

No. 182 ✓

(1018/31/51)

CONFIDENTIAL

British Legation,

Vienna.

16th November, 1951.

Sir,

What we are now witnessing in Austria is the second attempt of the Austrian people to form a State within their present boundaries. I have drawn attention to this fact before and do not apologise for returning to it again, since it is one of those obvious truths which it is easy to overlook. Indeed, it needs a positive effort to keep in mind that although an Austria has played a long and honoured part in the civilisation of Western Europe, the present Austria did not come into being before 1918, then, after twenty years of sad and troubled history, was absorbed by Germany and only started her second attempt as a national State in 1945.

2. It is therefore one of the first duties of this Mission to consider from time to time what are the chances of survival of such a State. In my despatch No. 89 of the 28th June we reviewed this problem from the political point of view. The conclusion was reached that the problem of parliamentary government in Austria, though intractable, was not impossible. In a later despatch, No. 130 of the 17th August, I turned to the economic and financial prospects and, after taking into account the many handicaps, I recorded that in the opinion of both ourselves and the Americans here the attempt to create a State was economically far from being a forlorn hope.

3. The object of the present despatch is to consider the Austrian people. Can they rightly be called a separate nation with distinct characteristics? If so, does their character favour their chances of survival in an independent State? These are difficult questions and it would be rash to think that any final answer could be given which would be valid for all time. The borders of the present Austria are not in any sense laid down by nature. Nor were they devised by the wit of man: they simply represent what was left of the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the secession of the non-Germanic national groups in 1918. What is more, characteristics which may be considered permanent can change in a generation. When I myself served in China in the early 1930's, the Chinese Army had no will to fight and Sinologues explained that the profession of soldier had long been despised by all good citizens. This no longer fits the facts in the China of the 1950's. Consequently I fully realise the hazards of trying to make an assessment of Austrians.

4. This does not absolve this Mission from at least making an attempt. With due deference, I enclose a memorandum which has been the subject of long discussion between a large number of the staff. I am mainly indebted to Mr. P.M. Foster, Third Secretary at this Legation, for the actual composition as it has emerged. It is long, but a thousand years of history and seven millions of people and their traditions cannot usefully be analysed in a paragraph or two.

5. We hope that this study may have a subsidiary benefit for those who are appointed to deal with Austria in London or for those who have to come to this country for visits or for permanent duty. They will find in it many of the favourite contentions with which Austrians are likely to confront them and it will forearm them for dealing with these myths which are now part of what most Austrians consider to be the facts of history.

/6.

The Right Honourable Anthony Eden, M.C., M.P.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Foreign Office,
London, S.W.1.

RECEIVED IN C.B.
2 1951
SEP 22 1951
22.11.51

- 2 -

6. The general conclusion reached is in line with our findings on political and economic prospects. We can discover no suicidal tendency in the Austrian character which impels them to seek their own absorption by some other State, any more than we could observe overriding political or economic forces which would inevitably work towards their destruction. Provided peace is kept, His Majesty's Government, in supporting the Austrians in their present attempt to form a separate State, are not in our view embarked upon any quixotic crusade. On the contrary. We see reason as well as interest in doing everything in our power to help the Austrians to make a lasting success of this their second attempt at building a nation within their present boundaries.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Arthur C. C. C.

Copy : Enchirion in Vienna dispatch No. 1

Return to file.

A 10115/28

DA 6/xii

INTRODUCTION

This memorandum started out with the object of examining some of the popular political, economic and social mythology with which the Austrians, like every other people, surround their favourite prides and prejudices. Since mythology is inseparable from history, it soon became apparent that something in the nature of an historical essay was bound to emerge. This calls for two apologies, one as a matter of principle, the other because I am only too conscious of my inadequacy as an historian. What follows has no claim to originality or even to complete accuracy. But it will, I hope, serve a purpose in recalling some of the main themes in Austria's development and in suggesting a few of the reservations which should be made before accepting the Austrian version.

2. The general course which the memorandum has taken was not consciously chosen. It found its own way. The central theme proved inescapable; call it what you will, the Hapsburg Empire, Austria-Hungary, the Danubian Monarchy or, now, just "poor little Austria", the dominant question is whether, in its greatness or its smallness, it was or is anything more than an historical accident. And if not, will it ever become something more? I have not tried to reach a definite conclusion; all this essay does is to suggest some of the factors to be taken into account.

3. Towards the end I have made an attempt to define the Austrian character. Logically it should perhaps have come at the beginning. But Austrians like to explain their character as a product of their history rather than their history as a reflection of their character; and there is some advantage in this case in deferring to local custom.

4. First, a very brief resume of early Austrian history.

From Roman Province to Holy Roman Empire

5. When the barbarian invasion of the Roman provinces had spent its force, the "Bavarians" began, towards the end of the 6th century, to re-settle Austria and spread Christianity. After an interlude of Magyar occupation, German rule was restored in the middle of the 10th century by the Saxons, and a Franconian Lord, Leopold of Babenberg, appointed Margrave. His dominions became known as Ostarrichi, or Ostmark. During the 12th century Austria (the present provinces of Upper and Lower Austria) and Styria were separated from Bavaria and became independent hereditary duchies. With the extinction in 1246 of the Babenberg line, Ottakar of Bohemia acquired Austria, Styria and Carinthia.

6. When Rudolf of Hapsburg, an Alsatian, was elected to the Kingship of Germany one of his first acts was in 1278 to defeat, kill and dispossess Ottakar of these Eastern German lands. They became the chief personal possessions of the Hapsburg family and were for long the centre of gravity in the German Empire.

