The relation between the growing anti-Semitism and the development of an Austrian national identity

Pic.1: Ferris wheel in Vienna.

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1. Introduction

1.1 Hypothesis

I write about Austrian identity and its development during the 19th and 20th century, because I realized that I should start to collect thoughts and conceptions about the Austrian identity and put it into a work. This work shall deal with historical, political, cultural, social and ethic-philosophical aspects of an important subject in Austrian history. There shall be shown different ways of pointing out a problem and of course a thesis, in which the relation of the growing antisemitism and the development of an Austrian national identity will be expounded.

I decided to have a look at the national Austrian Identity especially from the turn of the Century, because I think that this time is most important, and I will connect it with the period after 1945 and the modern development of a new national identity. The thesis is now, that the development of a national identity in the 19th century had the negative effect of growing antisemitism in the country. Of course, Jews have always had – historically seen – a good or accepted life in Austria, but in the end of the 19th century the Dual monarchy constituted laws which promised freedom and civil rights. I think the process of change in the Austrian Identity involved a mechanism of excluding others, in this case Jews. This mechanism is interesting, because Catholicism was, in my opinion, one of the leading aspects in the development of an identity and maybe this is one reason why Jews, as another religion, had become the outsiders. Here, an elementary question about antisemitism and its action as an economical, religious or racial phenomenon should be recognized. I have a theory that this development was shaped by the concept of human needs. This represents of course only the ground structure of my thinking. I take it as a starting point to the hypothesis that humans act in interest of their human needs and therefore avoid doing something that could put those at risk.

It also would be interesting to think about the roots of antisemitism in Austria’s politics and culture in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Here especially three men are important: Georg Ritter von Schönerer, Karl Lueger and Hermann Bahr. Schönerer as author of the – part liberal, part anti-Semitic – ‘Linzer programme’, Lueger as mayor of Vienna and
Bahr as collector of different European opinions about antisemitism. These men all lived in the end of the 19th century and experienced the political trend in that time.

The thesis of this work is that different circumstances in the turn of the century lead to growing anti-Semitism, which is connected with a development of an Austrian national identity. The nationalistic trends in the end of the 19th century were important to construct it. I relate the identity development to the growing antisemitism by using the concept of in- and exclusion. With help of the period of the end of 19th century I would like to analyse, how identity developed after 1945. It is interesting to find out if parts of the identity concept were replaced by modern ones or if the old concepts just were continued. Because of Austria’s dealing with history and the political development in the second half of the 20th century I will investigate the new national identity.

1.2 Research question

I am interested in circumstances, which caused humans to develop anti-Semitic concepts and in the different identities, which appeared in the pre-, inter- and after-war period. There are many questions I would like to answer but I confine myself to focus on one problem oriented question.

What is the relation between Austrian national identity building in the 19th century and the identity development after 1945?

I would like to analyse the whole time from 1848 up until now, but unfortunately this would take rather more than 40 pages and I do not have enough time and space to treat the whole development of Austrian national identity. Therefore I will focus on the period of the 1890s and the post-war period. I want to start with the pre-war period in Austria, because the roots of the Austrian national identity lie in that time. Naturally I should also write about the inter-war period, but I have to leave it out, because of the mentioned reasons.

This brings us to the next topic about the intellectual guiding force of antisemitism in the end of the 19th century and in which ways this has influenced the history. Who started to write anti-Semitic and why? Here the question about the motivation for acting in this or that way in that time. Besides the economical and political reasons for actions also religious reasons are important. The next part in my research is going to be about the post-war period in Austria.
and the development of a new identity. I analyse different positions of Austrian national identity and its development after the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War.

1.3 Method

The main subject of this project is the development of Austrian national identity in the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century connected to the post-war period. The 19\textsuperscript{th} century shaped the entire building of the national identity in Austria in a unique way. Concerning the Germany Prussia forced question the “\textit{Kleindeutsche Lösung}” [small German solution] instead of the “\textit{Großdeutsche Lösung}” [Greater Germany], because it wanted to take chairmanship in the “\textit{Deutsche Bund}” and therefore needed to exclude Austria. The battle of Königgrätz on the 3\textsuperscript{rd} of July 1866 the difficulties decided in favour of Prussia. Austria was in a bad political situation: Since it was isolated from Germany, this lead to a weakening of German speaking people in the country and to a strengthening of all other Non-German groups in the Empire. This is the basis for national movements in Austria forcing a reunion of all German speaking groups, but also for racist and anti-Semitic developments because people attempted to differentiate themselves from others.

The most important sociological constructions and conceptions concerning identity development processes base on Norbert Elias and Pierre Bourdieu, who created a new sociological point of view in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century. Figurational sociology shaped by Norbert Elias deals with humans in dynamic developments in society. I came across these sociological theories and was able to use it for the Austrian identity building in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It is also important for the post-war period and the creation of a re- or, to be more precise, a new building of identity. The Austrian national identity set up on a new in- and exclusion conception ignoring its history just trying to move on. It was part of the so called victim thesis, which established after the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War and hold on to the Waldheim-affair. This was a turning point in Austria leading the state into a new way of dealing with history and relativizing the victim thesis. Concluded during the 1990’s the Austrian state was able to construct a thesis of shared responsibility to show their ability of modern historical understanding. The most important year in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century was 2005 because of the anniversary of the end of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} World War [60 years] and of the existence of an Austrian constitution [50 years]. The main periods of historical writing in Austria are identical with those of the development of Austria’s national identity building.
The first period was in the 1880s and 1890s where the beginning of a national movement was settled and first Austrian authors started to publish their more or less scientific findings about folk, nation and nationalism. The second one was in the 1960s because of the completion of the denazification process and the achieved distance to the occurrences in the 2nd World War. This period was not especially critical or sensational, because of proximity to the war. The third one was during and after the Waldheim-affair concerning the dark history of Austrians. Generally from this can be concluded that a new point of view arose and the Austrian national identity changed to its advantage. The fourth and last one bases on the anniversary in the year 2005 or in general on a new historical interest in the 21st century, where this project work also could be categorized.

The central source for national concepts and building of nation state was Benedict Anderson’s “Imaged communities”. According to his theories nationalism is a conclusion of nation and identity building established in the closing years of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. This was important for this work but also for a historical understanding of national trends in Austria. Ruth Wodak was my main inspiration concerning the Austrian national development, especially the political trends in the 20th century. The great field of critical discourse analyse combined with theories on racism and anti-Semitism is one main source. The most important is to come to the realization that racism and resulting from that anti-Semitism the main traces in an in- and exclusion process are. A general interest in motives for these developments and the agreement with Wodak’s thesis brought me to deal with it in that project. In that specific scientific field Pierre Bourdieu was another source I was glad to use. He widened Norbert Elias’ Habitus conception into a new sociological theory and opened it for cultural and social anthropology. Furthermore, a psychological thesis is important to get a different look on motives and identity buildings. As an example the concept of human needs bases methodologically on the psychological theory of Abraham Maslow (A Theory of Human Motivation) and his hierarchy of needs from the 1940s. I used this theory to prove my thesis and to try to understand human actions in a rational and scientific way.

Principally these sources were my main tools to reconstruct and understand the Austrian national identity building development and they inspired me to write about such a complex and broad topic. My central assumption why I wrote about it just now is that the situation of
studying abroad is an exceptional period of finding oneself. It was a possibility to do research in identity constructions and developments concerning the Austrian national identity.

1.4 Historiography

In the following chapter, description of the academic viewpoint of national identity shall be discussed. Naturally not all authors and editors concerning the subject of national identity could be quoted but those who were most important for this project, should be mentioned. The work bases on different literature about Austria’s history, antisemitism and identity concept in the 19th and 20th century.

For nation concepts and nationalism was Benedict Anderson’s “*Imagined communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*” the main source, which impressively connects different nation building processes and identity developments. He is professor emeritus at the private research Cornell University Ithaca, New York and is engaged in a study of constructivism in sociological theories. This angle uses inter-subjective building processes in society to prove a different reality perception, where communities are imagined. The historical starting point to explain this thesis was most useful for dealing with identity developments in Austria of the 19th century. Importance of an own language combined with decline of Latin was a central identification point in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The next historical angle, that Monarchies were at the end of theirs decade strength with disappearing of principle of legitimacy, was also important for dealing with Austria-Hungary. In the course of time the assumption that nation, nationalism and identification are ancient terms changed in favour of the realization, that they are relatively new terms. Benedict Anderson was one of the first, who explain them as new terms in conjunction with history.

Susanne Frölich-Steffen wrote a book in 2003 about Austrian identity [“*Die österreichische Identität im Wandel*”] and political, social and cultural occurrences in the 20th century. She is assistant lecturer at the Geschwister-Scholl-Institute for political science at the Ludwig-Maximilians-University in Munich since 2001 and devotes a great deal of her time to research on nationalism, politics, cultural actions, national and supranational identity developments. Her work was an important source for my project because she used different angles to describe national identity movements on the special example of Austria. It was interesting to
work with it because of the clear structure and straight point of view of political, cultural and social trends.

Also important for my work were authors, who wrote about Jews and Austria, for example Ivar Oxaal, anthropologist and sociologist, Michael Pollak, social scientist (†1992), and Steven Beller. These three authors wrote about the Jewish situation in Austria in the turn of the century, about daily life, culture and of course antisemitism. Steven Beller is visiting Scholar at the George Washington University and research assistant for History at Peterhouse College in Cambridge and wrote “Vienna and the Jews, 1867 – 1938 – a cultura history”. The period of Fin de siècle was one of the important ones for this work. The phase of Jewish intellectual and cultural achievements shaped political and national trends. He capture this important decade of Austrian national identity building with succinct expression on a Jewish point of view. This book is also arranged according to national and ethnical radicalism in that period, therefore interesting to read and useful for different chapters in the project work.

Robert Salomon Wistrich is one of the most recognized international authors who wrote about anti-Semitism and was used in this project concerning his articles about anti-Semitism, especially “Social democracy, antisemitism and the Jews of Vienna”, which was published by Ivar Oxaal, Michael Pollak and Gerhard Botz in 1987. He is professor for New Jewish history in Jerusalem and guest lector at the Harvard University. In this article political development of anti-Semitism in Vienna during the Habsburg Empire and later periods are a central theme and could be use for a general thesis about anti-Semitism in Austria.

