichenau, and Bregenz.

137 This was a common trend across Europe in the interwar period, when the private motorcar, and bus and coach became increasingly popular forms of transport. Infrastructural provisions for vehicles therefore became especially important. Many Austrian roads were poorly surfaced and traffic regulations were bewildering.

138 Hans Sedlak (Betriebsdirektor der Österreichischen Bundesbahnen): "Die österreichische Bundesbahnen" in Österreich. 1927.



approaches. They were active in endeavouring the promotion of railway tourism - in the winter season of 1934, for example, the ÖBB offered 50% reductions on return tickets for tourists who had spent over seven days in Austria. Journeys "into the blue" (mystery tours), or "into the green" (countryside), and children's fairytale trips all proved very popular. Certain Austrian towns benefitted greatly from their location on the railway map. Salzburg, for example, had the advantage that it was also a station on the German Reichsbahn network, and thus brought tourists from and to Munich, Bad Reichenhall and Berchtesgaden.<sup>139</sup> New rail routes could foster tourist attractions; the spa town Bad Tatzmannsdorf, for example, benefitted from being on the new rail route Friedberg - Pinkafeld. Customer demand was met with the attempt to organise direct routes within Europe via Austria, to encourage the tourist industry there.

Great emphasis was placed on modern means of transport which permitted easy travel. For the hurried or incapacitated visitor, Austria could offer scenery without effort, due to the different forms of transport available:

He who is interested in the general aspect of the country, may, without even having to quit the broader highways of traffic, enjoy the varied beauty of truly magnificent scenery. From the window of a railway-car he may view the splendour of the high mountains, marvel at rocky peaks and adventurous precipices, and hear the roar of the mountain torrents. From

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139 "Salzburg 1927 - ein Bericht vom Ausbau des alpenländischen Gästeverkehres" by Regierungsrat Hans Hofmann-Montanus (Leiter des Landes-Verkehrsamtes in Salzburg) in Österreich 1927.

the safe cabin of a cable-way he may let his eye roam over low-lying forests and far over valley and plain, or gaze at the approaching heights and the everlasting snow of yet higher ranges. From the deck of an electrically-driven boat, again, he may enjoy the beauty of the Alpine lakes, with their dark blue waters and picturesque banks. Similarly, from a deck-chair on board a Danube steamer, he may gaze at the ruined castles which, ever since the days of the Nibelungs, have been the wardens of Europe's greatest natural highway from West to East, of a stream that once bore warriors, and pilgrims, and merchant adventurers to far-off lands.<sup>140</sup>

Thus it was possible to visit historic Austria without once having to set foot on the land itself. The fairy tale was made accessible through scientific progress; in these writings developments in modern transport were seen to complement Austria's historical mission by permitting Austria to continue in its rôle as a thoroughfare. Here, the merit was shared equally between the mountains and the railways; the valleys and the "cable-ways"; the lakes and the "electrically-driven boats"; or the Danube and its steamers.

The most important form of transport was undoubtedly the car. Summer tourism was greatly encouraged by the increasing popularity of the private motor car, which permitted tourists to penetrate the remotest areas of the country. Tourist organisations were quick to cater to the motorist. In "To Vienna by Motor Car"<sup>141</sup> (published

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140 Austria. A Guide through the most beautiful country traversed by the Austrian Federal Railways. p6

141 This was published by the Board for the Promotion of Tourist Traffic in Vienna and Lower Austria; the Austrian Automobile Club and the Austrian Touring Club, evidence of cooperation between various tourist organisations.

in English) the modern car owner was flattered into visiting Vienna. It begins with the words

Happening to see your car, the other day, we could not help admiring both the vehicle and the judgement and taste evinced in choosing it. No doubt you have made many fine tours ... Yet you have missed something - indeed, it is a sin of omission we consider difficult to forgive - you have failed to come to Vienna. A refined, cultivated lady, still beautiful and ever attractive, invites you to tea.<sup>142</sup>

The guide is then practical, describing travel routes and location of garages, explaining traffic regulations, giving details of motor coach tours, and introducing the tourist to the various cultural possibilities of Vienna (theatres, concerts, Heurigen, as well as sporting and social events). It closes, however, in a similar tone to the one in which it began, this time, with a fairy-tale. In "Pray, tell it to yours [sic] friends; A Garage Fairy-Tale", the two characters are a dusty six-seater saloon and a slender-framed cabriolet. The saloon is dusty because it has been travelling, and in the magic hour when cars can chat, the saloon describes a nameless city in which,

You need not put yourself under constraint, not there. In no other city can you afford to drive at this rate. You have the best regulation of traffic, there. The cops are such a nice sort, they will kindly show you the way instead of reporting you.<sup>143</sup>

This was a morally dubious way of enticing tourists at a time when the high number of road accidents had

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142 To Vienna by Motor Car. Published by the Board for the Promotion of Tourist Traffic in Vienna and Lower Austria, Vienna. p5 (Hereafter cited as To Vienna by Motor Car)

143 Ibid., p62

necessitated the introduction of accident statistics after 1 April 1927. At any rate, having described the wonders of the town and the proximity of beautiful woods, hills and rivers ("After a trifle of sixty miles' run we found our top-notch road rising more than 3000 feet above the sea-level, where snow-bound mountain peaks, twice as high, glacier-like, awe-inspiring, surrounded us."), the saloon comments on his master, splendidly bronzed by the sun and the bracing alpine air, but becomes coy when hinting at "nocturnal excursions". The cabriolet cannot stand the tension any longer and pleads

For goodness sake, don't put me any longer on the rack, I am dying to know where all these interesting things happened. After what you told me my only wish is to get to that fascinating city, too.

The saloon takes pity on it and says "The name of the place, where I spent three delightful weeks is ...", (note the lengthy duration of stay) but just then, the clock strikes one and the cars are silenced, leaving the tourist with insider knowledge denied to the cabriolet.

Easy travel was important to all types of tourist, but improved internal communications had a particularly important function to fulfil in Austria. Contact between the Austrian provinces was influenced by their geographical location and national infrastructure. The provinces of the Tyrol and the Burgenland had poor links with the rest of Austria. As the Landeshauptmann of Burgenland, Hofrat Josef Rauhofer wrote of his province's Anschluß with the rest of Austria:

the primary concern was and is the question of infra-structure, for the question of whether the province is permanently connected with the western economic and cultural areas, or whether it remains forever in a Cinderella rôle, depends upon the solution to this issue.<sup>144</sup>

Following the Treaty of St Germain, East Tyrol no longer had a land connection to North Tyrol and had to be integrated both economically and administratively. The much praised Großglockner-Hochalpenstrasse created a road link between East Tyrol and North Tyrol. It also helped Austria to build up its rôle as a link between its northern and southern neighbours. The construction of a road was more than a mere linking of two points, however. In a publication promoting its construction it was argued

what the planned road would offer in terms of landscape is not offered by any of the existing alpine roads. No other alpine road has two summits linked by a unique high-altitude road, and the style and power of the view from the Franz-Josef's zenith of the Großglockner and the Johannisberg is surpassed by none of the existing high-altitude roads of Europe.<sup>145</sup>

Road-construction was therefore a major source of pride, both in terms of the technological achievement involved in constructing these roads in the Alps, but also because

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144 Hofrat Josef Rauhofer (Landeshauptmann): "Das Burgenland im Rahmen des österreichischen Wiederaufbaues."

145 Publication to accompany stamp to commemorate "50 Jahre Groß Glockner-Hochalpenstraße: Österreich hat keinen Grund, sich mit der Idee der Straßenüberquerung der Hohen Tauern nur schüchtern herauszuwagen. Sie hat allen Grund, auf die Möglichkeit der Herstellung eines solchen Überganges stolz zu sein. Denn das, was die projektierte Straße landschaftlich bieten wird, bietet von den bestehenden Alpenstraßen keine ... Keine hochalpine Straße hat zwei Scheitelpunkte mit dazwischenliegender einzigartiger Höhenfahrt und die Art und Gewaltigkeit des Ausblickes von der Franz-Josefs-Höhe auf Pasterze, Großglockner und Johannisberg wird von keiner der bestehenden hochalpinen Straßen Europas erreicht.

they permitted greater appreciation of Austria's incomparable geographical beauty. The publication concluded that this road would provide definitive evidence that it was not only Switzerland which had such beautiful landscapes.