7. In the 14th century the Hapsburgs acquired by diplomacy in rapid succession Tirol, Istria, Vorarlberg and Trieste.

8. In 1437 the crown of the Holy Roman Empire passed finally into the hands of the Hapsburgs. There it remained until 1806, two years after the coronation of the new Charlemagne as Emperor of the French, and one year after Austerlitz and his first entry into Vienna.

Marriages.....

Marriages, Turks and Poor Little Austria

9. It is common to say, especially abroad, that Austria was mainly built upon shrewd or fortuitous marriages. Spain, the Netherlands, Bohemia and Hungary are the prime examples to which refers the aphorism "Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube". The Austrians, though willing enough to admit the charms of their Princesses - Marie Louise is believed to have saved the Empire (and Europe) by wedding Napoleon - maintain that their most important acquisitions, Bohemia and Hungary, albeit acquired in title by marriage, had to be won by force.

Austria acquires a Mission

10. Marriages and Turks are more closely related in both fact and "mythology" than might at first appear. For they rival each other as the two most beneficent influences on Austria's development; together they gave her possession of Hungary and Bohemia and, perhaps more valuable, her "historical mission". In 1515 Ferdinand of Austria became the brother-in-law and heir of Ludovic Jagiello, a Polish Catholic. The Jagellon family had inherited Bohemia and Hungary (including Transylvania and Croatia) after a terrible civil war between their two former rulers, incited in the interest of doctrinal purity. The consequence was that Hungary, in her weakened state, was defeated by the Turks at Mohacs in 1526; Ludovic was killed; most of the Magyar lands passed for a century and a half to Turkish occupation; and the Western fringe together with Bohemia fell to the Hapsburgs, who thereafter had nothing between them and Sulyman the Magnificent (of whom the "most Christian King" of France was shortly to become the "friend and ally"). Vienna under Count Salm bravely resisted the siege of 1529 and was relieved with the help of the German Prinoes. In this way the Hapsburgs acquired title to Bohemia and Hungary, even if they were still far from becoming their masters. And who could deny that they had earned the right to recognition as defenders of the Faith?

The Liberation of Hungary

11. Nothing was done about redeeming the lands under Turkish domination until the second siege of Vienna in 1683 had been relieved, largely by German and Polish contingents under non-Austrian leadership. After Prince Eugene of Savoy, Duke Charles of Lorraine and Ludwig of Bavaria had driven the Turks out of Hungary, the liberated Magyars were placed under the governance of Vienna. It may be remarked in passing that the two most revered figures of Austrian military history were Prince Eugene, a Savoyard, and Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, who subdued Hungary in 1849 with Russian help. In the course of rounding up the rebellious patriots he remarked, "Clemency? Yes in good time; but first we'll do a bit of hanging".

Bohemia redeemed

12. It should not be imagined that the protection of Christendom was neglected between 1529 and 1683 or that no crusade was made to redeem those poor souls lost to alien domination. On the contrary, Ferdinand II, the patron of the Jesuits, devoted his pious reign to purging his own country of heretics and imposing religious orthodoxy and political subservience on his Bohemian subjects with a thoroughness, according to H.A.L. Fisher, "rarely equalled in the history of persecution". The battle of the White Mountain near Prague, which ensured Bohemia's subjection to Vienna for all but

but 300 years, also initiated the Thirty Years War. Fortunately, these long years of religious strife coincided with a period of decadence and ineffectiveness at the Porte which set in after the death of Sulyman.

Europe's debt

13. Although the Turks were never again a serious menace to Austria after Eugene's victory at Zenta, the "Austrian mission" was preserved and generally accepted. Metternich wrote in 1815 with singular prescience that "the end of the Turkish monarchy could be survived by the Austrian for but a short time". But if the Hapsburg Empire did not survive the Ottoman, the "Austrian mission" is still a powerful asset. With the new lease of life given it by the rise of Stalin's empire, the last is very far from being heard of Europe's debt of gratitude, respect and assistance to its "Eastern bastion". In the predictable future it is not expected to fall below 50 million dollars a year. Moreover, the reduction of Austria in 1918 to a small country and her conversion since 1945 into "a pawn in the game of power politics" have added another weapon to her diplomatic armoury, the appeal to pity. To rescue "poor little Austria" should be the first call on the energy and ingenuity of international statesmen, their application to the task the touchstone of their humanity and devotion to the cause of peace.

The End of a Good Innings

14. It is not surprising that Austrians find it difficult to think objectively about the final chapter of their elimination as a great power. Some extracts from a generally excellent book on Austria by Dr. Buschbeck, a curator in the Kunsthistorisches Museum and a war-time emigre in London, are typical of much well-informed misrepresentation. "It was clear by 1909 that Serbia, with Russia at her back, was openly coveting Austro-Hungarian territory." Here again it seems that Austria was only fulfilling her thankless task of defending Europe against the Eastern peril. Admittedly Pan-Slavism appeared to Austrians at the time to be a threat as real as we regarded the Russian menace to India. But in 1908 Aehrenthal and Izvolski, the Austrian and Russian Foreign Ministers, in fact struck a bargain. Russia agreed to acquiesce in the annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, Austria to support the opening of the Straits to Russian warships. The Zagreb trial of 1909, based on false documents and rigged to frame Serbo-Croat leaders and provide a casus belli against Serbia, was a prototype of political justice soon to become the rage in Eastern Europe. As if 1909 were not enough, Sarajevo "proved beyond a doubt that Russian imperialism was determined.....to destroy the Danubian Monarchy". And this is the plum: "The old political organism on the Danube was not broken up by the tremendous numerical superiority of the Russian forces and even less by the Italian armies, not even by a prolonged strain which went far beyond the material and personal resources of the country..... This was achieved by the political warfare which, for good or ill, Lord Northcliffe forced upon a reluctant British Cabinet."