For the identity concept Pierre Bourdieu († 2002) with “Die feinen Unterschiede” was a central source of information because of his sociological point of view on genetic structuralism. He employed different fields of philosophy, sociology and anthropology to construct his Habitus-concept, which is one of the most important sociological thesis in the 20th century and basis for the methodology in this work. He invented a new cultural thesis in which different potential capital possibilities were used to explain human identities. These are for example cultural, social or symbolic capitals which could be brought in action by a person who would like to transfer itself into another social position. An important assumption is that human life is restricted by many factors like social structures, historical occurrences, sex or nationality. However, individual ability to act depends on the complexity of a society. This theory was used to understand national identity developments during time.
Bourdieu’s ideas were important for identity concepts in general, but for national identities Norbert Elias’ theories in “Studien über die Deutschen: Machtkämpfe und Habitusentwicklung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert” as well as in “Die Gesellschaft der Individuen” could be better used. His theories are interesting on one hand for their sociological process of civilization and on the other hand for developing a new sociological view with a complex human consideration. He constructed a new point of view on identity and identification processes concerning in- and exclusion conceptions. Interdependence between the established and the outsiders gave a subtly differentiated visibility also in reflection of native citizens and foreigners, which was one of the most important sociological angles in this work.

1.5 Project structure

The project is structured into three parts, at first a theoretical part about national identity concepts and the circumstances which lead to this occurrences in the 19th century. It deals with nation concepts and identities as well as with anti-Semitism and its definition. This leads to the main part of work where I treat the relation between Austrian national identity building in the 19th century and the identity development after 1945. A central question of relation and in general identity constructions is important. Secondly I will turn to the 19th century, where I have a special view on the guiding intellectual forces of anti-Semitism. A special focus should also be on the Christian Social Party, which forced anti-Semitism instead of stopping it in awareness of Christian doctrine.

This brings me directly to the post-war decade in Austria and the dealing with a new identity after the 2nd world war. In this part of the work I would like to show the development of new identification conceptions, which lead to a new identity in Austria of the post-war era. Here the victim-thesis and its development to the thesis of shared responsibility should be mentioned. A special reflection should also be made about the 80s, the Waldheim-affair and its consequences for the Austrian national identity.
2. Theoretical basis

2.1 National concepts

The next point is the nation building process in the 19th and 20th century. Strictly speaking the Nationalization process started with letterpress printing, because through this one language was selected from many different dialects and became a possibility of national identification and communication. As a result of this, languages rose as one of the most important means of identification and national identity. There are different concepts to give an overview of the topic. At first I want to define the term of a ‘national state’, which was formed after monarchical structures and built up a new community and identity in the 19th century. The structures of this were not very complicated, because their main work was to protect the members against violence from outside, this means physical and social security. Especially in wartimes this social identification process worked more effective than in periods of peace.

There are three sociological concepts of meaning of and understanding a nation, the state nation concept, the cultural nation concept and the will nation concept. The State nation concept included that the state strengthened its borders and formed a territorial region, in which a political system could be build up. In this concept the identification with institutions like law or a social system is important. In Austria this concept gained importance after the 2nd World War because people rested on the party system, the constitution and the national territory. This state nation concept confirmed particularly through the state treaty and the emphasized neutrality in the post-war Austria. And of course the inhabitants agree with the state. The other two concepts amplified identification with the region before the building of a national state. Here points of culture, national identity and ethnicity are important.

The cultural nation concept bases on religious and ethnical points, like language or culture. This concept was formed in the Romantic period with believe in a “Volksseele” combined with the research about ‘typical’, traditional, national things, like traditional costumes, folk dances or dialects. Interestingly this development goes in two directions, first building up a national identity and second radical nationalism. The study about nationality did not only investigate dialects but also ethnical differences, which lead us directly to racial concepts.

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The third concept is the will nation concept. Here is the belief in the free will and a voluntarily build up of a state important. Naturally there should be identification with the system in that case. Remarkably enough is that this concept is also possible without a state, because the identification with common collective memory and a shared tradition are prominent.\(^4\) The main problems on these theories are that they request that you agree with the leading collective, which isn’t always the case. And second it is possible, that the willing nation could be formed by a radical group, which decided to build up a new nation, which probably lead to a dictatorship. At least as Benedict Anderson concludes modern nations are not only states, cultural or willing nations, but also have social constructions and meanings.\(^5\) The identification with the nation state is the most important point in the maintenance of a nation, because if the national identity gets lost, the community will fall apart and the state will break down.

Anderson gives here an interesting definition, when he writes that a nation is a political community – imagined as limited and sovereign.\(^6\) Imagined because every community exists only in the thoughts of the community members who believe in the state. Limited because every state has its regional and geographical borders and sovereign because the term of a nation was born in the Enlightenment and is the opportunity for a hierarchical, dynastical reign, which bases on believe in power in the will of god.\(^7\)

### 2.1.1 Identity and Identification

The national identity is a precondition for building up national communities and can be seen as a special form of social identity, which is discursively, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed.\(^8\) The national Identity is a part of the human Habitus\(^9\), which is seen as a complex set of common ideas and perception schemes of an emotional attitude subjectively shared with others of a specific group, society, in a nation, who show the same behaviour and position. This social Habitus is the basis of different individual and collective identities, which will be formed during a lifetime.\(^10\)

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\(^{9}\) See Pierre Bourdieu: Die feinen Unterschiede.

Naturally national identities are not totally stable, because they are influenced by political trends, in our time mass media or everyday discourses.¹¹

“Through classificational systems (especially according to sex and age) inscribed in law, through bureaucratic procedures, educational structures and social rituals […], the state moulds mental structures and imposes common principles of vision and division […]. And it thereby contributes to the construction of what is commonly designated as national identity (or, in a more traditional language, national character).”¹²

Bourdieu sees national identity, or identities in general, principally as concepts mainly constructed from the outside. This is of course right but one has to take into account the national identification as an active support of the nation, which is coming from the person itself.¹³ This identification is the main reason for people going to elections and voting, or trying to support their state in other active ways. National identity and nation consciousness are inter-subjective ways of identification with a nation, as well as loyalty to it. National identity has not necessarily to be a positive mood – it is more or less neutral. The collective self-esteem as a nation has to be established, to produce pride for the nation and to require a positive sensation for the nation.¹⁴

2.1.2 National identity

National Identity is one part of the different identities in a human Habitus. Norbert Elias explains that every man, even though he is different from any other man, has a special character and shares this character with every other person in the society. This character is a social Habitus, which includes personal characteristics.¹⁵

National identities, like mentioned before, are influenced by different actions. At first there is the everyday discourse with important moving forces on a political, social and cultural level. These forces supply varying identification possibilities concerning national identity, which people can receive and absorb into their national identities.

However, the state also uses its public presences to exert influence on the education to consolidate national feelings, oriented towards “Vertiefung und Verfestigung eines ausschließlich auf die nationale Tradition abgestellten Wir-Gefühls.” The in- and exclusion concept is also a significant characteristic of the national identity conception. At first nations were built up to protect people inside it and to secure their existence and therefore the differentiation from other nations was so important. Just to continue, national memory is one of the central parts of identification in a nation. The memory takes historical occurrences, which people of a nation have experienced together, and observes it in a national way. So, this interpretation of history promotes a national history, which retrospectively supports the individual identity. Furthermore national symbols, like coat of arms and flags, are significant for the identification and the national identity. Also wartimes can be seen as times where there is a special and strong mode of identification. An example for Austria is the war against Prussia in the 18th century, which led to the first identification trend within the state.

The Austrian national identity is seen as a dynamic but also crumbling concept. This has a strong connection with the in- and exclusion process. The disposition to solidarity with the included community is just as high as the differentiation to the excluded part. Especially the construction of a common history and culture over past, present and future is one of the most important points, which leads to a collective memory.

Here I should start to analyse the Austrian-Hungarian Empire and its inhabitants in the end of the 19th century. The problem was that there were so many different people from different countries concentrated into one state. It was divided into Cisleithania (which included Lower and Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Bohemia, Moravia, Austrian Silesia, Galicia, Bucovina, Carniola and the Coastal Districts) and Transleithania (which included Hungary, Transylvania, Dalmatia, Croatia-Slavonia, Bosnia-Hercegovina). Bosnia and Hercegovina should be pointed out here. It was administrated by Austria since 1878 and then annexed in 1908. In 1910, the year of the last population statistics of the Dual

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Monarchy, the inhabitants of this region were ethnically judged as Slavs, but divided into two ethnical groups, Croats and Serbs, and one religious group, Mohammedans. These three groups were nearly of an equal size, Croats 21%, Serbs 42% and Mohammedans 34%. This subdivision happened for the sake of simplicity, because the last group distinguished from Serbs and Croats through their language and their religion. Therefore it is more correct to make a religious division into Catholics (Croats), Orthodox (Serbs) and Muslims (Mohammedans). This part of the Empire is representative for the whole state, which had to deal with differences in ethnicity and religion among various groups in each section.

Pic.2: Map of Austria Hungary: ‘Distribution of Races in Austria-Hungary’

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In all these regions and areas lived Germans, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Croats, Italians, Romanians, Magyars and Slovaks, and all these groups formed their own identity and tried to build up an own nation state.

Austria, which was a particularly example, is an exception of this, because Austrian people literally did not exist [like one can see on the map]. They were assigned as German speaking inhabitants of Austria, consequently they were oriented towards Germany. I think it is a logical conclusion to try to join all German speakers in one country, because if one does not have an ‘own language’, which helps one to divide from others, one tries to find people who are speaking the same language and maybe have the same culture. Therefore the Pan-Germanism was forced to be a trend in Austria in the 19th century.