The optimistic view of the attraction it would prove was not unfounded. By 20 October 1935, the road had been used by 130,600 people, in 19,300 cars, 4,200 buses, on 5,500 motorbikes and 4,300 bicycles. A third of all vehicles were foreign. As these were toll paying travellers, this road is an example of tourism funding infrastructural improvements with important consequences for internal cohesion.

The need to improve communication networks within Austria after the lack of cohesion left at the dissolution of the monarchy was broadly recognised. Even discounting the importance of domestic travel, it was an economic necessity without which Austria could not survive. Despite the expense, progress was made. Between 1921 and 1937, the Austrian road network grew from 27,000 km to 86,000 km, figures which reflect a recognition of the importance of the motoring tourist. As seen, tourism played an important rôle here by contributing to the profitability of improvements. Once travel between the Austrian provinces had been facilitated, domestic and foreign tourism could have a broader impact on indigenous populations, the subject of the next sections.

#### IV. Domestic Tourism

Although the diversity of Austria's geographical areas was broadly recognised, it was only one side of the picture. Moriz Schleyer, for example, having listed the beautiful variety to be found in Austria, continued:

however different the characteristics of Austrian landscapes may be, they all have something unique in common, something blood related, that connects them into one large family, that which one would like to call, despite all spiritual differentiation, the Austrian substance.<sup>146</sup>

This section examines the manner in which tourism could be a cohesive force between the Austrian people, and concentrates, therefore, on domestic tourism. In the next section, the impact of foreign visitors completes the picture.

Several factors encourage domestic tourism; the lack of currency or documentation barriers, for example, or the fact that tourists can use their own language. From a socio-political point of view, travelling permits the individual to gain a better knowledge of his country and

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146 Das Herz Europas, p229: Grundverschieden voneinander sind die Landschaften unserer Heimat: so lassen sich kaum größere Gegensätze denken als das Burgenland und Tirol oder der Wiener Wald und die Tauern ... Grundverschieden voneinander auch die Menschengesiedlungen, die Städte und Dörfer, die in diese Landschaften derart hineingewachsen sind, das sie mit ihnen organisch zu eins verschmelzen. Von Wien ganz abgesehen: Graz ist anders als Salzburg, Innsbruck auch ... Steyr wiederum etwas ganz anderes als das so nahe Linz ... Und dennoch; so grundverschieden auch die Charaktere österreichischer Landschaften sein mögen, ihnen allen ist etwas einzigartiges gemeinsam, etwas blutsverwandtes, das sie zu einer großen Familie verbindet: das was man bei aller seelischen Differenzierung die österreichische Substanz nennen möchte ... Just how difficult it was to create or mobilise this "Austrian substance" was illustrated by the history of the First Republic.

its inhabitants, potentially furthering the bonds between them. With the foreign example of emphasis on domestic travel (the Italian *Dopolavoro*, for example, or the German *Kraft durch Freude* organisations), the potential of domestic tourism for creating bonds between countrymen, was increasingly recognised. Although the mystery tours "*Fahrten ins Blaue*" (journeys into the blue) were very successful, they were considered inadequate domestic propaganda, because the route was not known in advance by the tourists. As one publication of the Fatherland Front (VF) pointed out, weekend holidays (with special tariffs for members of the VF) which differed from the mystery tours in that the route was defined, had an important rôle to fill: the intention of "awakening the joy in each participant of deepening the knowledge of a specific area of the Fatherland".<sup>147</sup> Domestic travel was especially important if areas such as the Burgenland were to be integrated and accepted into the rest of Austria. In an article on tourism in the Burgenland written in 1927, the *Landeshauptvertreter* of the Burgenland, Ludwig Leer, pointed out that the Peace Treaties which had otherwise brought millions of Germans under foreign rule had also freed 300,000 Germans from Magyar rule, a population which needed to form ties with

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147 Ibid. *Die sogenannten "Fahrten ins Blaue", welche bisher mit viel Erfolg manchen Orts durchgeführt wurden, entsprechen nicht vollkommen diesem Zwecke, da bei ihnen die Freude an der Überraschung vorbeherrscht, während obgenannte Fahrten mit ihrem wohldefinierten Reiseziel die Freude bei allen Teilnehmern erwecken sollen, ein gestimmtes Gebiet des Vaterlandes besser kennenzulernen.*



the other Austrian provinces. Leer saw in tourist travel the foundation for a "spiritual taking of possession" which would complete the political union:

For in no other country has tourism the political, yes, patriotic mission that it has for us. Only tourism can spin the thousands of threads, which connect us with the way of thinking and feeling of the Austrian.<sup>148</sup>

Leer argued that, above all, it was the domestic tourist who should visit the Burgenland, because s/he would then recognise its value for the rest of Austria, both in terms of scenic beauty and of its contributions to the economy.<sup>149</sup>

Great hopes were placed on internal migration as a cure for all of Austria's economic ills. According to an article in Österreich, the state would benefit most: unemployment would be eradicated, permitting many millions to be spent more productively elsewhere, the balance of trade would improve so taxes and duties could be reduced or even abolished, which in turn would aid industry and trade, and the purchasing power of the people.<sup>150</sup> Tourism could provide an important pre-stage

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148 "Burgenländische Fremdenverkehr." Landeshauptmannstellvertreter Ludwig Leer in Österreich, 1927. p53 *Denn in keinem anderen Lande hat der Fremdenverkehr die politische, ja patriotische Sendung wie bei uns. Nur es kann tausende von Fäden spinnen, die uns mit dem Denken und Fühlen der Österreicher verbinden.*

149 Ibid. *Und aus dem Bewußtsein, daß das Burgenland geradezu eine Existenznotwendigkeit Österreichs geworden ist, soll der Wille entstehen, dieses wertvolle Land nie preiszugeben. Nicht eine Verlegenheit soll ihm das Burgenland sein, sondern eine Freude.*

150 Österreich; Monatschrift für alles Österreichische.. Revue autrichienne, Austrian Review, Rivista austriaca. Schriftleitung und Verwaltung Wien I Elisabethstraße 20. Juni 1927. p12

to such internal migration by permitting exploratory travel.

One of the strongest divides in Austria in the interwar period was obviously the divide between red Vienna and the provinces. Presented as diversity to outsiders, to the insiders in the tourist trade this issue was acknowledged obliquely, with the idea that domestic tourism could help to bridge this gulf. In his book Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke<sup>151</sup> (Tourism our Strength), Hans von Hortenau addressed this important aspect of domestic tourism:

As far as we Austrians are concerned, the feeling of togetherness, which is founded on our historical development and tradition, could be deepened and extended by a mutual understanding between Vienna and particularly our inhabitants of the Alpine provinces. Despite passionate, sacrificial love for our common Vaterland, it is occasionally erroneously supposed by some Viennese that the simple, direct way of thought and the simple, modest way of life of the provincial is backward, while the cheerful disposition and the life-affirming gaiety of the Viennese is perceived as frivolity by the provincial. Many disturbances of the peaceful development, so vital for our country, could have been avoided in the last few years if there had been an expansion of mutual appreciation between the capital and the provinces ... Travelling is an ideal means of deepening such mutual understanding.<sup>152</sup>

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151 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke. p27

152 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke. p29: Was uns Österreicher betrifft, so kann trotz des durch unsere geschichtliche Entwicklung und Tradition fest verwurzelten Zusammen-gehörigkeitsgefühles das gegenseitige Sichverstehen der Wiener und der speziell in unseren Alpenländern wohnhaften Landsleute noch weitgehend vertieft und ausgebaut werden. Trotz heißer, opferbereiter Liebe für unser gemeinsames Vaterland wird doch ab und zu, völlig irrigerweise, der schlichte Sinn und die einfache, genügsame Lebensweise des Provinzlers von manchem Wiener für Rückständigkeit empfunden, während das

In the world of tourism, this is a rare hint of the conflict between the capital and the provinces. The solution was clearly identified; domestic travel.