The sick man of Europe?

15. The Austrian thesis has two parts, first that the Hapsburg empire was not moribund in 1914, second that the victorious allies deliberately, even spitefully, dismembered it. To prove in detail

detail that in 1914 Austria-Hungary was, on the contrary, as hopeless a case as the Ottoman Empire would require the dimensions of a book. And many good ones have been written in recent years. The argument, briefly resumed, can be traced back to 1789. It is no coincidence that many educated Austrians regard the French Revolution as the greatest calamity of history. The blows which beheaded Louis XVI and his Austrian-born Queen were also mortal to the Hapsburg empire. For they symbolised the first triumph of the Will of the People. Metternich's attempts to repress liberalism in Austria - Hungary and Germany were an admission that the outcome was only a question of time. It was barely avoided in 1848, when the Court were exiled for most of the summer in Innsbruck. The defeat at Königgrätz, which finally crushed Austria's resistance to the unification of Germany under Prussia, reduced her to the status of a second-class power. The triumph of nationalism in Germany and Italy left the Hapsburg Empire high and dry. The futile succession of paper constitutions and ceaseless political manipulations by which Francis Joseph's later Ministers sought to play off one national group against the other were only temporising expedients in face of the rising tide of separatism. Count Taaffe, Prime Minister from 1879-93, frankly admitted to a policy of keeping "the nations in a state of well-balanced discontent". Popular education, which played an increasingly important role in stimulating the demand for "national languages" (up to 1848 the Hungarian Diet, for example, still debated in Latin), accelerated the separatist movements. In short the history of the 19th century is above all the story of the compression and solidification of self-conscious national entities, which left the Hapsburg Empire with the impossible choice of distilling ten or more factious ethnic groups into a modern unified nation, or of disintegrating. Hermann Bahr, a Salzburger who spent most of his life in Vienna, wrote in 1906, "Some think the Austrian State is crashing. It cannot do that. For it does not exist".

A European Commonwealth

16. A really free association of states might have been a way out of the dilemma; some Austrians will even argue that their empire was a European version of the British Commonwealth. But it was never achieved or seriously attempted. Only Hungary, by the "Ausgleich" (or Compromise) of 1866, obtained autonomous control over her domestic affairs. The Magyars, supported by the Clericals, bitterly opposed its extension to Czechoslovakia or any other part of the Empire and continued to repress the Slav minorities under their own rule.

The "wicked Czechs"

17. Masaryk is often accused here of betraying the Empire. For long he worked for Czech autonomy within it. It was not until he became convinced of the impossibility of his aim that he pressed for full independence, which he had come to see as the only alternative to German domination. It is often forgotten by those who quote it that a Czech historian, Palacky, was the author of the remark (often attributed to Bismarck) that "if there were no Austria-Hungary it ought to be invented". But no Czech was prepared in 1918 to recall it, let alone invent it. In 1921 Czechoslovakia and the other members of the Little Entente were ready to go to war to prevent the ex-Emperor Charles returning to the Hungarian throne.

One foot in the bath

18. Austrians who refuse to accept the idea that the Empire became an anachronism after 1815 are contradicted by the "Professor of Reaction" himself. When Solomon Rothschild brought Metternich the

the news of Louis Philippe's abdication, his first words were "Eh bien, mon cher, tout est fini". On further reflection he added : "I know we are finished. The revolution which threatens us.....is a reflection of the European convulsion which has been going on for the last 59 years and, however many current demands we may accede to, it will not be enough". In 1842 a high official in the Imperial Chancellery had written: "A national feeling has arisen among the Slav, Hungarian and Italian peoples.. which is vehemently spreading.....and is repelling everything alien to it. The sympathy of the (Austrian) Germans has turned with redoubled power to their brethren in the North and West. But this process of segregation indicates not the faintest sign of the awakening of any Austrian national sentiment....." Later Francis Joseph told Theodore Roosevelt: "You see in me the last monarch of the old school". Count Czernin, one of the last Foreign Ministers of Austria-Hungary, looking back on 1914, said "We were bound to die. We were at liberty to choose the manner of our death, and we chose the most terrible".

"We didn't mean to go to sea"

19. Austrians are wont to express pained surprise that other countries should have been so stupid and vindictive as to make a world war out of the minor operation by which Francis Joseph sought to restore order in the Balkans. In reality, it was in a spirit of sublime fatality that Austria's rulers deliberately sought war as a kill or cure for South Slav nationalism in the knowledge that it could not cure. Had they succeeded in annexing Serbia, it could but have added to their minority problems. They knew it involved war with Russia which could only be faced with a promise of German support. And German support was bound to entail not merely a world war but German domination even in the event of success. In the same way as "unconditional surrender" has been criticised after the late war, Austrians like to recall their offer of peace after Brest-Litovsk "when the Russian danger had been removed". They forget that by then Austria was for most practical purposes governed from Berlin. As a matter of fact President Wilson delayed a declaration of war against Austria until the end of 1917 in the vain hope of weaning her away from Germany. It is also worth remarking that only the Bolshevik revolution prevented the Russians from filling in 1918 the vacuum in Eastern Europe which they ultimately occupied in 1945 in consequence of Hitler's folly.