2.1.3 Nationalism

The word nation refers to a group of people living in a political system on a geographical territory. Different levels of objectivity, political and economical influences, and subjectivity, cultural or religious influences create the feeling of belonging together in a state. National identity is one of the most important points in that field, seen as a collective representative of the nation.26

‘The term “nationalism” is generally used to describe two phenomena: (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination’,27

During the 19th century, especially the second decade, the rise of national thoughts, trends and movements in Europe began. This happened because of two trends: first the Romantic imaginations of “Volk” and identity and second the ascent of liberalism, which defined people as a nation. People came to realize that language is a special expression of the growing national trend and, as a conclusion from this, that every group of people, who were speaking the same language, had a right to be independent.

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24 Inhabitants of today’s Ukraine.
27 Nenad Miscevic (2005), http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nationalism/ [01.11.2006].
Benedict Anderson mentions the importance of language in an example concerning the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In the 18th century Joseph II decided to introduce German as new state language instead of Latin. He didn’t do this because of German oriented politics but because he thought, that Latin lost its effectiveness and in the interest of the mass of the population he had to find a new unified language. He chose German because it was the only language, which had wide culture and literature and has been spoken by a part of people in every part of the monarchy.

But in the 19th century a new problem appeared, because now German was not only the imperial language it also expressed a national trend. The more the dual monarchy emphasized German language, the more dissatisfied people got, who were speaking other languages. Now the emperor Joseph II was in a dilemma because he had to have one common language and chose German. If he allowed other languages he would have endangered the unity and if he persisted on German he would have gotten the displeasure of all inhabitants with an other mother tongue.28 This brought the Magyars, the Latin speaking nobility of Hungary, to opposition towards the Austrian politics, and helped them to come to the realization that they should force Magyar culture as the only Hungarian culture. Everybody who lived in Hungary should be Hungarian, and every Hungarian should speak Magyar. This nationalism had its highest peak in the hour of the revolution in 1848. After the lost battle of Königsgrätz against Prussia Austria-Hungary was forced to agree with the settlement of 1867, recognize the Dual Monarchy and give Hungary substantial autonomy. In 1868 the government enacted a nationality-law, which guaranteed minorities all rights they could ever claim. But after minister president Tisza came to power the force of the Magyar culture was driven forward and the nationalism was used as a tool of authority of the Hungarian nobility.29

This is just an example how Nationalism got the European Monarchies to change their common systems and to open up for the new trend. Anderson also calls this “official Nationalism”, because different dynasties had to revise their thinking. After the 20s of the 19th century, when the national movements in Europe rose, a fusion between Nation and dynasty state was the only way to keep the imperial or royal power alive.

2.1.4 Jewish history in Austria

I would like to shortly outline the history of Jews in Austria to have a good historical overview of the situation. The first historic mentioning of Jews in Austria was in the 10th century. In the next three hundred years the Catholic Church tried to intersperse a law, which promoted the building of ghettos and own Jewish, specially marked clothes. In the middle of the 13th century, 1244, Duke Friedrich II, the Contentious, issued a law called “Judenprivileg”, which secured that Jews may not be accused only by Christian witness. This positive mood did not last very long and the first pursuits started in the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th century and reached their highest peak after the plague in 1348. Nevertheless the pro-Jewish politics were continued until the end of this century.30

In the 1420s Jews were driven out of Austria because of the alleged host sacrileges and insinuated cooperation with the Hussites. In 1475 the next driving out started in Tyrol, Salzburg, Styria and Carinthia because of the death of Simon of Trient. In the 16th century the king needed financial help and so the first Jews were allowed to come back to the capital city. The population rose and a second Ghetto was founded. In the beginning of the 1670s Jews were again driven out of the country, but a few years later they were permitted to settle again because of the trade and economic situation. There were hard restrictions enacted like a tolerance tax, which allowed a stay in Vienna only from 5 to 10 years. Some other examples were wedding-taxes, ban of purchase of houses and land, no civil rights, etc. Joseph II tried to improve the situation of Jews in Austria and abolished the Ghettos, several duties and extended the trade possibilities and access to universities.31

The Tolerance edict of 1781 introduced by Joseph I opened the way into the society for the Jews. Except the re-introduction of the “Judeneid” in 1851 the conditions were going to be better and better. After the new-crowed king Franz Joseph I expressed his thanks to the ‘Israelite culture community of Vienna’32 there was the right to build it up in reality (it was founded in 1852). The reign of Franz Joseph I. was shaped by his cause for equal rights for Christians and Jews. In the 60s of the 18th century more rights were introduced, which supported the sovereignty of Jews, like registrations to the construction industry. In 1867 the ‘Staatsgrundgesetz’ were passed, Austria was a liberal constitution-state and Jews had the

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experience of emancipation and equal rights. This attracted Jews and other people from all over Europe to come to Vienna and so the population grew very fast. While in 1830 there were 1600 Jews in Vienna. 16 years later, in 1869, there were 40,300 and in the beginning of the 1890s it rose to 118,295 Jewish inhabitants. In the end of the 19th century the whole population grew. From the 1850s to the turn of the century more than 1.1 million people came to Vienna and in 1910 the population was on the highest level of 2.03 million people (175.300 of it were Jews).

In the end of the 18th century the largest Jewish minority in Europe lived in Austria, this was the reason for an emancipation process but also for growing anti-Semitism. In 1848 many Jews participated in the revolution, and Jews were for the first time elected as members of the "Kremsierer Reichstag". In Hungary at the same time more than 20,000 Jews served in the army and supported the liberal politician Lajos Kossuth, who asked Jews for forgiveness for persecutions in history. In 1882 the first national Jewish student organisation called “Kadima” was founded. Four years later Herzls “Der Judenstaat” was published and in 1899 the first Zionist meeting in Prague was broken up by the police. Also in the beginning of the 20th century the national Jewish movement continued to exist. In 1907 four members of the Jewish national party were elected into the Austrian parliament. The foundation of Hakoah Vienna, the first Jewish football club in 1909, which was with 5000 members the largest in Europe, and probably the best football and sport club this country ever had, was also important.

But Catholic anti-Judaism, anti-Capitalism and national xenophobia was a breeding ground for the rise of anti-Semitism. To characterize the Jewish identity in Austria a quotation from Gustav Mahler should be used to express the displaced and multi-cultural feeling.

"Ich bin dreifach heimatlos: als Böhme unter den Österreichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen und als Jude in der ganzen Welt."
2.2 Anti-Semitism

This leads me directly to the next chapter concerning anti-Semitism. The Oxford Dictionary denote anti-Semitism as a “theory, action or practice directed against the Jews”. The term was founded by Wilhelm Marr in the 70s of the 19th century as a political slogan to force a racial conception based on pseudo-scientific theories. It was officially used 1879, when Marr established his anti-Semitic League. This racial anti-Semitic theory asserted “that humans were divided into clearly distinguishable races and that the intellectual, moral, and social conduct and potential of the member of these races were biologically determined, [...] and that biological inheritance explained cultural differences.”

After the French revolution national trends and movements started all over Europe and established themselves after the 1820s. With the success of liberalism, which forced governments with parliamentarian responsibility, rule of law, free competition, freedom of speech and coalition and rejected class privileges and the emancipation of Jews, anti-Semitism grew. Promoted by pseudo-scientific assumptions a new racism sprouted, which defined Jews as an own Semitic race. On this theory political ideologies were built up and spread in Europe. So, anti-Semitism was a reaction against liberalism which enabled Jews to rise. The liberal society distinguished itself by social mobility and rewarding of individual value and capability, which endangered every traditional, hierarchical order.

The early anti-Semitic economic conception was very spread out at that time. Many people, even intellectuals, thought, that there might be something true in it. In 1893 Hermann Bahr, an Austrian author, interviewed German, French and intellectuals, writers and politicians from all over Europe to reflected the political trend in the end of the 19th century. Jews were part of the financial power and were also in politics. Therefore it was ‘normal’ to say that the Jews were the guilty ones, when the public wanted to point out that the economic situation in

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Europe was worse. They wanted to denounce the bourgeoisies and the Jews were representatives of this class.44

It should be recognized that many Jews in Vienna in the end of the 19th century did not perceive themselves as Jews. They saw themselves as Germans or Austrians and as liberal or national but most of them did not deal with religious aspects. They were economically successful, modern, integrated and often did not want to be seen as Jews. And because of that they tried to show their connection to Austria. Even sometimes this led to in some ways to anti-Semitic Jews. This special behaviour is part of the so called ‘Jewish self-hate’45 which established itself in the end of the 19th century when the ‘East-Jews’ from Ukraine and Poland, parts of Austria-Hungary, came to Vienna. They were very religious and seemed to be strange and old-fashioned. At this time it seemed that the persecution of Jews and the Ghettos belonged to the past, but the prospect arise that it could come back, when old feelings woke up in the perception of the ‘East-Jews’. This is the main reason why so called typical Jewish characteristics were negotiated. Through emancipation and the turning away from religion the strong Jewish community Jews could identify with turned away. Tolerance towards strong religious people dropped as well as the fear about anti-Judaism was constantly present.

In summary one can say that anti-Semitism started to rise in Austria in the second decade of the 19th century, first with economical, religious and later with racial positions. At the turn of the century it reached its highest peak and revived again after the 1st World War. In the pre-war period it grew steadily and led into the 2nd World War. In the post-war Austria it was a prohibited term, but this does not mean that there were no anti-Semitic thoughts anywhere. Theodor Mommsen, liberal historian (1817 – 1903), declared his opposition to anti-Semitism for many years, but success was not forthcoming. This quotation form Hermann Bahr’s “Der Antisemitismus” is concise and describes the helplessness against radical attitudes.

“Sie täuschen sich, wenn Sie glauben, daß man da überhaupt mit Vernunft etwas machen kann. [...] Es ist alles umsonst. Was ich Ihnen sagen könnte, was man überhaupt in dieser Sache sagen kann, das sind doch immer nur Gründe, logische und sittliche Argumente. Darauf hört doch kein Antisemit. Die hören nur auf den eigenen Haß und den eigenen Neid, auf die schändlichen Instinkte. [...] Gegen Vernunft, Recht und Sitte sind sie taub.”46

44 Hermann Bahr (1979): Der Antisemitismus.
2.3 Central conceptions about anti-Semitism

Economical conception

The economic anti-Semitic position is interesting because it grew in the 70s and 80s of the 19th century and was widely accepted in the public. It was seen as part of national thoughts with socialistic and anti-Capitalistic influences and not as anti-Semitic, maybe within some difficult subjects but normal at that time. Jews were not only attacked because they were Jews, but also because they represented the bourgeoisies.