Festivals and events could have a similar cohesive effect. The Viennese Trade Fair, for example, was also seen as having an important impact on the relationship between the city and the provinces. It attracted c. 40,000 foreign business representatives to Vienna (from 72 countries) but it also played an important function in drawing together the capital and the provinces:

this was achieved through the permanent exhibition of agriculture and forestry, which always draws hundreds of thousands of representatives of the rural population from the Austrian provinces to the capital.<sup>153</sup>

Domestic travel also had the important effect of educating the people. This point was referred to above when Dr Buresch spoke of the "rich spiritual stimulus given to the Alpine people by the tourist industry".<sup>154</sup> For those inhabitants of the provinces who went to Vienna there was an experience in store:

The inhabitant of the provinces will find in Vienna the pulsating life of a major city, with

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*heitere Gemüt und die lebensbejahende Fröhlichkeit des Wieners von manchem Provinzler als Leichtsinngewertet werden.*

*Gar manche Störung in der für das Gesamtwohl unseres Landes so unentbehrlichen ruhigen Fortentwicklung wären uns im Laufe der letzten Jahre erspart geblieben ... Hier ist das Reisen ein ideales Mittel zur Vertiefung dieses gegenseitigen Verständnisses.*

153 Felix Stransky, President of the Wiener Messe-Aktiengesellschaft, "Die Wiener Messe": hiezu trägt vor allem die ständige Einrichtung der land- und forstwirtschaftlichen Musterschau bei, welche stets hunderttausende Vertreter der landbevölkerung aus den österreichischen Bundesländern in die Bundeshauptstadt führt.

154 Dr Buresch, quoted in Wie Werben Wir?

all its diversity, entertainment and stimulus. His horizons are extended, his understanding for the manifestations of modern life is deepened, his professional effectiveness increased by many an observation and new insights.<sup>155</sup>

According to tourist propaganda, in the country, city dwellers found their roots, peace and health; conversely, the rural travellers found education, enlightenment and modernity through their travels.

Domestic tourism was not only cohesive, but also divisive. The rift between country and city, or between classes, was sometimes exacerbated by travel. Tourism could be resented: some civil servants argued that tourism made life more expensive and business people argued that only the inn-keepers and restaurateurs made a profit. Gerhard Wanner points out that the conservative church circles saw in tourism a threat to morals and behaviour, blocking until 1938 the restructuring of the swimming-pool in the Geldenau (in Feldkirch) from a *Strandbad* (lido) to a family swimming pool.<sup>156</sup> Such antagonism nonetheless could at least encourage a sense of provincial identity. The consequences of the presence of outsiders for national identity is discussed in

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155 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke. p32 *Und der Provinzbewohner findet in Wien das pulsierende Leben einer Großstadt vor, mit allen ihren Abwechslungen, Unterhaltungen, Anregungen. Sein Gesichtskreis erweitert sich, sein Verständnis für die Erscheinungsformen des modernen Lebens wird vertieft, seine berufliche Wirksamkeit durch mancherlei Beobachtung und neue Kenntnisse gesteigert.*

156 Gerhard Wanner; "Feldkirchs Fremdenverkehr von 1918 bis 1938, seine Probleme und Einrichtungen." in Kulturinformation. School children were not permitted in a *Strandbad*, which obviously affected the latter's attraction for trippers.

greater detail below, with reference to foreign tourism. It should be borne in mind, however, that the perceived outsider might also be a fellow Austrian.

In terms of national identity, then, domestic tourism can have three positive consequences: it can encourage bonds between nationals of different areas; it can encourage bonds between nationals and their territory; both of these foster ties with the familiar. However, domestic tourism can also illustrate rifts within society, bringing home (literally!) inequality between social classes, and creating or providing illustration of antagonisms between the local and the visiting people (in particular, between urban and rural populations).

#### V. The Impact of Foreign Tourism on Austrian National Identity.

The foreign tourist is by definition one who is travelling to a country which is not his/her normal place of residence or occupation. This section concentrates on the social effects of foreign tourism, examining its divisive and cohesive effects on relations between people and peoples. The final part of this section examines the part which tourism played in the debate on Austria's future existence.

Foreign tourism helped to reproduce the multinational character of Austria's past. Prior to the war, Austria had attracted most visitors from within the Empire, or from the East. Klaus Arnold, for example, has

calculated that before 1914, Vienna attracted less international tourism than other European capitals, such as Paris or Berlin; the overwhelming majority of visitors came from within the Empire itself; only c. 20% came from abroad.<sup>157</sup> During the inter-war period, the orientation shifted towards the west, Central Europe and overseas. This also brought a shift of visitors towards the provinces of the west, including the Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Carinthia and East Tyrol, although the capital would always exert a major attraction.<sup>158</sup> During the First Republic, the visitors to Austria diversified; by 1937/8, only 49% of visitors to Vienna came from the countries of the former monarchy.<sup>159</sup>

Thus tourism drew into the country foreigners who could provide the outgroup to the nation's ingroup, with

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157 The majority of whom came from Germany (9%) followed by Russia (4%), Roumania, (3%), Britain, France and America.

158 Given that Eastern Austria attracted from visitors predominantly from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and to a lesser extent from Yugoslavia and Italy - those countries from which tourist numbers were falling - this is not surprising. This trend towards the western provinces has continued: the Tyrol, Salzburg and Vorarlberg registered 66% of all overnight stays in 1986, a concentration increasing consistently from 42% in 1952. For a contemporary analysis of Austrian tourism in English see Friedrich Zimmermann, "Austria" in Allan M. Williams; Gareth Shaw: Tourism and Economic Development; Western European Experiences Belhaven Press, London and New York, 1991, from which these final statistics have been taken (p158).

159 A quarter of all overnight stays were by tourists from Czechoslovakia, and 8% from Hungary. Yugoslavia 5%, Poland 8%, Roumania 4%, Bulgaria 1%. The numbers of Russians was minimal owing to political conditions. The domestic market provided 7% of overnight stays, while Germans made up 10%, Italians and the British 4% each, America and Canada together 5%, France and the Netherlands 2% each and Switzerland 3%.

the probable consequence that internal cohesion would be increased.<sup>160</sup> As Graham Saunders writes

Travellers, be they tourists or not, inevitably make some impact, however slight, upon the society they visit. If no other traveller appears that impact will fade, but when other visitants arrive they add to the accumulated experience and subtle changes occur. Later travellers are influenced by the reports of their predecessors and arrive with preconceptions not held by those who went before ...<sup>161</sup>

Of most relevance to this study into Austrian national identity is the impact on the indigenous population.

Saunders continues

On the other side, the reactions and attitudes of those inhabitants who have had experience of travellers are also affected by that experience. A complex cultural exchange begins and a new relationship develops along with new perceptions of each other and of one's own identity, society and culture.<sup>162</sup>

What the foreign tourist does is provide a contrast, which can be negative or positive. By importing different cultures and customs, the foreign tourist

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160 It is a phenomenon well-documented in the psychological literature that in the presence of "outgroup" members, "ingroup" cohesion will increase (Sherif et al 1961; Brown 1986). Similarities within members of the two groups - ingroup and outgroup - will be exaggerated in the mind of the perceiver, and differences between members of the two groups will be maximised, (Turner and Giles, 1981, Taylor and Jaggi, 1974). This effect is most marked where the groups are in competition for resources (e.g., solitude, seats at the opera, or restaurant and hotel reservations) or where the two groups are easily discriminated, on the basis of, for example, costume, language, social standing (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; see also Frowley 1994 for a further discussion of the action of social stereotyping). For an introduction to the subject see Roger Brown: Social Psychology - the second edition. The Free Press, New York, London, 1986.

161 Graham Saunders, "Early travellers in Borneo" in Tourism in South-East Asia, p58

162 Ibid. (my emphasis)

offers a point of comparison. As seen in the previous sections, one very noticeable aspect of Austrian discussions on tourism is that great stock was put in foreign opinion. For example, in the following quotation, a claim is laid to Vienna's greatness, a claim made on the basis of foreign recognition, rather than on indigenous pride:

So much has been said and written about Vienna, it has been praised and serenaded so much, that it is familiar to the world. People love the beauty of the city, its amiable people; they are delighted with Viennese culture, which is a typical border country culture.<sup>163</sup>

One can speculate about why so much emphasis was placed upon foreign opinion. Obviously in publications aimed at the foreign tourist, foreign opinions would be cited to prove that Austria's popularity was not merely Austrian propaganda. The foreign tourist had to be convinced because s/he was an economic necessity.