"And in death....."

20. To refute the myth of the Allies' wilful destruction of the Hapsburg Empire, chronology may be left to speak for itself. In May 1917 the Austrian Parliament was convened for the first time since 1914. With the exception of the Poles, all the Slav deputies announced their resolve to form nation-states. In July 1917 the Declaration of Corfu confirmed the intention of the Southern Slavs to achieve united independence. In October the Austrian Socialist leader, Otto Bauer, submitted a resolution to a party conference not only stating its duty to recognise the right of the Slavs to self-determination but also demanding the "unity and freedom of the German nation in a democratic German Commonwealth". In January 1918 Lloyd George declared that "the break-up of Austria-

✧ The Poles joined in the demand at the beginning of 1918 after some of their territory had been presented by the Central Powers to the new Ukrainian Republic.

Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims". Three days later President Wilson published his Fourteen Points. Although they included "the opportunity of autonomous development for Austria-Hungary", only in respect of Poland was independence and access to the sea specified. During the winter of 1917/18 a Pan-Slav Conference was held in Prague, and in April 1918 a Congress of Oppressed Nationalities met in Rome. In June the Supreme War Council made the independence of Poland one of the Allied war aims and Masaryk and his Czech National Council were recognised by Britain and France.

"German-Austria"

21. On 4th October Austria-Hungary accepted the Fourteen Points and left the future of the Hapsburg Monarchy to President Wilson who had, according to one Viennese newspaper, become the de facto Prime Minister of Austria. On the 16th the dynasty belatedly proclaimed Austria to be a federal state. Even at this stage, however, "the integrity of the lands belonging to the Holy Crown of Hungary" was not to be infringed. (Count Andrassy was the Emperor's Foreign Minister.) Two days later Czech independence was declared at Paris and ratified in Prague on the 28th with the proclamation of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, a name current since 1880. Next day the Yugoslav State was proclaimed at Zagreb. Meantime the German members of the Austrian Reichsrat turned themselves into the "German National Assembly" and proclaimed the state of "German-Austria". A few days later Hungary became a Republic and the Army offered "unconditional surrender" to the Allied Commander-in-Chief in Italy. The Emperor Charles "renounced all share in the government of Austria and Hungary" on the 13th November and Austria was declared by the Provisional National Assembly to be a "constituent part of the German Republic". After a general election in February 1919 the decision was unanimously confirmed.

The real culprits

22. There was certainly encouragement by the Allies of the dissident nationalities in the later stages of the war. Professor Seton-Watson and Mr. Wickham Steed pioneered a technique later emulated by Mr. Lindley Fraser. Deserters, of whom the most famous were the Czech Legion, were assisted in fighting for their countries against their sovereign. But to magnify this into the chief reason for Austria's debacle would strain the credulity of the most abandoned lover of fairy tales. If the Allied statesmen had wished to preserve the Hapsburg Empire they would not merely have had to invent it; they would also have been obliged to use armed force to coerce the component nationalities.

To be or not to be

23. It was plain enough to Austrians in 1919 what they were not. The difficulty was to know what they were. Whether there are such things as "Austrians" or "Austro-Germans" (comprising for example Viennese, Styrians, Tyrolese and Salzburgers but excluding Bavarians and Rhinelanders) is still a favourite subject of academic controversy. It belongs to a general study of the "Austrian character" to which I shall return later. The geographical fact was that a territory peopled by 6½ million German speakers, two millions of them in Vienna, was left over from the neighbouring orgy of self-determination (a principle entailing the forcible incorporation of 3½ million "Austro-Germans" within Czechoslovakia and 250,000 in Italy). The political fact was that the new

new National Assembly, dominated by the Social Democrats, voted unanimously for union with the German Republic. This was the immediate answer to the question whether the rump of an Empire, characterised by its almost complete lack of patriotism, could find the moral and material resources for an independent existence.

Currants without cake

24. Herr Braunthal, a pre-Anschluss associate of Oskar Pollak on the "Arbeiterzeitung" and now Secretary of the Socialist International, has explained the Socialist workers' motives as follows: "German nationalism and Hapsburg patriotism were equally hated.....When, however, the Hapsburg and the Hohenzollern empires collapsed, and Austria as well as Germany became a Republic, many Socialist workers wished for fusion of the two republics into a single one, because they realised the narrow limits of Socialist progress in their own country, in which scarcely more than two fifths of the population belonged to the industrial working class". The motives of the intellectuals and the bourgeoisie had deeper roots. They had for over a century, since Napoleon had shown to all Germans the penalties of disunity, shared in the sentiment for German unification, which Bismarck was to realise with blood and iron. The dilemma which faced them during the 19th century was that the Hapsburg Empire with its multi-national dependencies could not all fit into a German Confederation; while to sacrifice half the empire was too high a price to pay for a racial principle. For as long as they could they had kept a foot in both camps. Their exclusion from the Zollverein and the crushing defeat of 1866 meant that the leadership of Germany had finally passed to Prussia. But many retained their ideal of German unity and their belief that the "Austrian" element could determine the character of a unified Germany. The choice between the two horns of the dilemma, however, never had to be made. The Slavs and Hungarians broke away and left the "Austro-Germans" in the one position they had never foreseen: isolated in the middle of Europe. With the addition of what seemed to all parties the overwhelming argument of economic necessity, Anschluss was the only apparent, and in practice the unanimous, answer. The illusion that "Austria" would somehow dominate Germany and so provide the nimble-witted Viennese with as wide a field for their talents as they had enjoyed under the Hapsburgs persisted up to and even after 1938. Many Austrians cherish too the belief, in spite of their own record after 1933 and the Fuehrer's pedigree, that the early fusion of Austria and Germany would have prevented Hitler's rise to power. According to Dr. Buschbeck, the Austrians, "the only true Germans", could never conceive of themselves as being "a mere cog or appendix in the institutional set-up of the Reich". The problem of how to take the currants and leave the cake remains unsolved.