This traces economical motivated anti-Semitism back to the Middle age, when Christians were religiously not allowed to take interest and Jews took on financial matters, which enabled that many Christians were deep in debt to Jewish financial institutions.

The economical liberalism after 1867 spurred people on belief in anti-Judaism, because Jews had now the possibility to rise to occupational success. Not only the economical crisis in 1873 seemed to prove the prejudice towards the Jews, but also the fact that for example the bank Rothschild emerged undamaged from this crisis. But it took time to the 1880s until the conservative, religious anti-Semitism, the risen dissatisfaction and fear of the new economical power of Jews combined. In 1882 the Austrian Reform association was founded and at the first meeting Robert Pattai, lawyer and deputy chairman, held a speech concerning economical liberalism and Jews.

“Wenn wir nun heute sehen, dass die Juden unter der Herrschaft dieser Theorie nahezu die Alleinherrschaft im wirtschaftlichen Lager emporgekommen sind, so scheint von diesem Standpunkt aus die Judenfrage eben nur als ein Symptom der allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Krankheit.”

The economical anti-Semitic positions were shaped by the assumption that Jews were the Capitalism’s shield and thereby equated with its negative sides. Maximilian Harden, actor and politician, explained it in his interview in Hermann Bahr’s “Der Antisemitismus”.

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Religious position

The religious anti-Semitism based on the assumption of deicide of the Catholic Church. This term is derived from Latin and means “the killing of god”. It was the central motif in Christian anti-Judaism because it gave Jews the collective guilt on the crucifying of Jesus Christ. Through the time it was pushed to an “un-forgiven” sin, which diverted the reduction in status of all Jews in eternity. At first it was a religious planed discrimination but then it turned out later that it was perfect to justify oppression of Jews in general. It merged over the centuries with public devoutness and led eventually to anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism.

The assumption of Host desecration as a reason for Christian anti-Judaism started in the 13th century. These accusations meant that Jews or sometimes witches had stolen Hosts from the Church, as well as the alleged ritual murder of children, the blood libel against Jews justified pogroms and the persecution mania in the Middle age. Reasons for these upcoming theories were the Trans-substantiation from 1215, according to which real Blood and Body of Christ occur in the Eucharist Host and Wine, and the invention of the Corpus Christi feast in 1264. After the 16th century the charge of Host desecration lost importance, but the blood libels enjoyed attention supported from the Vatican until the 19th century and in some European regions until the 20th century. There was a motivation to spread the theory that God punished Jews for their sins, to enable self-interested Christians to made profit and act in their own advantage. Gavin I. Langmuir explained that “the central proposition of legal anti-Judaism from the earliest days had been that no Jew should be in a position to exercise control over Christians, whether through public office, the institution of slavery, or otherwise.”

48 Hermann Bahr (1979: 37): Der Antisemitismus. For English translation see appendix.
Racial theory

The racial position in anti-Semitism is undoubtedly the most important and most alarming. As far as I am concerned, this is the only way to analyse such pseudo-scientific assumptions to work with original sources therefore I will use a book called “Handbuch der Judenfrage” composed by Theodor Fritsch in 1935. He explains along the lines of the National Socialistic time the pseudo-scientific convictions with which European people used to be separated into different races. Anti-Semitic theoreticians worked it so that the Aryan race was in a good position and the so called Semitic race in a bad one. General assumptions were that the external characteristics of the Nordic or Aryan race were tallness, long face and cephalic [seen from above] white skin, bright hair and blue eyes, whereas the Semitic race had dark hair, dark eyes and a minor height.54

But the main characteristic of Jews was that they were a mixed and therefore inferior race and had no specific external characteristics, because so many races were mingled. There is only one frequently identification point the so called Jewish nose, but this appears not as often as assumed. So one has to have a look at behaviour, kind of motion and manner to identify someone as Jewish.55 Here Carleton Stevens Coon’s “The Races of Europe” from 1939 leads in certain respects in the same direction, but in any case it is more scientific than Fritsch’s book. He argued, that “the Jews cannot be treated as a geographical unit; they are ubiquitous within certain economic and cultural horizons”.56 And therefore “their racial character has been affected more by social and economic considerations than by latitude and longitude”.57

But to force anti-Semitism more than external characteristics were needed and this had to be precise inside characteristics. They began with the assertions that Aryans would be simple and devout, that they live from honest work, and create, because they are ‘descended’ from Greeks and Romans, philosophy, religion and natural science. Because of this conclusion they presumed that the Semitic race would be sensuous and rogue, living from speculation, manipulation, exploitation and plagiarism, and just imitate the Aryan race.58

56 Carleton Stevens Coon (1939: 639): The races of Europe.
57 Carleton Stevens Coon (1939: 639): The races of Europe.
In 1881 Eugen Dühring, who was professor for national economics at the university in Berlin, wrote a book called “Die Judenfrage als Rassen-, Sitten- und Kulturfrage”, which brought racial anti-Semitism into existence. Partially he used anti-liberal argumentation but further on he used fundamental racist assumptions.

“Es sei eine Forderung der Rassenlehre der modernen Völker, dieser ungleich niedrigeren Rasse alle öffentlichen Ämter, das Geschäfts- und Finanzwesen abzunehmen.”

With his statements he was one of the most extreme anti-Semitic writers in the beginning of the 1880s, influenced student movements with his extremism and reached in that way Georg von Schönerer. It can be seen as the beginning of anti-Semitic writing in Austria which supported others to follow this way.

As example for general racial anti-Semitic assumptions I would like to use Gustav Schmoller, professor for national economics. Theoretically a race and its culture could get in danger if they were mixed with other races, and therefore the state has the responsibility to enact laws for reprimands. He was strictly against equal rights for Jews, because humans with so different moralities could never have the same rights as Germans. There had to be restrictions for all races, of which the Habitus is situated too far from the Indo-Germanic.

“Daß das Durcheinanderwohnen, die Mischung und Kreuzung von Rassen, welche physisch, geistig und moralisch sehr weit von einander abstehen, schwere Gefahren für Staat und Kultur bringen muß, scheint wohl unwidersprochen.”

This lead to radical thesis about anti-Semitism like that of Adolph Wagner, who applies to be an anti-Semitic leader and considered about the situation in the 1890s in Germany.

“Ich gebe ja zu: die Juden sind zuwider und verletzen unseren Geschmack. Aber was weiter? Was soll geschehen? Was sollen wir thun [sic!] ? Totschlagen können wir sie nicht, aus dem Lande treiben auch nicht. Irgendwie müssen wir sie eben verdauen.”

2.4 The relation between antisemitism and national identity in Austria

In the end I realize that the Austrian national identity in the 19th century based partially on anti-Semitic thoughts. There should be a wide explanation for the different reasons which played together in that time, first Religion, second the economical situation in the end of the

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60 Hermann Bahr (1979: 30): Der Antisemitismus. For English translation see appendix.
19th century, third the development of an Austrian national identity and fourth the immigration of Jews from the East. Austria was a Catholic country and maybe according to that Judaism, as a different religion, was seen as an enemy. As an example of the present time, the Forsa institute made a survey in Germany 2003 and 9 % questioned that Jews had so many problems because God punished them for crucifying Jesus Christ. I think that people answered in that way because they are deeply religious and this also indicates that people were so as well 100 years before. I think that this survey also matches for Austria, because there were similar conditions in both countries, concerning Catholicism the situation was even stronger in Austria. As far as I think the important fact should be mentioned here, that the Catholic Church stepped back from the theory that Jews killed Jesus Christ in the document Nostra Aetate as late as 1965.

Secondly, the situation with Liberalism in the second decade of the 19th century was anything but easy for most people, because the nobility and the upper middle class saw themselves in danger, owing better prospect of promotions for the lower classes. Their inherited privileges were at risk and thus induced a brought trend against the economical and political situation. This coincides with the movement of nationalism and pan-Germanism in Austria, which wanted to support the German speaking part of the Empire. They were joining together to act against Liberalism and to hold on the old system, and they took advantage of growing fear, because of the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe. Most parts of them, even if they were at the lowest levels of society, were independent. So it was them who profit most by this political and economical trend, which made anxieties about an enormous approach of Jewish immigration to Vienna and Austria rise. But the main problem for the major part of the people, mainly in Vienna, was that the poor Jewish immigrants did not thought about assimilation. They differed in their language, Yiddish, their dress, mannerisms, mores and exotic religious customs – so they were obviously strangers.

And this is the very core of the problems: strangers. Austrians were not specifically more anti-Semitic than others but they were more hostile to strangers and foreigners. This is the key to the Austrian national identity and the reason why it could function over more than 130 years.

64 Markus Himmelbauer: Ein neuer Geist in Kirche und Gesellschaft. [published 03.11.2006], http://www.christenundjuden.org/de/?item=428, [29.11.2006].
Austria was using the in- and exclusions concept more often, earlier or stronger than other countries.

“Behavioural dispositions include both dispositions towards solidarity with one’s own national group as well as the readiness to exclude the ‘others’ from this constructed collective and to debase them.”  

The Waldheim-affair is a symbol for the conflict after a war in which a majority of the population participated. Normally there are civilians and soldiers, good and bad – of course it is not as easy as that, but I want to explain something, therefore I use this black and white coloured picture.

Naturally there is a responsible person and a victim, but in Austria there is both in one. Nearly everybody joined the NSDAP, not only for political agreement but because this was a possibility to get work. Of course many people were inside the system and supported it, but there were also a lot, who were part of it, but with closed eyes and ears, because there are no problems if one does not know anything about it. Naturally this is not an excuse for anything but one has to think about the fact that it was a dictatorship and war time, so people wanted to get trough it without dying and they would do anything to survive. So this was the main question: Do you participate or do you prefer to die? Naturally most people choose the first one because of preserving their human needs and this means that surviving is ahead of everything. It was not the case that you had a choice of whether you want to fight in the war or not. Nevertheless many men deserted, but normally a deserters live is not long, and in the years from 1940 to 1943 alone in Kagran, Vienna more than 1000 men were killed, because of high treason, desertion and undermining of the army.