A further reason for this emphasis is the fact that it was easier to compile evidence about the impact of foreign than of domestic tourist consumerism within Austria. One example of this is found apropos food, consumption in its most basic form:

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163 Erwin H. Reinhalter "Österreichs Landschaft" Österreichs illustrierte Fremdenverkehrs und Reise Zeitung. Wien, Folge 1. November 1933, 1 Jahrgang. p5: *Über Wien ist schon so viel gesagt und geschrieben, es ist so vielfach gepriesen und besungen worden, daß es einer Welt vertraut geworden ist. Man liebt die Schönheit der Stadt, die Liebenswürdigkeit ihrer Menschen; man ist entzückt von wienerischer Kultur, die die typisch Grenzlandkultur ist.* A similar emphasis on foreign perceptions of Austria was seen above in the quote on Austrian diversity from Österreich im Ausland.



across the whole of Austria, foreigners consume groceries to a value of almost 55 million schillings. Of these, 10 million schillings' worth of these groceries is from food produced outwith Austria, leaving, nonetheless 45 million schillings worth of food produced by Austrian agriculture, or at least in part by Austrian agriculture. According to this statistic, in 1927, 95,999 kg beef, 1,160 kg ox meat, 520,000 kg pork, 1,600 calves, 1,500,000 kg bread, 5,000,000 eggs, 200,000 poultry, 3,000,000 litres of milk, 1,000,000 kg butter, 6,000,000 kg cheese, 40,000 kg fruit, 2,000 kg honey und 24,000 vegetables were consumed by foreigners.<sup>164</sup>

These statistics also provide an indication of why tourism could not take off in Austria until the food supply problems of the early years were solved. Those involved in the tourist industry were aware that they had to cater to foreign likes and dislikes: intriguingly, "specifically with the English public one must cater for their quite typical tastes".<sup>165</sup> Hortenau obviously felt that nations were defined by what they ate. Such an awareness of foreign attributes carried with it an innate sense of the individuality of one's own country.

Beyond statistical convenience, however, foreign evidence may also have been called upon because Austrian national identity had traditionally been defined by the outside world. Even during the monarchy, Austrian Germans had been "ce qui reste" - that which was left over after the other nationalities had defined themselves. Inexperienced at self-definition, the new

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164 Der Fremdenverkehr. Jhg III, 1 Feb 1930. p5 There is a similar list in Erwin Deinlein's article "Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung des Fremdenverkehrs" in Handbuch für den österreichischen Fremdenverkehr, p31

165 Fremdenverkehr unsere Stärke. p25 Regretfully, the author does not feel it is necessary to be specific.

Austria found it difficult to define its identity from within. The evidence cited above would indicate it was fully capable of defining itself, but found it more convincing to place the arguments into foreign mouths.

The needs of the foreigner could be met without sacrifice of indigenous values. Hans von Hortenau drew the conclusion:

We can ... adopt from the Swiss this first rule of tourism: meet the needs and habits of foreigners as far as possible, see that they feel at home with you, but while doing so, remain independent, cultivate and protect your Austrianness, and above all be proud of it!<sup>166</sup>

Thus the presence of foreigners could emphasise domestic identity, rather than dilute it. Examples above have indicated that the presence of foreign nationals could lead to the faking or warping of national attributes. However the presence of "the other" also had the consequence of intensifying the sense of self, more than that, a sense of pride in one's own national identity. This identity is that of the nation, because the tourist has frequently come in quest of "signs" of otherness - identifiers of the nation.

Foreign tourism was not only perceived as providing a clear illustration of different national identities. As could be expected given the debate over Austrian identity, there was little agreement on which nations

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166 Ibid., p34: *Daher können wir Österreicher von der Schweiz diesen ersten Lehrsatz des Fremdenverkehrs uns aneignen: Komme den Wünschen und Gepflogenheiten des Fremden weitestmöglich entgegen, trachte, das er sich bei dir wie zu Hause fühlt, aber bleibe dabei eigenstark, pflege und hüte dabei deine österreichische Art und sei ihrer Stolz über alles!*

constituted the outgroup. The entire existence debate - whether Austria could exist alone, or should unify with Germany or form some kind of Danubian Federation - was reflected in the field of tourism.

In the aftermath of the First World War, it was felt that tourism played an important rôle in creating understanding between peoples, which could help to preserve peace. Contact was to provide the basis for understanding and appreciation. This aspect of tourism still receives attention. Burkart and Medlik point out:

Each year many tourists travel to participate in particular events ranging from congresses to coronations; their visits also afford opportunities to improve co-operation as well as to project an image of a country to the outside world.<sup>167</sup>

The socio-political ramifications of foreign tourism were perceived as similar to those of domestic tourism, but strengthening ties between peoples rather than among a people.

In Austria's case, there was an additional slant to the issue of the impact of foreign visitors. After Hitler's accession to power, many foreign German "tourists" entered Austria with the specific goal of undermining Austrian national independence. Their precise impact is not easy to ascertain. On the one hand, Austria complained about German political interference in tourism in Austria.<sup>168</sup> Despite the

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167 Tourism: Past, Present, Future. p59

168 For detailed examination see Gustav Otruba: "Die Folgen des Juliabkommens 1936 für Österreichs Fremdenverkehr" in Politik und Gesellschaft im alten und neuen Österreich. p152 Not all National Socialist interference in the tourist trade came

agreement of 11 July 1936, there were many complaints from the Austrian side that tourism was being manipulated to fulfil political purposes; German travel agencies were encouraged to direct the German tourist trade to certain areas and specific hotels, for example, while those known to have "patriotically inclined owners" [i.e. pro-Austrian] were boycotted. Austrian National Socialists were identified as providing much of the relevant information, devising lists for the entire federal area. For example, Gustav Otruba quotes a letter from the Austrian embassy in Berlin describing the boycott of patriotic Austrian establishments, which cited an article in the German newspaper for the *Reichsdeutschen Zeitschrift der Gaststättenführer des Bergsteigerverband*:

The choice [of which establishments to recommend] was determined by the consideration that only those establishments should be recommended at which the Reichs-German traveller will not only be welcomed as a visitor, but as a national comrade [Volksgenosse].<sup>169</sup>

On the other hand, *The Times* of 19 August 1936 pointed out that many German visitors came to Austria to escape the atmosphere at home. This is substantiated by a memo quoted by Gustav Otruba from the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin to Vienna (25 September, 1936).<sup>170</sup>

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from abroad, however. Austrian Nazis also drew up lists of "suitable" places of residence and encouraged German visitors to stay only in these establishments.

169 Ibid., p160 "Bei der Auswahl wurde vom Gedanken ausgegangen, das nur jene Betriebe empfohlen werden können, in denen der Reichsdetsche Reisendene nicht nur Gast, sondern auch als Volksgenosse gern gesehen wird."

170 Ibid., p150

Germans travelling to Austria were removing Nazi insignia at the border, and failing to use the the Hitler salute, despite the fact that they were now permitted to. The memo describes this behaviour as undignified, detrimental to the image of Germany abroad, and as failing to advertise the new Germany in Austria. German travellers were to be informed of their rights and duties when applying for passports and at the borders. In this respect, the entry of foreign nationals into Austria had an impact beyond that usually associated with tourism.

There were obviously strong ties between Austria and Germany, and between Austria and the Succession States. Naturally, Austrian tourism had to forge links abroad, and the organisations with a political agenda discussed below were not the only examples. In 1929, for example, an English-speaking weekly newspaper "The Vienna Herald" was founded, which aimed at fostering contacts between Austria and the English-speaking world. Austrian publications reveal an awareness that there was competition from, but also an example set by their neutral neighbour. One pro-Anschluß tourist vehicle took pains to point out that German Austria's Alpine regions were in fact superior to those Switzerland could offer the winter sportsman, as well as cheaper.<sup>171</sup> Thus Austrian tourism had to pay attention to the outside world to be viable.