Wien, Wien, nur du allein!

25. While the politicians in Vienna were deciding what Austria should become, the provinces took things into their own hands. "Self-determination" was proving a wild success. Carinthia warned the Federal Government to keep its hands off. Vorarlberg, always regarded in Austria as more Swiss than Austrian, sought union with Switzerland. (In the seventies it had opposed the Arlberg tunnel project on the grounds that what God had put asunder by a mountain no man should join together with a hole.) The Diet of Tyrol severed relations with Vienna and despatched an embassy to Switzerland to obtain recognition from the Western Powers. In 1921, in spite of Saint Germain, the province held a plebiscite at which an overwhelming majority voted for union with Germany. Salzburg

Salzburg and Styria followed suit with similar results. The provinces left Vienna in the lurch economically as well as politically. The Catholic peasants were content to watch the Socialist workers starve, and so widened a traditionally deep psychological gulf between the two. The federally minded local governments took a long awaited opportunity to ignore the now powerless administration with its centralised bureaucracy and cosmopolitan staff. Parochialism remains today one of the strongest forces in Austria. Indeed it is hard to see against this background how anyone could have imagined that "Austria" would sway the policies of the Reich. In the event the Anschluss was followed by a comprehensive policy of "de-Austrianization", and the "Ostmark" was split into seven different Reichsgaue, of which Vienna was one, each responsible to Berlin.

Austria malgre soi

26. The Austrians condemned self-determination because it dissolved their Empire; but they argued that if this were to be the guiding principle they should at least have benefitted from its application. As it was they lost on the swings and on the roundabouts. Not only were a third of the Austro-German population of the Empire divorced from the new Austria; what was left was thwarted in its desire to attach itself to Germany. Article 88 of the Treaty of Saint Germain declared the independence of Austria to be inalienable except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Even the name "German-Austria" was forbidden. Austrians also complain that they alone of the components of the old Empire were treated as a defeated enemy, and as the direct heir to its financial and other responsibilities. Considering that the war was started by an Hungarian aristocrat (the Imperial Foreign Minister, Count Berchtold, noted while Ambassador at St. Petersburg for his "sang-froid and powers of deception"), this is regarded as just another insult added to the supreme injury of "dismemberment". In practice the Hungarians did not fare much better. They were also obliged to pay reparations and were made to recognise the reduction of their country to about half its former size as a result of Slav self-determination.

27. Demands for Anschluss were again raised and rejected in 1922 and 1928. In 1931 Schober's proposed Customs Union with Germany was over-ruled at the Hague Court by 8 votes to 7, the seven including the British and American judges.

The Stronghold of Democracy

28. When Austrians speak of their democratic maturity they are not thinking only of the period after 1945. The Socialists have foremost in mind their pre-war municipal triumphs in "Red Vienna", while there is a complacent tendency in Catholic and right-wing circles to forget that Austria was a dictatorship long before 1938.

The cradle of Social Democracy

29. There is much to be said for the Socialist thesis, provided the term "democracy" is not taken in its parliamentary sense. The latter half of Francis Joseph's reign saw a revolution in social institutions. Until 1860 Austria was, except for Russia, the most feudal country in Europe. The Year of Revolutions, which had first brought about the abolition of serfdom in Hungary, was followed by ten years of repression and intensified absolutism. But although

although Francis Joseph remained an autocrat to the end of his reign, he became after 1860, in outward form, a progressively more enlightened one. By 1914 Austria had universal suffrage, for what it was worth, and a good many other liberal appliances. Karl Lueger, the Christian-Social Burgomeister of Vienna, had led great advances in "municipal socialism" and inaugurated in Austria the "age of the little man". The Socialists, as senior partners in the coalition government in 1919 and 1920 and, until 1934, as masters of the Vienna Town Council, carried forward this work until their town had become one of the leading examples in Europe of welfare and planning. The eight-hour day, holidays with pay, social insurance, rent-control legislation, pre-natal care, free milk for nursing mothers and above all their achievements in house-building, date from the early twenties and were maintained in spite of the economic difficulties of the country.

The two nations

30. Admirable though all this was, it clearly did not connote the success of parliamentary democracy. It is true that Austria was not openly anti-democratic until 1933. Elections were held and the constitution was respected. But if the spirit of democracy had existed there would have been no need for the private armies maintained by both major parties until one succeeded in suppressing the other. "Marxist" and "Clerico-Fascist" were not mere propaganda phrases - Monsignor Seipel, the Chancellor, was fond of recalling Schwarzenberg's advice about "a bit of hanging", and the Socialists still believed in the dictatorship of the proletariat; they marked a gulf of fierce antagonism, which also divided peasants from workers. Socially the two parties became more and more autarkic. Separate schools, colleges, welfare organisations, libraries, youth movements and so forth ensured that the "two nations" were kept in isolation and mutual distrust. Clashes between the Schutzbund and the Heimwehr became more frequent.