When we have a look at Maslow’s hierarchy of needs it is obviously that the two lowest human needs, “physiological” and “safety needs” must be satisfied to reach the next level of “belongingness and love needs”. So, thinking logically, if basic needs are not fulfilled further levels can not be reached and when belongingness implies sympathetically identification with others, any selfless action could be expected. The need for security, stability, order, protection, freedom without fear and chaos, structure and law are

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representative for the safety needs. If the physiological needs are satisfied but not the safety needs, than these ones determine the character of behaviour. Therefore people in exceptional situations, like war, act in appalling inhuman ways, because they are just focused on themselves and their human needs.

Summarized I draw the conclusion from this assumptions, that the Austrian national identity was partial founded through the in- and exclusion concept concerning Jews and therefore was partly anti-Semitic in the end of the 19th century. However, this happened not because of specific anti-Judaism but resulting out from racist trends in the population. While searching a new identity or in the building process, exclusion is one of the most important points, that is of course not conducive to good relations between different groups. Leaving out any digression, Austria has problems with racism, resulting from this anti-Semitism, from ethnic prejudices and from generally everything that had to do with other religions, countries and ethnicities. I do not want to defend this country and its history, but it should be realized that this is a “phenomenon of globalization”. People always react on cultural, social and political occurrences, often in unacceptable ways, and especially an identification process is a difficult thing. To establish a strong identity it is most of the times the easiest way to construct a “negative out-group” and differentiate oneself from them.

In the 20th century a new Austrian identity had to be built up after the 2nd World War. It was not anti-Semitic because this was a taboo theme in the post-war era of Austria. Its dealing with history was problematic and the victim thesis (I will explain more on that in chap. 3.3) supported the negation of historical facts. Austria ignored the anti-Semitic trends in the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century and created a new national identification on a “blissfully island”, noticing nothing. Today anti-Semitism is more or less banned, because there are no Jews left. But strangers are still in the country and therefore racism against foreigners is still of relevance to the present and is a daily problem in Austria today. Through the fear of the “Eastern Expansion” and the fear of “Colonization by Islamic culture” it is remarkably clear that racism is still part of the identity and therefore was the main part in former national identity constructions. This is the reason why my conclusion lasts on the point

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70 Ruth Wodak (2000: 6): The rise of racism – an Austrian or a European phenomenon?
71 Ruth Wodak (2000: 6): The rise of racism – An Austrian or a European phenomenon?
73 Ruth Wodak (2000: 6): The rise of racism – An Austrian or a European phenomenon?
74 Ruth Wodak (2000: 6): The rise of racism – An Austrian or a European phenomenon?
that the Austrian national identity construction used racism as a tool of identification and exclusion. It only can cite as anti-Semitic if this is recognized as a racist phenomenon in the 19th/20th century.

3 Central assumptions about the development of an Austrian national identity

The first identification possibility arose from the Monarchs new position as “Landesvater” (godfather of the country) in the 18th century. The Rulers Maria Theresia and Joseph II could avert the Prussians and the national identification could base on that. This expressed itself in people’s admiration and loyalty for Maria Theresia. As well as in special appearance of strict Catholicism, like she would do, which finds particular expression in the Viennese procession at the feast of Corpus Christi.75 Two important years for national identity were 1804, when Franz I. claimed himself as emperor of Austria and formed in that way a new Monarchy, and 1848, when the revolution produced an Austrian constitution. Naturally the time of Biedermeier strengthened national thoughts, also in the field of literature, because in that period the first Austrian national writer, Franz Grillparzer appeared.76 He was the first author who wrote about Austrian topics, like the Monarchy and the bourgeoisies in this specific time, and in that way indicated Austrian cultural roots.

It can not be assumed that these first steps of national identification were well known and repeated in public opinion. These were quiet, hidden developments, which nobody had really realized yet. In addition to that, in the 19th century, when national movements started to rise, an Austrian national identity was displaced by groups which forced national ideas and where oriented towards Germany and the Pan-Germanism. This prevented the prospect of promotion of a special Austrian national thinking. But the national Austrian identification roots, which based on the mentioned occurrences in the 18th and 19th century, were important for the rebuilding of a new identity after the 2nd World War. These stereotypes of Monarchy and Catholicism were leading elements in the post-war identity in Austria, but also for the new view from outside on the country.

3.1 Authors and politicians around 1900

In the middle of the 19th century an anti-Semitic movement began to rise. It reached its highest peak around the 70s until the 90s of the 19th century, subsided a little bit until the beginning of the 20th century and rose again after the 1st World War and the world economic crisis.

In Austria three of the most important persons in political and social life in that time were Georg Ritter von Schönerer, Karl Lueger and Hermann Bahr. Bahr is interesting because he interviewed 41 European public persons in 1893 about their opinion and published a fascinating book called “Der Antisemitismus”, which was my main source for the 1890s. Schönerer and Lueger were different political characters, who produced an exciting contest struggling for voters.

3.1.1 Georg Ritter von Schönerer

Georg Heinrich Ritter von Schönerer (1842-1921) was an Austrian politician in the end of the 19th century. In 1873 Schönerer started to get interested in politics and joined at first the liberal party, but then became more and more nationalistic, anti-Semitic, anti-Slavic and anti-Catholic. With these topics he reached the lower classes in the cities and became in this way an important politician and a guiding intellectual force of antisemitism in Austria. At first he got elected to the “Reichsrat”, in which he represented Waidhof-Zwettl77. He also joined a progress club, but left it 3 years later, because the national and economical views were not radical enough. As landowner he was, especially at this time, into economical questions and extended his popularity with his interest in the farmer’s life. Of course he was anti-Semitic but in a way it was kind of usual in this time. He denounced the Jewish press and the Jewish party, which supported the Jewish capitalism. In 1878 he accused the government of using a language “wie [...] sonst eher in nichtchristlichen Kaffehauslokalitäten üblich [...]” and declared that he want do something against the “bezahlte, eigennützige und widerliche Gekläffe eines großen Teils der Wiener Juden- und Regierungs presse”.78

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77 An area in Lower Austria near the Czech border.
Instead of joining one of the liberal parties he and Fürnkranz decided to build up an own one. They wrote a manifest in 1882, which is called the Linzer Programme from 1882\textsuperscript{79} because it was meant to be presented in Linz until its mayor stopped it. The main contents of this programme are these points:

1. These countries, which were part of the German confederation, should be one independent state; the condition to Hungary should be a personal union and Bosnia and Herzegovina should become part of Hungary.
2. In all countries of the former German confederation German should be the state language.
3. Widening of the right to vote, but in the same time ban of such people who are influenced from the state (priests, civil servants, all directors of companies, which has some business with the state).
4. Freedom of the press; liberal primary schools;
5. Cashing up the Hungarian state dept;
6. A new progressive pay tax and other taxes (like a luxury tax);
7. A common customs union;
8. A pensions scheme; accidents insurance; Nationalization of the railway company;
9. Support of an indigenous productions and ‘honest work’; a new and fast justice;
10. Maintenance of a powerful farmer class and strict measures against the profiteer on credits ("wucherische Kreditvermittlung"\textsuperscript{80})
11. A constant alliance with Germany based on a state contract.\textsuperscript{81}

This was in fact not very anti-Semitic but was part of the anti-Semitism, which was focused on the economical side of the ‘Jewish problem’. The points of this Linzer programme are in a special way socialistic and liberal, more than the government of that time, which was a liberal one, would ever thought about. But on the other hand it divided ‘honest and harmful’\textsuperscript{82} capital and work. Of course most of the professions in which Jews were into have been denounced, but not Jews as themselves. It does not really have any religious or racist starting point, it was mainly an economical way of thinking, and therefore rich Jews were seen as representatives of the bourgeoisie. So this is the reason why it was possible that two Jews, Heinrich Friedjung

\textsuperscript{79} It is important to observe that this is the Linzer programme form 1882, because later there will be a second Linzer programme in 1926, which based on Marxist and socialistic thoughts.
and Victor Adler, were the main employees of the Linzer programme. In fact Heinrich Friedjung founded with Schönerer the German Club which leaded to the “Verein deutscher Volkspartei”. This is in that point interested because Hitler saw Georg Ritter von Schönerer as the man in the guiding intellectual force of antisemitism and agreed with his Linzer programme.

So it is mostly improbable that he knew that Jews were main actors in that game. But this changed in 1882, when a petition was entered and accepted to exclude all Jews of the party. In the beginning of the 80s in the 19th century anti-Semitism grew and became part of Schönerers thoughts. In 1885 he added the twelfth and most important point in the Linzer programme:

12. To carry out the aspired reforms it is necessary to eliminate Jewish influence in all fields of public life.\(^{83}\)

In 1884 Schönerer found a new topic of interest for him: the train connection to north Bohemia, called “Nordbahn”. It was the first railway line to the industrial areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire built in 1836 and financed by Salomon Rothschild. He got an imperial patent and a concession for 50 years and in 1884 the government wanted to renew it. Schönerer claimed it clearly to be Jewish influenced politics and private capitalism and started a controversy against it – this discussion took more than a year. Schönerer presented a petition with more than 33,000 signatures in favour of the nationalization. In this year he got more and more anti-Semitic because, according to Pulzer, of two reasons. First it secured him a wider electorate and second his party has lost the good leadership, because many party members quit. The reason for this was the dissatisfaction about his intolerance, fanaticism and antisemitism, which only based on his personal thoughts. But this was not a problem for Schönerer because it only was important for him to spread his ideas – not to lead a party.

Schönerer did not have a wide electorate or many supporters, but he influenced the nationalism and antisemitism in the 80s of the 19th century and prepared the way for National Socialism. He forced the liberal government into a right wing course and spread his thoughts in that way. The debate of 1887 and his anti-Semitic applications influenced the liberal party until finally the whole party called itself ‘german’. And after a few years liberalism was not important anymore.