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171 "Das schöne deutsche Österreich" Illust. Werbeheft der Deutschösterreichischen Reisevereinigung "Nord=Süd". December 1928, p28: "Mitteilungen der Landesämter und Landesverbände für Fremdenverkehr in Österreich. Wintersport in Österreich."

Countries outwith Austrian borders were important in ways beyond providing consumers or competition. For those in favour of integrating Austria into a larger structure, tourism could provide the foundation for some kind of European or Danubian federation, or draw together Austrians and Germans. As the pro-Anschluß vehicle "Das schöne Deutsche Österreich" argued, nothing would promote the idea of Anschluß more effectively than travel, which permitted peoples to get to know each other as individuals. It argued that this alone could provide the foundation for their willingness to subscribe to a greater, unified ideal. While the argument is here brought in favour of union with Germany, it is equally true for any other alternative to Austria's independent existence. Whichever alternative was sought, common blood, a common past, a recognition of economic interdependence, and the possibilities of cultural and social cross-pollination were drawn upon as justification. Above all, however, if any alternative solutions to Austria's existence were to be found, the bonds between peoples had to be forged. Intensive travel would contribute most to a recognition of the advantages of union, of whichever ilk.

A pro-Anschluß tourist paper pointed out that Austria was more likely to attract a greater number of tourists from neighbouring countries than from further afield,<sup>172</sup> and should therefore concentrate its

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172 As the above statistics on the origins of foreign tourists above indicate, this was not entirely inaccurate.

propaganda on these areas (in this case, particularly on the 60 million Germans in the Reich). This is substantiated in the statistics, although the overall trends outlined in Section I should be borne in mind. From 1 November 1935 until 31 October 1936, for example, over one million foreigners came to Austria: 23% from Czechoslovakia, 15% from Germany, 10% from Hungary, 9% from England, 6% from Switzerland and Italy, and 5 1/2% from Holland.<sup>173</sup>

Promoters of improved relations between Austria and the Succession States could argue that the bonds were already there. As the lawyer Dr. Heinrich Herbatschek, the chairman of the Austro-Czech Organisation, wrote in an article on the ties between Austria and Czechoslovakia:

the fact alone, that part of Austria's population has its origins in the areas occupied by the present Czech Republic, and the heart still pulls homewards, and on the other hand that many people there have familial, financial, social and other reasons for not wanting to break their connections with Austria, that innumerable national-economic ties exist despite all geographical and customs barriers, prove how mistaken those would be who argued "never again" is a constant. Both states, and particularly both nations which inhabit them, need each other, they cannot exist without interrelationships.<sup>174</sup>

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173 Alois Hinner, et al: Vaterlandskunde: Geschichte, Geographie und Bürgerkunde Österreichs für die achte Klasse der Mittelschulen, Hölder=Pichler=Tempsky, Wien, 1938. p208

174 Offizielle Mitteilungen der Österreichisch-Tschechoslowakischen Fremdenverkehrssektion in Wien u. der Tschechoslowakisch-österreichischen Fremdenverkehrssektion No 5.10 Februar. Jahrgang 1931. Die Tatsache allein, daß in Österreich ein Teil der Gesamtbevölkerung seinen Ursprung auf dem Gebiete der jetzigen Tschechoslowakischen Republik hat, und der Zug des Herzens noch immer der Heimat entgegen gerichtet

The tourist as an alien, as an outsider, is most true of the holiday tourist; the business tourist has greater links with his receiving country through customers or suppliers; visitors with friends or relatives at their location break down the division between the tourist and the receiving population still further. Thus it must be remembered that even the concept of the foreign tourist encompasses different types of people, with differing impacts on the indigenous population. Given Austria's past, many visitors from the Succession States would not be considered "foreign" tourists.

Adherents of both solutions had practical contributions to make, by publishing tourist newspapers, as well as brochures, maps, and postcards, by offering travel advice, excursions and package tours. The Austro-Czech Tourism Section (whose Austrian branch was based in Vienna),<sup>175</sup> for example, published the Offizielle Mitteilungen der Oesterreichisch-Tschechoslowakischen Fremdenverkehrssektion which aimed at being a weekly source of information on transport, conferences, trade

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*ist, daß andererseits überaus viele Angehörige drüben aus familiären, finanziellen, gesellschaftlichen und anderen Ursachen die Verbindung mit Österreich nicht lösen wollen oder können, daß endlich tausende national-ökonomische Fäden trotz allen geographischen Grenzen und Zollschranken gesponnen sind, beweisen, wie groß die Täuschung jener wäre, die ein "niemals wieder" als ständige Devise hinstellen wollten. Die beiden Staaten und insbesondere die Nationen die sie bewohnen, benötigen einander, sie können ohne Wechselbeziehungen einfach nicht existieren.*

175 (Österreichisch-Tschechoslowakischen Fremdenverkehrssektion) Its counterpart was the Czech-Austrian Tourism Section based in Prague.



fairs and exhibitions for Austria, Czechoslovakia, and neighbouring areas.

Many conferences, festivals and cultural exchanges took place between Austria and Germany, and were often used to underline Anschluß propaganda both at home and abroad. For example, between 19 and 23 May 1937, the German academy for *Bauforschung* met in Vienna, while from 10 to 13 June the Third Reichs- conference of "Kraft durch Freude" took place in Hamburg including representatives of the Austrian "Turn und Sport Front" and the head of the VF organisation "Neues Leben". The most obvious example is the Sängerbundfest, discussed in Chapter Eleven.

Contemporary recognition that tourism could have a strong influence on national identities is also indicated by the fact that adherents of the Anschluß set up tourist organisations and publications. One example is provided by the "Österreichisch-Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs und Reisezeitung" which called itself the "*Fachblatt für die Gesamtinteressen der Kur- und Badeorte, Pensionen, Hotels und des Fremdenverkehrs Österreichs und Deutschlands*"<sup>176</sup> and included the illustrated family supplement "*Aus Heimat und Welt*". It published countless articles under the slogan "Travel to Austria! Travel to Germany!", encouraging cultural exchange. The German-Austrian Travel Organisation "Nord-Süd" (North-South), founded in

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176 "The fact sheet for the combined interests of health resorts and spas, hotels and the tourist industry of Austria and Germany."

Graz, published "Das schöne deutsche Österreich".<sup>177</sup> Race played a significant rôle in this organisation's statutes, which spoke of fostering links not only between Germany and Austria, but also between all members of neighbouring Germanic peoples related by blood, to strengthen the economic and cultural ties between the Germanic *Stämme* of the north and south.<sup>178</sup> In practice, this meant they added to their goals the selection of German towns and villages, and German hotels suitable for their members' custom, as well as encouraging German patronage of places otherwise patronised by Jews (predominantly from Vienna and Budapest).<sup>179</sup>

For Anschluß adherents, loyalty to their race should deter tourists with German blood from supporting foreign countries through taking their custom abroad. The *Volks* was only served if the individual of German blood travelled within the Germanic countries, getting to know

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177 "Das schöne deutsche Österreich" Illust. Werbeheft der Deutschösterreichischen Reisevereinigung "Nord=Süd". The editors were very embarrassed when the first issue in 1925 was printed in a Latin typeface (rather than a Gothic one). Further organisations included the Deutschösterreichische Jugendbund" (Vienna), the "Verband deutscher Jugendherbergen" (Hilchenbach, Westfalen) and the "Heim-ins-Reich-Dienst" (Styria) all of which encouraged links between the two countries.