In the Name of God a Corporative State

31. In 1927 workers demonstrating against the acquittal of Heimwehr men charged with the murder of members of the Schutzbund, stormed and burned down the Palace of Justice; the police opened fire and the country was brought to the brink of civil war. In 1930 the Heimwehr repudiated democracy and Parliament. In 1932 Dollfuss became Chancellor and in March 1933 suspended Parliament. One of his reasons was the startling increase in the Nazi vote at the Viennese municipal election of 1932, which he feared would split the "right" and put the Socialists in power. For nearly a year Austrians looked on apathetically as their democratic liberties were destroyed one by one. The Germans had some justification for pleading that they were rushed off their feet by the Nazis. The Austrians had the fate of the Germans to warn them and plenty of time to see which way things were moving. In February 1934 the Socialist Party was suppressed after bloody street fighting. On the 31st May the new Constitution was proclaimed, together with the ratification of a Concordat with the Vatican. The preamble stated: In the name of God from whom all right proceeds, this Constitution is issued for the Austrian people for its Christian German Federal State on a corporative basis". Democracy and freedom had perished.

By decision of Yalta a free and independent Austria

32. Parliamentary democracy patently failed in the First Republic. Since the war Austria has, under the pressure of occupation, been governed by a coalition so broadly based as to make something of a

of a farce of parliamentary procedure. There has been virtually no opposition and under the Austrian system the rights of private members are narrowly limited. True, these years have been of great benefit in teaching Socialist and People's Party leaders to exercise self-restraint and to compromise in private. But we should not forget that Austria has still to make the experiment of constitutional government by one major party in face of the opposition of the other. When eventually it is tried, as some day it must be, will it lead to the re-creation of the Heimwehr and the Schutzbund? There is comfort in the reflection that some of the ideological divisions of the twenties and thirties have been healed or at least soothed. Nor is there any doubt about the antipathy of the bulk of the population to Communism. Understandably enough Austrian politicians profess serene confidence in the future, once their country has been liberated from its liberators. So eloquently and persistently have they pleaded the injustice of the occupation, and so indefensible indeed is its continuance, that it is easy to forget that less than twenty years ago Austria turned to Fascism of her own accord. Democratic institutions must be tried and proved in varied and exacting circumstances before they reach maturity; in Austria they are barely out of the nursery.

The rape of a coquette

33. The rise of the Nazi party in Germany may have caused some apologists of fusion to think again. It is even said that if Schuschnigg had been able to hold his plebiscite it would have shown a solid majority against Anschluss. People now speak of the rape of Austria as if her virtue was above suspicion, and Austrians like to imagine that they only submitted to Germany after their abandonment by Britain and France. This may be conceded as at least a half truth. 1938 was the year of Munich and His Majesty's Government were in no position to play a determining role in central Europe. It should, however, be remembered that Austria yielded with so little opposition and afterwards accepted her violator with such enthusiasm that it was legitimate to wonder whether it was a case of rape or seduction. After Schuschnigg had returned a broken man from the fateful secret meeting at Berchtesgaden, where he was shewn the German General Staff's plan for the occupation of his country, it was officially put out that useful conversations had taken place for the improvement of Austro-German relations; and up to almost the last moment the government hesitated either to explain the seriousness of the situation or to try and rally the people behind it.

Left hand, right hand

34. Those Austrians who do not hold the Western Powers responsible for the Anschluss like to blame their leaders. But it was not simply a demoralised government, permeated with crypto-Nazis, which submitted to Hitler. The country as a whole had no will to resist. Braunthal, who has little enough to say for the Christian Socialists and their allies, admits that "Hitler's conquest of Austria could be achieved only with the consent, or at least the benevolent neutrality, of the Austrian people themselves. Firstly, because a war of Germans against Germans would have been repugnant to his own people. Secondly, if the Austrian people were earnestly resolved to defend their independence.....an open aggressive war against Austria might have embroiled Germany in a major conflict." One of the chief causes of this listlessness, if one discounts Austrians' traditional lack of patriotism, was that, after the suppression of the Socialist Party in 1934, the nation was split in two. Although they had in 1933 rejected "Anschluss to a Fascist penal prison", the Socialists soon

soon began to look even to Nazi Germany for salvation. The late President Renner, who publicly encouraged his supporters to vote for the Anschluss at Hitler's plebiscite in April 1938, subsequently wrote: "The workers turned away (after 1934) from their own state and came to the conclusion that if Fascism were unavoidable, the anti-clerical variety of the Germans was preferable to that orientated towards Italy and the Catholic Church. This meant that four years later the mass of the workers allowed annexation to take place without objection and also that they were soon taken in by the dazzling successes of Hitler". He might have added that the greatest of these was the provision of full employment, for which the Austrian working class are still ready to give the Devil his due. Friedrich Adler, who had in 1916 assassinated the Austrian Prime Minister in the name of pacifism, wrote in 1938 that "there was no longer an Austrian Question.....there should not be one, as this question was absorbed in the far wider one of the all-German revolution".

Who paid the bill?

35. The Socialists now like to think that they were the chief victims of Nazism. Braunthal says that "there was only one implacable enemy whom Hitler had to take into account: the Social Democrats in Vienna". This is simply not true. The brunt was borne by Schuschnigg and his supporters. Hitler had already convicted him at Berchtesgaden of betraying and torturing "my people". He had even the effrontery to smoke in the Fuehrer's presence. Now he and his associates were made to pay. The Socialists, on the other hand, were the traditional exponents of the Greater-German creed and they were Schuschnigg's opponents. Very few of their non-Jewish leaders, for all they may say, were molested until late in the war when they came under suspicion of "treason".