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On the 8th of March in 1888 Schönerer and some supporters stormed the editorial department of the newspaper “Neues Wiener Tagesblatt” and attacked the editors with sticks. This happened because the newspaper reclaimed Kaiser Wilhelm I. death in the evening press, while he died at 9 o’clock the next morning. They accused them to be an “unverschämte Judenpresse” who abused holy things like life and death of a “Hohenzollern Kaiser”.

Georg Ritter von Schönerer was sentenced to 4 month imprisonment and lost all his civil rights for 5 years – and his title. Schönerer’s political career and importance ended here and one year later the national German Club was dissolved.

3.1.2 Karl Lueger and the Christ social party

But now a new politician entered the stage – Karl Lueger (1844 – 1910). Lueger was a professional lawyer and worked in Vienna. In 1875 he became a local councillor in the 3rd district of Vienna. He took up a critical position against the majority and tried to fight against corruption in his district. A Jewish politician Julius Mandl, also a lawyer, joined him in this position. Lueger was re-elected in 1878 and founded, together with some other radical oriented politicians, a community called United Left. Their leader Schrank died 1881 and so the group dissolved. During the next years he supported Schönerer’s applications against the “Nordbahn” and some other ones and joined craftsmen assemblies. In 1885 Lueger candidated for parliament and got elected in the 5th district of Vienna. He joined a social democratic group around Ferdinand Kronawetter, but left them to switch into the anti-Semitic party. Here should be noticed that it is highly probable that he did not have an anti-Semitic conviction and was only using it to get political power, because he recognized that this trend had future.

There are some quotations from Kronawetter’s biography, which suggested that he only used antisemitism as a tool for popularity. „Na, wir werden hält sehen, welche Bewegung stärker sein wird, die demokratische oder die antisemitische, danach muss man sich einrichten.“

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86 For example he uncovered that the names on the wage list of men who should clear the snow away at the central cemetery matches with the names on the list of men who should be buried. [Peter J.G. Pulzer (1966: 137): Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus.]
87 „Let’s see, which of the two movements will be stronger: the democratic or the anti-Semitic one. You have to stick to them.‘ Pulzer used this citing from Kronawetter’s biography in his book. Peter J.G. Pulzer (1966: 138): Die Entstehung des politischen Antisemitismus.
In the 50s and 60s of the 19th century the Catholic Church as well as the conservative political parts enriched their thoughts with anti-Semitic slogans to mobilize their power against liberal movements. This led in some cases as far as to the story of one bishop in Przemyśl, who threatend girls to excommunicate them, if they dared to work for Jews. The 19th century was not an easy period for the Catholic Church, at first there were constitution-fights, the non-acceptance of the concordat and finally the spilt of the Old Catholic Church because of the dogma of the Papal Infallibility. The occurrences began in the year 1861, when the so called “Protestantenpatent” allowed the practice of Protestant religion. It continued in the year 1867 with the constitution and the in that way indicated “confessional equality” of other confessions and further with the emancipation of Jews. With the introduction of the constitution, the concordat, which had not tolerated other confessions, was invalid and the practical influence of the Catholic Church disappeared. The Liberals, who dominated the Austrian parliament in the 1860s and 1870s, tried to turn away the Churches privileged positions on marriage, religious freedom and schools, and established laws to control the external relations with Rome. This conflict between Liberals and the Austrian Catholic Church continued as “ideological battles [..], sometimes in manifest, always in latent form, because the experience of the 1860’s – 70’s create two polarised socio-political milieux”.

Also in this period the political movement of the Catholic Conservatives started to become a powerful one, which was possible with the openness for social questions. Especially for Vienna and its growing working-class this development was decisive. These social and economical topics made Vienna accessible to Lueger and the Christian Socials. The success arrived as the Austrian political Catholicism realized that they had to accept the liberal state and the economical development, but thereby associated religious ideologies with social and economical demands of modernisation.

At this point I share the view with Laurence Cole saying “in other words, adaptation to modern economic demands occurred in disjunction to cultural acclimatisation to modernity. One visible manifestation of this was political antisemitism.” Liberalism was seen as a Jewish movement and most of the liberal press was also in the hand of Jews. In the 70s of the

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19th century the Catholic Newspaper “Vaterland” started to write anti-Semitic and further anti-Capitalistic, also anti-Modernist and anti-Semitic trends crept into Catholic press and politics.

In 1875 Karl Freiherr von Vogelsang became editor of “Vaterland”. He was a social and political theoretician who wanted to restore the Christian economy and was interested in social and economical problems and who was only secondly anti-Semitic, because he thought that Jews were the advanced guards of Capitalism, which he disapproved.94 With him the political Austrian Catholicism won an important anti-Semitic author, who claimed that political and economical reforms were the only possibility to stop Jews. The only way was “der katholische Antisemitismus, der einzig sittliche, der christliche, und deshalb auch der einzig zielführende.”95 The Austrian catholic anti-Semitism, like Pulzer denoted it, was a reactionary, a romantic trend, which was forced because of the Austrian Catholic Church thought it was the only possibility to fight Nationalism. As far as I am concerned I think it was more than just fighting Nationalism, it was a trend and development of a time. The majority of the political leaders of all parties were part of this period, even if they were catholic. Like the example of Lueger told us, there were also persons who swam with the tide and used political trends to get access to power.

The Christ social party in the 19th century was split into two parts like most other parties: a moderate and a radical one. The radical part was the minority, therefore in the opposition and by force independent and of an aggressive political style. This movement was developed out of the romantic Catholicism. One of their best known supporters was August Rohling with his book “Der Talmud-Jude”, which started a new controversy about Jews from a religious perspective. But it was not the anti-Semitic point in their party programme, which brought them voters, it was the attention of the social question, which was important.96

A short digression should explain what was behind the Rohling case. August Rohling’s ‘Der Talmud-Jude’ was published in 1871 and caused annoyance because of Rohlings assertion that he can prove the wickedness of Jews through the Talmud. Rohling got the chair for Semitic languages at the University in Prague. The catholic press gave this book a positive reception and a speaker of the Reform Club could avert his imprisonment with referring to that book in 1882.97

He brought himself to fall because of his scientific unscrupulousness, because he did not read his sources and plagiarized a great part of his work from Roger Gougenot des Mousseaux’s “Le juif, le judaïsme et la judaïsation des peuples chrétiens”, which was published in Paris 1869. In July 1883 Joseph Samuel Bloch, Rabbi in Floridsdorf (a district of Vienna) started to published 8 articles in different Viennese newspapers and accused Rohling of perjury “Seine erlogen ten talmudischen Citate hat er bereits wiederholt feierlich beieidet”. On the 10th of August 1883 Rohling was forced to react and brought a charge against Bloch. Bloch’s lawyer was Dr. Josef Kopp, he was Court lawyer, member of the lower Austrian provincial parliament and of the Austrian empire council. He worked for nearly two years on the preparation of this case and collected more than 300 Hebrew passages for translation and interpretation and presented a 190 page long report in 1885. The date for the process was fixed on the 18th of November 1885, but then August Rohling withdraw his charge and nothing happened. Kopp published his collected information in a book called ‘Zur Judenfrage nach den Akten des Prozesses Rohling-Bloch’. Rohlings book was not banned and could so be absorbed of the national socialistic Literature, but he died alone and forgotten in 1931.

For explanatory reasons the political scene in the end of the 19th century should be sketched. It should be mentioned that there was no such think as a solid party system, there were loose unions among people, who were in the same political mood. There were different trends and movements, which influenced politics: Catholics, Reformers (Nationalists and Anti-Semites), Liberals, Conservatives and Democrats. The Catholics at first were not interested in Schönerer’s Germanness thinking and had a few disputes with his party. The Democrats had some problem during the years of controversy in 1884 and 1885 because they did not want to adopt an anti-Semitic programme and lost many voters through that, who a few years later joined the new founded Christ social party. The main connection between the different parties and the object of their efforts was to prevent and fight against liberalism and its supporters. Lueger tried to unite the Democrats, the Reformers and the Conservatives, because their economy programmes matched. He wanted them to fight together in a so called

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101 For the sake of simplicity I will use the term „party“ instead of a loose association or union, because it is short and concise. The first Austrian parties will be founded in the 1890’s therefore it is also in the 1880’s possible to express it in that way.
anti-liberal league. The other parties agreed with this proposal, but not with the name so it was changed into United Christians [Vereinigte Christen] and 1889 the first official programme was published. It demanded economical changes in favour of farmers and craftsmen, a custom union with Germany, restrictions of the immigration of Jews and an exclusion of Jews from following professions: public offices, judge, military, lawyer, medicine, pawnbroker, retail trade and teaching of non-Jewish children.102

The Christian Union improved, not because their previous voters turned into Anti-Semites, this happened because the restriction for voters were changed on effort of the conservative Count Alois Lichtenstein in the beginning of the 1880s. The right to vote depended on the tax category, in which somebody was, there was a total of three categories. Now the lowest one of these categories was reduced on five gulden103. So the electorate expanded and anti-Semitic thoughts and programmes enjoyed a larger clientele and of course were able to relate to lower classes of the Viennese suburban districts, where this ideas fastly gained ground. Through this new law the number of voters in Vienna increased from 15.000 to 45.000. And when the city borders were extended in 1891 the electorate expanded another time from 45.000 to 75.000.104

Lueger was the political leader of the anti-liberal and anti-Semitic United Christians and wanted to win the election for mayor of Vienna. Because he grew up in modest circumstances he knew the suburbs of Vienna and knew how to deal with its inhabitants. His election campaign was totally different from earlier liberal ones. He used popular language and the Viennese dialect to frame his speeches and hit on that way the mind of the mass. The important year was 1895 when the local council should be elected.