178 The following nationalities could therefore become members: men and women who spoke German and were of German blood, regardless of nationality, as well as members of the Germanic states, i.e. Sweden, Norway, Finland, Holland, the German-Swiss, and Flemish people. Statutes printed in "Das schöne deutsche Österreich" Illust. Werbeheft der Deutschösterreichischen Reisevereinigung "Nord=Süd" 12 Sonderheft, April 1928, 3 Jahrgang

179 See for example, "Das schöne deutsche Österreich" August-September 1926, p4

his people. As a poem by Robert Steigl called "Deutsche Heimat" put it:

*Uns dürfte nicht nach fremder Völker-Schätzen!  
Drängt uns der Sinn, zu huldigen dem Hehren,  
Wir finden es auf heimischen Altären.<sup>180</sup>*

There was no excuse to seek other countries as the diversity of Germany and Austria could fulfil all needs. According to the Österreichisch-Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs und Reisezeitung, Austrians could not even use the excuse of travelling south to the sea

*For even the sea, which the child of the Alps up to now only greeted at the nearby Adriatic (which has now become, however, completely alien to him), for even the sea we can also find - and perhaps even more magnificent and without the weakness of the south - in the German north ...<sup>181</sup>*

Thus the familiar arguments on the economic benefits of retaining double consumerism at home were broadened to encompass the whole German people.

In support for the idea of the Anschluß, the appeal was to sentiment rather than practical considerations. In an article directed at Germans travelling in Austria, one author wrote:

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180 "Deutsche Heimat" by Robert Steigl quoted in Heimat und Welt. (Beiblatt zur Österreichisch-Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs und Reisezeitung). Nr 1, Jahrgang 1926. p13. Roughly: We should not long for foreign peoples' treasures! If we feel drawn to paying homage to what is sublime, we can find it at home.

181 "Reiset nach Österreich - reiset nach Deutschland" by Hans Rudolf Krill (Baden, by Vienna) in "Österreichisch-Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs- und Reisezeitung" May, 1926 *Denn auch da Meer, das der Alpensohn bisher meist an der nähergelegenen Adria begrüßte (die ihm aber heute völlig fremd geworden ist,) auch das Meer finden wir - und vielleicht noch großartiger und ohne die Weichlichkeit des Südens - im deutschen Norden ...*

I would like to recommend to the Germans whose holidays lead them to the world of the Austrian Alps, that when they find themselves in the land blessed with beauty, in a peaceful place on a mountain or by a lake, they should strengthen their souls in God's wonderful world, and consider the thought: This is also part of your Fatherland, this is also referred to in the German national anthem, your love of the Fatherland also embraces this.<sup>182</sup>

The tourist should also consider the architectural monuments, and remind himself that these are German churches and German castles, penetrated by German thoughts and expressing the German soul. Although such thoughts might not be practical forerunners of the Anschluß, the author apparently believed that they helped to overcome the practical difficulties of union. There appear to be no comparable suggestion for Austrians travelling in Germany.

Although the vehicles suggested in this section were working towards an alternative form of existence for Austria, their stance towards the country was still positive. Publications still stressed the diversity and beauty of the landscape, its scope for sports and health, Austria's cultural richness, its musical talent. This would support the view that most of the organisations working for change in Austrian status, and certainly all the tourist organisations, did not deny Austria's value,

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182 "Österreichisch=Deutsche Fremdenverkehrs= und Reisezeitung" 1926, von Teichmann: Ich möchte den Deutschen, die ihre Ferienzeit in die österreichische Alpenwelt führt, empfehlen, wenn sie in dem schönheitsbegnadeten Lande an einem stillen Orte auf einem Berge oder an einem See hinausträumen und ihre Seele in der wunderbaren Gotteswelt kräftigen, dem Gedanken Raum zu geben: "Das ist ja auch ein Teil deines Vaterlandes, das ist ja auch im Deutschlandlied gemeint, dem gehört ja auch deine Vaterlandsliebe."

and did not see their actions as being in any way disloyal. They simply felt that Austria's interests would best be served within a larger territorial framework.

### Conclusion

The consequence of the relationship between landscapes and peoples is self-evident to Moriz Schleyer:

Loyalty to home, to landscapes is loyalty to the self; if every Austrian is conscious of the true Austria then we shall never run the danger of losing it. 183

Individual tracts of land might be lost, but the essence of Austrian identity would always be retained if Austrians were but aware of it. Tourism encouraged such consciousness. The requirements of tourism involved an assessment, however simplified or superficial, of the physical aspects of the nation, and of the character of its inhabitants. A sense of place and a sense of community can be both a prerequisite and a consequence of tourism. Tourist publications show that the tourist trade was one of the few areas in which Austria's situation was turned to its own advantage, and where Austrian national identity was endowed with some sense of value and pride.

That the building blocks of tourism parallel those of national identity is not surprising. After all, the goal of tourism is to sell one's country as a product,

183 Moriz Schleyer, p229: *Wie die Treue zur Heimat, zur Landschaft, so die Treue zu sich selbst: wenn sich jeder Österreicher darauf, auf das wahrhaft Österreichische besinnt, dann werden wir nie Gefahr laufen, es zu verlieren.*

often concentrating on its unique combination of qualities. Those areas of life which contribute to a sense of national identity are frequently the same areas of life which can be marketed.

The requirements of tourism encouraged the creation and improvement of the infrastructure of internal communication networks. Tourism created interaction; between people, between peoples, and between people and places. The consequences could be greater cohesion, or emphasised differences. They are not readily quantifiable.

The Austrian identity promoted was problematic. The consequences of the establishment of "lures" to entice tourists have received some attention in tourism analysis. Heritage tourism, for example, has some interesting points relevant to the study of national identity. Analysts distinguish between authentic history (as Urry points out, this is continuing, and therefore dangerous; it is not usually a feature of tourism<sup>184</sup>) and heritage (labelled past, dead and safe, ideal tourist material). Heritage history is "bogus", and it

conceals social and spatial inequalities, masks a shallow commercialism and consumerism, and may in part at least destroy elements of the buildings or artefacts supposedly being conserved.<sup>185</sup>

The negative environmental impact of tourism and the destruction of the past is not the focus of this discussion, although it should be pointed out in passing

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184 The Tourist Gaze, p110

185 Ibid.

that defence of any element considered endangered by tourism could galvanise a sense of identity. However, this question of the invented or selected past is a familiar one in discussions on national identity. It raises the question of the truth behind the image created.

In terms of national identity, the authenticity of the image is irrelevant. What is important is the fact that the requirement to define the product to be sold (in this case, Austria) resulted in a formulation of the nation. The first broad-ranging construction of an Austrian national identity adapted to the profound changes after World War I was created by the tourist trade. The extent to which the people created the propaganda or the propaganda created the people is impossible to ascertain. Denouncing the image as inauthentic, however, ignores the question of to what extent identity has a verifiable "truth" in the first place. The tourist image merely offers one possible construct which can be adopted, altered, or discarded in favour of other constructs. On the question of authenticity, however, it is interesting to note that the image of Austria as a tourist attraction constructed in the First Republic is one which could be transported without problem to the modern day (albeit with greater evidence of Austria's international status provided by, for example, the Vienna Centre and the United Nations headquarters). The image constructed in the First Republic has thus proven to have sufficiently sturdy

foundations to endure relatively unchanged to the present day.

The extent to which the positive stance taken towards Austria in its tourist propaganda actually affected Austrian national identity is difficult to ascertain. Austria was as vulnerable to foreign interference in this area as it was in all other areas of national importance, as the impact of the 1000 Mark Barrier shows. Even domestic tourism could not be so independent from the world as it had been hoped, as the association of the depression with the drop in domestic tourism showed. Such dependence challenged the capability of tourism to provide unrestricted positive evidence in favour of Austria's worth and viability.

Nonetheless, certain conclusions can be drawn from this industry. First, there was an area of Austrian life which presented Austria in a positive light. Austria was able to make substantial progress in the promotion of Austria as a tourist attraction. In order to achieve this success, it had to make use of the natural features of the country, identify and promote the traditions and customs of the local population, and promote a unique character of its own.<sup>186</sup>

Second, despite the depression, Austria was able to set the foundations for an industry which could aid its viability - both through the material gain it brought to Austrian coffers, and through the positive stance taken towards Austria. Two areas are frequently identified as

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186 International Tourism, p158



the main successes of the First Republic - the progress made in the generation of energy (hydro-electricity), and the advances made in tourism, both of which made great use of Austria's alpine character. The tourist industry itself, however, provides evidence that its success was not necessarily acknowledged throughout the entire Austrian population. The appeals to Austria to learn from the U.S.A. and Switzerland, and to believe in itself, would indicate that promoters were well aware that such feelings were lacking at home. The vocabulary of a national identity was present, however. Austria's geographical and cultural identities, and the Austrian character, had all been defined. What was still missing was the unequivocal national acceptance that these constituted an Austrian national identity capable of or served by independent existence.