The lost legion

36. It is now considered tactless to ask an Austrian, particularly a Viennese, whether he welcomed the Anschluss; it is an insult to question his repudiation of Nazism. Seyss-Inquart was apparently the only Austrian Nazi. Nazis, like most Germans, lacked "culture". And that was unpardonable. Yet the chameleon - like rapidity with which Vienna was converted into a Nazi town impressed all foreign observers and is well described in the contemporary reports of His Majesty's Representative. Swastikas appeared everywhere; the police had the right arm-bands ready in their pockets; German troops were feted; Cardinal Innitzer commanded prayers of thanksgiving for the bloodless course of a great revolution; and a Pogrom began, involving the robbery, slaughter or exile of 200,000 Jews, which, if it were led by the Gestapo, enjoyed at least the connivance of the average Viennese and at times his open approval. It has even been said that in no city of the Reich were pogroms so spontaneous, so general and so brutal as in Vienna. Duress there undoubtedly was. But no Communist dictatorship has succeeded in eliciting from a Prince of the Church an endorsement as complete as Cardinal Innitzer's admonition to "the priests and the faithful" to "support without reserve the Greater-German State and the Fuehrer whose fight against Bolshevism and for the power, honour and unity of Germany has been destined by Providence".

Problems of existence

37. There are many variations of this theme. Austrians, for example, never participated in Hitler's war. Some say they fought only under duress - surprisingly well in the circumstances; others that they only did their patriotic duty in defending the

the Fatherland. They committed no war crimes. And since they ceased to exist as an independent state after the Anschluss they could not be treated as an ex-enemy. If need be the opposite thesis may be argued with equal plausibility. The People's Party, in order to defend the validity of the 1934 Concordat, contend that the continuity of Austria's existence as a State was never really broken. She was merely deprived temporarily of her freedom of action. The Germans in either case were responsible for everything. Small wonder that the conviction of being "Austrian" came in 1945 with the force of revelation. No longer was there any need to kick against the pricks of Allied policy. Everyone discovered that they had always hated and despised the Germans. Only a few exiles like Friedrich Adler, writing in Brussels, had the courage to ask whether this volte-face reflected principle or expediency. And indeed it will be some time before the final answer is known.

"If only Schuschnigg....."

38. Austrian history is rich with "if only's". A very popular one is that, if only Schuschnigg had fled the country in 1938 and set up an exile government "to preserve legal continuity", Austria's post-war history would have been quite different. She would not have been occupied; there would have been no trouble about German assets; and she would long since have regained her independence. Leaving aside the question whether Schuschnigg's immediate arrival in London or New York would have persuaded the Allies that the slate was clean and there was no need for a period of foreign tutelage, this argument seems most unrealistic. The simple fact was that all Hitler's "victims" had to be reconquered by the Russians, by the Western Allies or by both. Those falling to the Russians became Communist satellites, those liberated by ourselves members of the Free World and the last category, Germany and Austria, subject to joint occupation. And the withdrawal of the occupation required a treaty. It is hard to see how Schuschnigg's behaviour could have altered these facts. At best the Americans might have expected eventually to buy out the Russians more cheaply.

Neither Flesh, Fowl nor good Red Herring

39. It may reasonably be asked: is there such a thing as an "Austrian" character? That is to say, something distinct from but inclusive of the Viennese, the Tyrolese or the Lower Austrian character. I propose in the succeeding paragraphs to beg this question and to identify for the purpose of analysis the "Austrians" and what most foreigners take for Austrians, namely the Viennese. This is not just because the Viennese number nearly a third of the total population. It is also because the Viennese character is, as it were, a primary colour; insofar as the provinces are individual they are secondary colours, part Viennese and part, say, Bavarian or Slovene in inspiration. Lastly, if the analysis is to be semi-historical it would in any case be impossible to separate the concepts of Austrian and Viennese. For Vienna was the heart and soul of the Hapsburg Empire in a way that probably no other capital has been in relation to a Kingdom. One might almost say that Vienna and the Dynasty were Austria, provided this is not construed as an admission of a greater degree of Austrian unity than in fact existed or exists.

Municipal patriots

40. The metaphor of the Viennese character being a primary colour was not intended to suggest that the Viennese is racially pure. On the contrary he is compounded of half the races of Europe.

Basically like most other Austrians, he is Celtic /, overlaid with barbarian. But even until quite recently he was receiving regular and heterogeneous infusions from all over the Empire. Before 1938 he was nearly 10% Jewish and enough Czech to inspire the saying "All Viennese hail from Prague, with the exception of those who come from Brno". His only political loyalties for hundreds of years were a largely romantic attachment to an international dynasty and a real pride in his own cosmopolitan city. (Francis I, when told of an Austrian patriot, replied "But is he a patriot of me?") He was accustomed to being the centre of, and to supplying the administrative machinery for, an Empire whose representatives took over-riding precedence at foreign courts, but for whose exact boundaries he cared hardly a straw. He had thrown flowers in the path of Napoleon when he rode into Vienna as Austria's conqueror. Beethoven, catching the infection, dedicated a symphony to Bonaparte before changing his mind after a social slight. The Emperor Francis, after the defeat of his armies at Wagram, said happily; "It is all over, gentleman, let's go home". The loss of Lombardy and Venetia after Magenta and Solferino left the Viennese cold. Following the Prussian victory at Königgrätz only 3,000 of the 200,000 able-bodied men available answered the call for a volunteer defence force. Almost the only times the Viennese are known to show signs of national feeling are when a foreigner is rash enough to question the supremacy of their musical tradition. ++