The third curie was dominated by Lueger and his party and he wanted to seize the second one. This curie worked against the first one and achieved in that way new-elections and Lueger was elected to vice-mayor of Vienna. As a result of this, the liberal mayor stepped down and Lueger was supposed to take on his position. Conservatives and Liberals, which formed a coalition with each other, slid into a crisis at the thought of Lueger as mayor of Vienna and “[...], dass Wien die einzige Großstadt in der Welt ist, deren Verwaltung sich in der Gewalt antisemitischer Hetzer befindet”.105 A debate started about the election manifesto of Luegers

103 Gulden: Austrian currency until 1892 (when with a currency reform the (Austrian) Krone was introduced).
party and the right to vote for the 5-gulden-men. Lueger stopped it when he declared that he
was not willing work with this town council anymore and gave up the mayor position. New
elections were fixed in November 1895, when Lueger and his party got 43.000 votes while the
liberal party only got 22.000. Lueger won the 2/3 majority in the town council, 92 anti-
Semitic to 46 liberal council members. But the emperor Franz Joseph tried to avert an anti-
Semitic mayor and refused give his consent to it, which was necessary at that time. Thereupon
new elections were hold, which were won again by the anti-Semites won, so the crisis was not
solved and after a discussion with the emperor Lueger gave up another time the mayor
position and Josef Strobach got mayor. But after one year Strobach stepped down and Lueger
got elected mayor of Vienna (the fourth time), and now the emperor confirmed his
appointment.106

3.2 Consequences for the Austrian national identity after 1945

After the 2nd World War the Austrian state mainly based on the state nation concept, because
the state exhibited characteristics for that, particularly regarding constitution and state
territory. The term nation became less important and equal with the term state because of the
new opposition to Germany. This increased with the constitution, like mentioned before, and
of course with neutrality. This basis was the starting point for identification with the Austrian
state.107 But, like Benedict Anderson in his assumptions about a modern state explains, in a
state more than one nation concept exists and this is very much applicable to Austria. The
Austrian national identity in the post-war period always was constructed by politicians, who
tried to stabilize the Austrian state and turn it away from “großdeutsche” ideas.108

Since the end of the 2nd World War especially the Austrian parties and their politicians rose
different mechanism to force identification with the homeland. They started to influence the
education to strengthen the national identity of the youth and reintroduced state symbols for
general identification. The new parole was to work hard and intensive on a new Austrian
nation and create a strong, proud identification with state and culture.109 Especially the
education minister Felix Hurdes tried to force homeland consciousness in schools, with

teaching the Habsburg history, conveying great Austrian genius and uniqueness of Austrian customs. Visiting the most beautiful nature in Austria as well as industrial factories was part of the education. The victim-thesis is representative for the general Austrian dealing with history in the time from 1945 until the Waldheim-affair. After the denazification it started a period of strategic denial of the occurrences in the 2nd World War. This victim-thesis based on the declaration of Moscow in 1943, which explained that Austria has responsibility for the 2nd World War but as well was the first free land to be occupied by Hitler. Austria wanted to get back its sovereignty and did not have any objections to this advantageous interpretation of history and they were a little bit afraid of a second St. Germain. The Austrian government represented this assumption to the allies and thereby refused every responsibility to war and holocaust. Also the fact, that Israel 1952 stepped officially back from demands against the Austrian republic, was seen as a confirmation of the victim-thesis.

3.2.1 The post-war era

Further coat of arms, a flag and a new hymn were established, new street-names introduced and memorial soldier-monuments of the 2nd World War were put up as cultural memory. Also solemnities were held on the 1st November 1946 for the 950th anniversary of the Austrian nation concerning the new chosen date of birth, the first mention of the name “Ostarrichi”. So they tried really hard to build up a new very nation-oriented identity without Germany to secure the existence of the Austrian state. Special importance was also on finding a new hymn, what happened in April 1946 with a competition initiate form the government. Mozart’s “Bundeslied” was selected and combined with text from Paula von Preradović.

“Land der Berge, Land am Strome/ Land der Äcker, Land der Dome/ Land der Hämmer, zukunftsreich/ Heimat, bist du großer Söhne/ Volk, begnadet für das Schöne/ Vielgerühmtes Österreich.

Heiß umfehdet, wild umstritten/ Liegst dem Erdteil du inmitten/ Einem starken Herzen gleich/ Hast seit frühen Ahnentagen/ Hoher Sendung Last getragen/ Vielgeprüftes Österreich.

The first lines concern the natural beauty and cultural heritage, whereas the second strophe touches on history, 2nd World War and the victim thesis, before finally the last verse spurs on a new beginning. Towards identification I shall mention other important symbols in the new state. In addition to that the Austrian flag and the coat of arms were two important symbols of the young republic. Here is a picture of the national emblem of the Austrian army “Bundesheer”, which – for the sake of simplicity – bring these two signs together.

Abb.3: Austrian flag with coat of arms, the professional flag and national emblem of the Austrian military.114

The colours light red, white and another time light red [accenting on light because the Latvian flag is dark red, white, dark red] concerning the Austrian historical roots of the Babenberg’s. The flying eagle represents Austria, which has symbols for the three classes: civilians (wall crone) worker (hammer) and farmer (sickle). This was the coat of arms in the 1st Austrian republic and was now, 1945, reintroduced with the addition of the forced chains, as symbol for the German occupation time from 1938 until 1945.115

Culturally the 50s of the 20th century were shaped by the term ‘homeland’, especially the appearing of the production of sentimental films in an idealized regional setting was a way to find identification with the Austrian nation. The slogan of the Viennese cultural city councillor Viktor Matejka in 1946 was to force the state promotion of these films. As

questionable as kitschy counts, foolish alpine herds- and dairymen and post girls, who fall in love with them, are – they are at least Austrian and not “großdeutsch”.116 I would like to show two film posters here to point out in which way these films deal with stereotypes and symbols and were in that way an unbelievably important part of the new identification with the Austrian culture. The main idea was to fade out everything German and this is the reason why all this films played in typical Austrian regions, like the Alps, the actors spoke Austrian dialect, and wore traditional Austrian clothes, like a dirndl or traditional lederhosen.

![Pic.4: Der Förster vom Silberwald. 1954.](image1)

![Pic.5: Das Mädchen vom Pfarrhof.](image2)

3.2.2 Facing the past – The 1980s and the Waldheim-affair

In 1986 the first and greatest political crisis in the history of the 2nd republic of Austria happened. In the election campaign for president in the year 1986 these were the candidates: Kurt Waldheim, first UNO Secretary General, as independent candidate for the ÖVP, Kurt Steyrer for the SPÖ, Freda Meissner-Blau for the Green party and Otto Scrinzi for the FPÖ.119 The newspaper “Profil” found out that Kurt Waldheim was member in three Nazi organisations, in the “5/90 SA Cavalry Troop, SA Member since November 18, 1938, and

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116 Viennese cultural city councillor Viktor Matejka forced the state promotion of these films 1946
Member of the National Socialist Student Federation since April 1, 1938”. In February he denied the membership but then, in April, he gave two explanations for being member in the SA and in the Nazi student organisation. The first one is that some friends, who thought they were doing the right thing, must have filled out the form, while he was at the front. Second these memberships were just formality and allowed him to study after 1938. When these facts about Waldheim rose accused the New York Times, based on documents of WJC, Waldheim of having been member of the army group Löhr, which fought against Yugoslavian partisans and were partly responsibly for the deportation of Greek Jews. At first Waldheim denied his membership in interviews, but than he played it down and took the argument that to serve in the army was a duty performance. With this statement he could win conservatives and people, who experienced the 2nd World War, over to sympathy.

The ÖVP used the American interference in the Austrian politics to fight an election campaign against this occurrence and forced the slogan “Wir wählen, wen wir wollen”. So the foreign interference, which desired a changed way in dealing with history, only achieved defiance in Austria, as a result of which Waldheim was elected to president in the 2nd ballot with nearly 54%. The accusations against Waldheim were seen as accusations against the Austrian nation and the new, strengthened identity and thereby – in defiance of all others – the majority of Austrian people stood behind this. A historical commission was used to bring light in the affair, but their results were ambivalent as well. There are no proves for a direct involvement of Waldheim in war crimes, but most likely he must have had knowledge of it. Besides that Waldheim had neglected to inform about his military past and even tried to play it down against all reason. All demands of resignation from president were ignored by Waldheim and he was Austrians president until 1992.

The Waldheim-affair had the effect of changing the victim thesis first into a relativized victim thesis and at least a thesis of shared responsibility. After 1986 politicians used the victim thesis in their statements very carefully, because they did not want to loose a good opinion abroad. In that way indicated a new interpretation of history rose and the relativized victim thesis established. The government tried with that new victim thesis to mediate between the

123 “We vote for whom we want to”. Susanne Fröhlich-Steffen (2003: 78): Die österreichische Identität im Wandel.
different more and more polarized parts of the society, but this failed. This attempt of modification of the collective memory did not have enough strength to combine these groups, as well as the victim thesis just was a little bit wider than before. Now only a selective image of the responsible person was used.125

“Es gab Österreicher, die Opfer und andere, die Täter waren. Erwecken wir nicht den Eindruck als hätten wir damit nichts zu tun. [...] Als Staat aber war Österreich das erste Opfer Hitlers. Daran ist nichts zu rütteln.”126

In the next years the thesis of shared responsibility was built up and first directly mentioned in the speech of Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky in 1991.

“Aber wir dürfen auch nicht vergessen, dass es nicht wenige Österreicher gab, die im Namen dieses Regimes großes Leid über andere gebracht haben, die Teil hatten an den Verfolgungen und Verbrechen dieses Reiches. [...] Wir müssen uns auch zu der anderen Seite unserer Geschichte bekennen: zur Mitverantwortung für das Land, das zwar nicht Österreich als Staat, wohl aber Bürger dieses Landes über andere Menschen und Völker gebracht haben.”127

This speech marked the beginning of the new responsibility thesis in the 90s of the 20th century and was a change in Austria’s dealing with history. Thereby Austria confessed its guilt and its shared responsibility for the occurrences in the 2nd World War and holocaust. Henceforth this new shared-responsibility-thesis took its place in the collective memory of Austrian people and replaces the relativized victim thesis. In summer 2003 a survey showed that 70% of the population advocate the shared responsibility and did not think that it was Germany’s guilt on its own.128 Regarding the question “In your view, how important is it for all Austrians to know about and understand the Nazi extermination of the Jews during the Second World War?” 89% of the Austrian population answered that they think it is essential or very important.129

3.2.3 Growing of a new identity

Since the 70s of the 20th century the new identity was coined by cultural occurrences and the younger generation identify themselves with Austrian popular music, called Austro-pop, written in Austrian dialect. I would like to deal with a so called “unofficial hymn of Austria”, which was written in 1989 by Reinhard Fendrich. Music is a way of expressing a countries identity and therefore these lyrics should be mentioned. They are about the Austrian national feeling and its dealing with history in the end of the 1980s, after the Waldheim-affair and the relativized victim thesis. Naturally the text is written in Austrian dialect to dissociate oneself from the German language.