## Chapter Ten

CONCLUSION

*As soon as Austria feels itself to be its own nation, it ceases to be a European problem. Then there will be no Austrian question, just as there is no Swiss question. From a question, Austria will become a fact.*

(Richard Coudenhove Kalergi, 1935)

The question of Austrian national identity in the interwar period draws attention to central issues in studies on identity. It highlights the importance of contextual definition, emphasises the importance of timing, and draws attention to both rational and emotional motivations underlying national identity.

As stated in the introduction to this thesis, the nation has both a material basis and a spiritual superstructure, a division which combines the objectivist and subjectivist definition of nationhood. Examination of the material basis of Austrian independence reveals that it was at the heart of the debate over Austrian identity. Austria's economic situation meant that material interests were not necessarily best served by independence. As Peter Katzenstein argues

Voluntary sacrifices of political autonomy are most probable where economic rewards associated with strategies of political integration outweigh the rewards of continued political independence.<sup>1</sup>

Discussions on the other forms Austria should take - whether within a Danubian Federation or with Germany - must be understood against this observation.

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<sup>1</sup> Katzenstein, Peter, J.: Disjoined Partners; Austria and Germany since 1815 University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1976. p5

Furthermore, as Ivo Duchacek argues, "the higher the degree of internal order, external security, and welfare, the higher the intensity of the feeling of national unity".<sup>2</sup> It is safe to say that none of these three factors was achieved satisfactorily during the First Republic. The Austrian state played an ambiguous rôle. On the one hand it was the political embodiment of national independence. On the other, it failed to solve the challenges of the interwar period, proving incapable of overcoming the political rifts which tore Austria apart. This led to an atmosphere of "latent civil war".<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Austria, as was true of many European states at this time, failed to take decisive action to improve the economy, or to stand up effectively to Hitler.

The debate over Austria's future - Anschluß, Federation, or independence - was not clearly resolved by economic rationale, as Chapter Three shows, although it was a powerful element of the debate. It was also a strong emotional issue. The discussion over which component bears more weight - rational consensus or emotional attachment is not new. Locke and Hobbes opted for rational self-interest over sentiments of common

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<sup>2</sup> Duchacek, Ivo D.: Nations and Men; International Politics Today. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. New York, Chicago, 1966. p34 (Hereafter cited as Nations and Men). These can be manipulated deliberately from above, or evolve slowly from below.

<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Hacker's description of the interwar period in Norbert Leser (Ed), Das geistige Leben Wiens in der Zwischenkriegszeit, Österreichischer Bundes-verlag, Wien 1981. (Hereafter cited as Das geistige Leben Wiens) p133

origin and personal loyalties.<sup>4</sup> Hans Kohn, on the other hand, concluded that,

Most men are not guided primarily by rational and economic considerations, by aspirations of economic betterment or by enlightened self-interest but by collective passions and emotions which silence rational considerations and efforts to be objective.<sup>5</sup>

The nation cannot be understood purely as a rational concept. As Ernest Renan argued, a community of interests makes commercial treaties, not a nation: "There is a sentimental side to nationality; it is at once body and soul; a Zollverein is not a fatherland."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, as Duchacek points out, no nation state is really self-sufficient. Autarky is therefore not a realistic criterion for determining the viability of a nation state.<sup>7</sup>

Nonetheless, as is apparent in the debate over Austrian national identity, economic and political self-interest did play an important rôle. In addition, the financial incentive was a powerful motivator behind the identification and promotion of features of Austrian nationality (both tangible and intangible). As the debate over Austria's cultural existence and the degree to which it was dependent on economic viability shows, the two components are not mutually exclusive, but co-dependent.

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<sup>4</sup> See discussion in Caplan, Jane: Government without administration. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1988.p26.

<sup>5</sup> Kohn, Hans: Living in a World Revolution: My Encounters with History, quoted in Nations and Men p78

<sup>6</sup> E. Renan: "What is a Nation?" in William, G. (Ed): Poetry of the Celtic Races and Other Studies. Kennikaat Press, London, 1970. p79.

<sup>7</sup> Nations and Men, p91

There were emotional grounds for positing the existence of an Austrian nation: Austria was perceived as having a territory, a history, a culture, an individuality to which loyalty was a fitting response. No Anschluß adherent denied or strove for the annihilation of this Austrian identity. Whichever solution was proposed, it was based upon the assumption that there was an Austrian identity which deserved to survive. This thesis has shown that the debate over Austria's future was a debate over which solution best served Austrian identity: how best to serve both rational and emotional requirements.

The interwar period was a difficult time in which to be developing a national identity. Breuilly correctly challenges the supposition that the "success of nationalism means that nationalism is very strongly rooted in the thought or behaviour of people".<sup>8</sup> However in interwar Europe, nationalism and national identity were an issue which every state had to confront in one form or another. If one considers the timing of the debate it is clear that late entries into the system of nation states had an agenda cut out for them. As Liah Greenfeld argues, as the sphere of influence of certain Western societies (which defined themselves as nations) expanded, other societies had no choice but to become nations:

The development of national identities thus was essentially an international process, whose

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<sup>8</sup> "Reflections on nationalism" in Philosophy and Social Science, 15\1, March 1985, p73

sources in every case but the first lay outside the evolving nation.<sup>9</sup>

The principle of national self-determination had been legitimised at the peace making process. However, Austria had been made an exception, and independent statehood forced upon it. The Austrian nation state did pre-date the Austrian nation, if the nation state is seen as the only possible political representation of a national identity.

It would require time for an Austrian national identity suitably adapted to the profound changes brought by the First World War to develop. Austria had to find some way of reconciling years of multinationality with the twentieth-century Europe of the nation state; it had to find a way of reconciling its ties with many nations and its bond with Germany; its sense of mission within Europe as a whole was exceptionally high. Austria's problem lay in the fact any alternative to the nation state could not exist in a vacuum, and Europe was not ready for any other form of political organisation. Austrian national identity only became an issue after the disintegration of the monarchy and the establishment of the Succession States, a development which would support Greenfield's thesis. As Kreissler aptly describes, Austria was a "verspätete", a delayed nation.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Liah Greenfeld: "Types of European Nationalism" in Hutchinson, John and Smith, Anthony D.: Nationalism. Oxford University Press, Oxford/New York, 1994, p168.

<sup>10</sup> Kreissler, Felix, Der Österreicher und seine Nation. Ein Lern Prozess mit Hindernissen Böhlau Verlag, Vienna/Graz/Köln, 1984, p485

In the interwar period, a sense of Austrianness was no longer sufficient: in interwar Europe a sense of national identity involved representation in a nation state. It is perhaps this which explains Erich Zoellner's interpretation of the debate over Austrian identity as "insignificant", because, as he describes, "the order of the hour was not an Austrian nationalism but an Austrian state consciousness".<sup>11</sup> This became particularly pertinent when the latter became a question of the survival of an alternative German identity to the National Socialist version. What Zoellner fails to allow for in his criticism is the relationship between the two (nationalism and state consciousness). An Austrian "state consciousness", i.e., the desire to constitute an independent nation state, could not develop without working through the perceptions of Austrian identity. Hans Kohn argued in 1939,

Austria and the Austrian idea seemed ended at the very time when its existence appeared necessary for the future of German civilization as well as for the peace of Europe.<sup>12</sup>

Austria's understanding of its own identity is thus not insignificant: it is not only the state's independent existence, but Austria's idea of self which Kohn mourns here. Only if that which constituted Austrianness could be identified, and only when it was believed that this Austrianness would best be served in an independent

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<sup>11</sup> Erich Zoellner: "Form und Wandlungen des Österreichbegriffs" in Historica

<sup>12</sup> Kohn, Hans: "AEIOU: Some Reflections on the meaning and mission of Austria" in The Journal of Modern History. Volume XI, December, 1939, No 4., p520

state, would Austria be able to stand unequivocally behind national independence. This was the case after World War II. The groundwork, however, had been laid between the wars.

There is a further issue related to the question of timing. As has been shown, the nation is only one possible variation of corporate organisation which has come to dominate other variations, at least for the time being. It is not the outcome of organic growth and the apotheosis of political organisation. If nations are by-products of the emergence of other nations, their development must be understood as a response to the outside world as much as a response to internal factors which encourage cohesion. Felix Kreissler argues that Austrians were all ready a nation in the interwar period. They unconsciously already possessed national character, collective memory, etc. The existence of a distinct Austrian identity could be surmised from the "Austriacisms" (Austro-Marxism, Austro-Fascism, for example), but was simply not consciously recognised: "the Austrian nation already existed, but it didn't know this yet".<sup>13</sup> Similarly, Wagner describes St Germain as giving Austria the "necessary time to find itself via a bloody detour".<sup>14</sup> It is the argument of this thesis that a

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13 "Die österreichische Nation bestand bereits, doch wußte sie es noch nicht." Der Österreicher und seine Nation, p538. See also p21.

14 "Wollten die Österreicher den Anschluß?" in Wagner, Georg (Ed): Österreich von der Staatsidee zum Nationalbewußtsein, PRO AUSTRIA, Verlag der Österreichischen Staatsdruckerei, Wien, 1982: "die nötige Zeit um auf blutigen Umwegen zu sich selber zu gelangen."



sense of Austrian national identity had begun before the Anschluß, even if a national commitment to independent statehood had not. However the view of nations becoming self-aware is fallacious. As Ernest Gellner argues, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist".<sup>15</sup> In other words, Austria would not have had to "find itself" any more than it already had done if it had not been for the political organisation of Europe. The Austrian nation did not awaken, it was constructed in response to the dominant European political system.

It is important to differentiate between constructed and invented, however. The nature of the debate and the parallels between its components and those within the objectivist definition of nationhood support the view that the nation is an artificial construct, whether that construction is conscious and deliberately pursued, or unconscious and gradual. However the subsequent conclusion that a nation is an invented and artificial construct is problematic. This thesis has shown that, certainly in the case of Austrian national identity, it is selection, not invention, which underlies national identity. (The question of whether it is national identity which determines the selection takes one back into the realm of the chicken and the egg.) Hence the repeated emphasis in the text on the interpretation rather than the validity of the points raised. This is

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<sup>15</sup> Ernest Gellner: Thought and Change Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1964. p169

not to imply that states never resort to invention or falsification to galvinise or unify their nationals. But why invent when imaginative interpretation will do? The nation state is in these circumstances the consequence of a certain interpretation being imposed on specific selected characteristics: it is the interpretation which is constructed, not the elements themselves. So, for example, all humans speak a language, but that language may or may not be seen to constitute a "national" tongue.<sup>16</sup> The individual component parts are themselves composite: culture is an obvious example of a component of national identity having internal constructions. But these constructions constitute a component of national identity collectively not individually; thus there is a national literature, comprised of many different authors; one author alone does not constitute a national literature even if he or she has come to epitomize it. The constructions within the components serve different agendas, reflecting class divisions for example.

It is clear that features which could come to represent an Austrian national identity were abundant. However there were at least two major hindrances to the construction of an Austrian national identity. Austria's situation was unique in that only a very small percentage of Austrians had had aspirations which could not be fulfilled within the monarchy.<sup>17</sup> Austro-Germans (so

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<sup>16</sup> There are parallels here with the concept of "Britain", a political unit in which, at least in theory, Englishness, Scottishness, Welshness can co-exist and thrive.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter One, p9.

named to differentiate them from "Austrians" of other nationalities who had lived in Austria/Cis-Leithania) had not developed an Austrian nationalism as a movement to attain change; nationalism was seen as a negative force of destruction, not a positive force for development. There was thus no Austrian nationalism, only German nationalism. This has ramifications to the present day. As Bluhm argued in 1973,

The equation, German = Prussian = Pan-German = National Socialist, governs the discussion of the concept "Austrian nation" to this day, and the inevitability with which the avowal of Austria's autonomy as a state is tied to the denial of every historical, linguistic and cultural connection to the German past has made the Austrians' task of discovering their own identity significantly more difficult.<sup>18</sup>

However selective contemporary Austrian identity is, however, and such selectivity is not surprising, Austria's current identity seems secure: furthermore, analysis of its contemporary components is remarkably consistent with the historical analysis outlined above.<sup>19</sup>

A second hindrance to the construction of an Austrian national identity was the fact that debates on

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18 Bluhm, William T: Building an Austrian Nation. Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1973. p260

19 See Vyskocil, Gabriele: Die Entstehung des österreichischen Nationalbewusstseins im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert; Analyse des nationalen Selbstfindungsprozesses der Österreicher. (Diplom Arbeit; University of Vienna), Wien, 1992. The final section of this dissertation compares the findings of the surveys on Austrian national identity of which the first was run by the Fessel-Institut in 1956, the seventeenth by the Institut für strategische Markt-und Meinungsforschung in 1992. Awareness of a distinct Austrian national identity is shown to have risen from 49% in 1956 to 80% in 1992, although the precise terminology of the question has varied.

Austria's future would remain theoretical unless the approbation or indifference of the outside world could be achieved. It is here that Europe made its greatest mistake if it wished to ensure the survival of an independent Austrian state. By seeking to control Austria's future, foreign powers prevented Austria developing a solid belief in it.

The world wide depression, and the trend towards totalitarianism and subsequent expansion also meant that Austria was to be denied that factor most crucial to the solidification of a sense of national identity - time. A country under minimal threat can afford ambiguity in its self-definition, indeed, national identity perhaps depends upon it. As discussed in the introduction, any collective identity is dependent not only on generalisation, but on the fact that different interpretations of, in this case national, identity can co-exist without threatening the entire concept. Austrian national identity, like most national identities, was riddled with paradoxes. Austria was German, but Austrian too. Austria saw itself as supra-national, but was a nation state. Even protestations that Austria had no national identity presupposed that it was possible to argue the opposite. It is unnecessary to refute something in which nobody believes. If the debaters are to be believed, it was an Austrian trait that an unambiguous sense of identity did not emerge, as was the tendency to complain rather than act.

However, Austria was under threat, both from within and without. Opposing views as to the form of existence Austria should take undermined national independence from within while it was under challenge from without. This was particularly the case under the Corporate State when the Social Democrats and the National Socialists were jointly termed enemies of Austria. Furthermore, given the knowledge that all arguments would remain theoretical anyway, little responsibility had to be taken for their ramifications.

In a period whose uncertainties made certainty attractive, analyses of the Austrian identity could not provide a stable guiding force and determine which route the country should take. Ambiguity of definition did in the Austrian case undermine national consensus: differences in the understanding of what constituted Austrian national identity was not masked by a common conclusion. However, there was a certain degree of underlying consensus. For example, although little agreement could be reached on what Austria's mission was, there was assurance that Austria had a mission to fulfil. Thus, analysis of Austrian national identity could not provide Austrians with any definite answers, yet there was more agreement as to what constituted Austrian identity than the opposing sides recognised. It was this underlying agreement which could provide the foundations for a consensual Austrian identity.

In the event, Austria experienced and rejected the solution of Anschluß, enjoyed positive independence, and

is currently involved in a version of the Federation solution in which Austria's German and multinational nature can co-exist. (Austria joined the European Union on 1 January, 1995.) As the Second Republic has discovered, the differing solutions turned out not to be mutually exclusive. It could be argued that ultimately only a combination of the solutions would accurately reflect Austrian identity. Such a combination could only be the product of time, however, and required a different environment than that of the interwar period.

Had the foundations not been laid in the First Republic, Austria would not have been able to claim her right to independence and to recognition as a separate entity from Nazi Germany. This is not only true in terms of historical precedence (there had been an independent unit called Austria which had existed in the past, it could do so again), but because there was a formulated and experienced Austrian identity. This could be interpreted as distinct from the German if that interpretation ever became relevant. The fact that it was this understanding of Austrian identity which was expedient after World War II does not detract from the fact that an independent Austrian identity could be distinguished. The groundwork for independence and the form which Austria has to the present day were laid between 1918 and 1938.

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