“Dei hohe Zeit is’ lang vorüber/ und a die Höll’ hast hinter dir/ von Ruhm und Glanz/ is’ wenig blieb’/ Sag ma wer/ Ziahgt no’ den Huat vor dir?/ Außer mir/ I kenn die Leit/ I kenn die Ratt’n/ die Dummheit, die/ zum Himmel schreit/ I steh zu dir/ bei Licht und Schatt’n/ Jederzeit/ Do kann man mach’n wos ma wü/ Do bin i her, do gehaer i hin/ [...] Sag i am Mensch der Welt voll Stolz/ Und wenn ihr wollt’s a ganz alla’/ I am from Austria”130

The first lines deal with the state, its history and Austrians attitude to their county. I think the most important line is ‘Da kann man mach’n wos ma wü/ Do bin i her do gehaer i hin’131, which means that you can do whatever you want, you belong to this country. Whether if you want to or not, you cannot change your identity. This duality of love and hate to one’s homeland is one of the most important characteristics which stand out for Austrians identity, and based on the occurrences in the 2nd World War and the now confessed guilt in that period. In the time after the war the national identity was strengthened and a national pride was formed, but through the Waldheim-affair Austria was lost in an identity crisis, which impressed this song.

4 Conclusion

The Austrian identity and its development are related to many different occurrences in the country’s history. It is an European example of problems in the post war period but also its

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130 Reinhard Fendrich: I am from Austria. The song was written in 1989. For English translation see appendix.
131 Reinhard Fendrich (1992). ‘Whether I want to or not / this is the place I’m coming from, here do I belong.’
dealing with racism in the 19th and 20th century. The pan-German movements were initial stages of excluding all others to find community to identify with. That these trends were racial and anti-Semitic does not bring honour to Austria, but it was also like that in other countries. These thoughts were spread all over Europe and gained ground in many states. After these theories failed new identity concepts concerning country and culture – and not race were established.

Austria has developed a strong and flexible identity, but was a little bit overtaxed with this new position of self-confidence in the end 20th century. Thereby it was possible that new racist movements established itself in increasing ways and tried to determine the Austrian position in Europe. Because a small organisation is partly anti-European, partly against an Austrian nation and sometimes oriented towards pan-Germanism does not mean that the whole new developed Austrian national identity bases on that. I think that the Austrian national identity is strong enough to carry these trends and to fight against racism and anti-Semitism in its midst.

I really have no answers about the Austrian identity in 2006. I think there is a special situation in central Europe, because there are three generation living together, which are as different as possible. The first generation was fighting in the 2nd World War, the second generation was fighting for freedom and nature and the third does not know what to fight for. They are not fighting for their fatherland because there is no war. They are disoriented because they do not this strong identification with their native land, because they don’t know how to fight for it (or maybe why). They only possibility is to fight against each other or, to be precise, against the others. Other cultures and religions are the enemies, concerning the in- and exclusion conception, like it always was. I am not quite sure if anything changed, but Austria is still in the process and maybe people started to deal with history in a responsible way. In my opinion, I do not believe that people learn with history – but hope dies at least.

The work should be finished with a quotation from Ruth Wodak, which hits on the central point. “The search for a new identity and the (discursive) construction of scapegoats are not just Austrian issues, but also European ones. [...] Austria is unique in many ways. But, on the other hand, it is a case study for European problems.”

132 Ruth Wodak (2000: 6). The rise of racism – an Austrian or a European phenomenon?
5 Appendix

- "Ich bin dreifach heimatlos: als Böhme unter den Österreichern, als Österreicher unter den Deutschen und als Jude in der ganzen Welt."\(^{133}\)

I am rootless three times over: as a Bohemian among Austrians, as an Austrian among Germans, and as a Jew everywhere in the world.

- "Wenn wir nun heute sehen, dass die Juden unter der Herrschaft dieser Theorie nahezu die Alleinherrschaft im wirtschaftlichen Lager emporgekommen sind, so scheint von diesem Standpunkt aus die Judenfrage eben nur als ein Symptom der allgemeinen wirtschaftlichen Krankheit."\(^{134}\)

Like we see today, with this theory Jews rise nearly to an economical dictatorship it seems that the Jewish question from this point of view is just a symptom of the general economical sickness.

- "Es sei eine Forderung der Rassenlehre der modernen Völker, dieser ungleich niedrigeren Rasse alle öffentlichen Ämter, das Geschäfts- und Finanzwesen abzunehmen."\(^{135}\)

It is a demand of the theory of race of modern people that this unequal low race will be removed from all public position, business and system of public finances.

- "Daß das Durcheinanderwohnen, die Mischung und Kreuzung von Rassen, welche physisch, geistig und moralisch sehr weit von einander abstehen, schwere Gefahren für Staat und Kultur bringen muß, scheint wohl unzweifelhaft."\(^{136}\)

That muddled living, mixture and crossing of races, which are mental, spiritual and moral far away from each other, heavy dangers for state and culture take is unquestionable clear.

- "Die Juden selbst machen heute den Anitsemitismus, indem sie thöricht [sic!] genug sind, dem kapitalistischen Schwindel als Schild zu dienen, der alle Hiebe auffängt. [...] dann kann man den Leuten den Schluß nicht verdenken: 'Gut, wenn Kapital und Juden so das gleiche ist, dann sind wir eben auch gegen die Juden'."\(^{137}\)


\(^{136}\) Hermann Bahr (1979: 30): Der Antisemitismus.

\(^{137}\) Hermann Bahr (1979: 37): Der Antisemitismus.
Today Jews make anti-Semitism, while being foolish enough to serve capitalistic swindle as shield, which catches all blows. [...] then you aren’t able to hold it against people thinking: ‘Well, if capitalism and Jews are the same, than we are also against Jews’.

- “Ich gebe ja zu: die Juden sind zuwider und verletzen unseren Geschmack. Aber was weiter? Was soll geschehen? Was sollen wir thun [sic!]? Totschlagen können wir sie nicht, aus dem Lande treiben auch nicht. Irgendwie müssen wir sie eben verdauen.”138

I admit: Jews are repugnant to us and hurt our taste. But what further? What shall happen? What shall we do? We can’t beat them to death we can’t drive them out the country. Somehow we have to digest them.

- “Sie täuschen sich, wenn Sie glauben, daß man da überhaupt mit Vernunft etwas machen kann. [...] Es ist alles umsonst. Was ich Ihnen sagen könnte, was man überhaupt in dieser Sache sagen kann, das sind doch immer nur Gründe, logische und sittliche Argumente. Darauf hört doch kein Antisemit. Die hören nur auf den eigenen Haß und den eigenen Neid, auf die schändlichen Instinkte. [...] Gegen Vernunft, Recht und Sitte sind sie taub.”139

You’re wrong when you think, that you can do anything with reason. Everything is in vain. Everything I can say to you, everything you can say generally about this matter, are just reasons, logical and moral reasons. No anti-Semite listens to it. They only heed on their owns hate and jealousy, to the harmful instincts. [...] They are deaf against reason, law and morality.


Land of mountains, land on the stream/ Land of fields, land of cathedrals/ Land of hammers, with a rich future/ You are home to great sons/ A people blessed by their sense of beauty/ Highly praised Austria! Strongly feuded for/ fiercely hard-fought for/ You are in the centre of the Continent/ Like a strong heart/ Since the early days of the ancestors you have/ Borne the burden of a high mission/ Much

tried Austria. Into the new times/ See us striding, courageous, free, and faithful/ Assiduous and full of hope/ Unified, in fraternal chorus let us/ Pledge allegiance to you, our country/ Much beloved Austria.

- “Es gab Österreicher, die Opfer und andere, die Täter waren. Erwecken wir nicht den Eindruck als hätten wir damit nichts zu tun. […] Als Staat aber war Österreich das erste Opfer Hitlers. Daran ist nichts zu rütteln.”

There were Austrian, who victims and others, who were culprits. We shouldn’t give the impression that we have nothing to do with it. […] The Austrian state was Hitler’s first victim. There’s nothing you can do about it.


But don’t leave it behind that there were many Austrians, who did other harm in the name of the regime, who were part of the pursuits and crimes in the Reich. […] [We] have to confess the other side of our history: a shared responsibility for the country, not for Austria as state but for the civilians of this nation, who harm other humans and people.

- “Die hohe Zeit is’ lang vorüber/ und a die Höll’ hast hinter dir/ von Ruhm und Glanz/ is’ wenig blieb’/ Sag ma wer/ Ziahgt no’ den Huat vor dir?/ Außer mir/ I kenn die Leit/ I kenn die Ratt’n/ die Dummheit, die/ zum Himmel schreit/ I steh zu dir/ bei Licht und Schatt’n/ Jederzeit/ Do kann man mach’n was ma wü/ Do bin i her, do gehaer i hin/ […] Sag i am Mensch der Welt voll Stolz/ Und wenn ihr wollt’s a ganz alla’/ I am from Austria”  

You’re era with dignity is over/ you walked through hell/ Fame and Gloria are gone/ so tell me/ who takes off his hat to you? / except of me/ I know the people/ I know the rats/ stupidity, which/ is scandalous/ I stand by you/ by light and shadow/ every time/ Whether I want to or not/ this is the place I’m coming from, here do I belong/ […] I will be proud to say to everybody/ and if you want me to all on my own/ I am from Austria.

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143 Reinhard Fendrich: I am from Austria. The song was written in 1989.
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Picture index