Fortwursteln

41. Austrians have for long made a cult of muddling through. Count Taaffe, Prime Minister of Austria in the 1880's, frankly described his policy as "Fortwursteln". For centuries foreigners have experienced a mixture of mystification, amusement and exasperation at the spectacle. Richelieu once said, "As often as I thought to have given a certain death blow to the so-called House of Austria, so often has it pulled a new wonder out of its pocket". And Louis XIV: "Poor Leopold caused me no anxiety, it was his miracles I feared". Frederick the Great asked, shortly after 400,000 people had been allowed to starve by the negligence of Maria Theresa's bureaucracy, "What resources does this inexhaustible Austria possess? For years its ministers have worked ceaselessly for its destruction and they still haven't achieved their object". H.A.L. Fisher writes of Metternich's administration: "The Government of Austria, though sweetened by negligence and frivolity, was slow, secret, arbitrary and confused". As a contemporary example of this same "Schlamperei", a wing of the Belvedere containing Prince Eugene's Gold Cabinet was burnt out in 1950, mainly because the night watchmen were not provided with the telephone number of the fire brigade.

Asia begins at the Landstrasse

42. The Austrian essayist, Ferdinand Kürnberger, tried in 1871 to enlighten the foreigner: "What is incomprehensible to every non-Austrian..... is the Asiatic in Austria....it must be understood as a kind of Asia.....Europe means law, Asia means arbitrary rule. Europe

/ In the words of Hermann Bahr, "immer bereit, sich aufzugeben, abzuweichen, auszuweichen, anzunehmen, einzunehmen, einzugehen, aufzugehen" (always ready to give up, to divagate, to shirk, to accept, to indulge, to accede, to abandon themselves).

++ Lack of national feeling is not of course a Viennese monopoly. The provincials mostly think of themselves first as Styrians, Tyrolese or whatever, second as German, in its ethnic sense, and, only if the context demands it, as Austrian.

Europe means respect for facts; Asia means the purely personal. Europe is the man; Asia is at once the old man and the child... Austria too... But note well that in all this South German liveliness and Slav changeability, in this rapid whirl of persons, the thing itself remains Asiatically stiff, inert, conservative, sphinx-dead and spectrally hoary, not having budged an inch since Biblical times." This is what Metternich had in mind when he said that Asia began at the Landstrasse, the highway to Budapest. Metternich, it should be remembered, was a Rhinelander.

"Austro-Baroque"

43. The Slav thesis is not generally popular. Most Austrians prefer the Baroque. The cardinal fact, as they see it, of their formative years, is that, although she experienced a short lived Reformation, Austria never enjoyed a Renaissance. From the spirituality of the Gothic they passed straight to the superficiality of the Baroque. Both were forms of escapism. The Gothic, according to a famous definition, sought to raise up Earth to Heaven, the Baroque to bring Heaven down to Earth. Austro-Baroque, as Austrians are fond of pointing out, is not simply an architectural style (imported from Italy); it is a philosophy of life. It explains their fatalism and lack of realism, their conservatism and unpunctuality, their capacity for temporising and procrastination. Kürnberger chides his countrymen for their "completely un-German way of degrading objective reality to a fantastic shadow-play of their own arbitrary choosing". In more famous words "Life's but a walking shadow". But this is how Austrians like to picture themselves. Life is theatre, and theatre - or better, opera - is life. It is the Leitmotiv of Austria's greatest drama, culminating with Grillparzer's "Der Traum, ein Leben". Its conclusion is :

"Und die Grösse ist gefährlich!
Und der Ruhm ein leeres Spiel!
Was er gibt sind nicht 'ge Schatten
Was er nimmt, es ist zu viel".

Hopeless but not serious

44. Why then worry? Most dreams come out all right in the end. The situation may be "hopeless", never "serious". And why today when tomorrow will do? Tomorrow in Viennese means never. Only a foreigner would think of returning within the year after being told by a shop-keeper that "we shall be getting it in tomorrow afternoon at the latest". Last winter's road making programme, financed from counterpart funds to counteract seasonal unemployment, got off to a flying start in June. Austrians live for the moment, they are improvident of the future. No one would buy a fur coat in summer even at a bargain price. The tourist centres are in danger of spoiling their long-term trade by trying to shear five years' fleece in one. Improvidence is really a reflection of fatalism, which the war and the occupation have done much to accentuate. It was in the first flush of Baroque, after the second siege of Vienna and the Great Plague, that a wandering minstrel with a gay ironic turn of wit made popular the refrain:

"O, du lieber Augustin, alles ist hin,
Geld ist hin, Gut ist hin,
Rock ist weg, Stock ist weg,
Und selbst das reiche Wien,
Jeder Tag war ein Fest,
O, du lieber Augustin".

The key-note is a "despairing frivolity". For two hundred years the

the public administration has been inspired by two principles: "Etwas muss geschehen" and "Aber was kann man machen?" Austrian baroque is synonymous with scepticism. Nestroy said that the Austrian "considered nothing real for which he did not hold a receipt in his hand". Perhaps this is the origin of his extraordinary addiction to bureaucracy. Prince Eugene's experience was that "the Austrian soldier fights bravely but without assurance". Today he might have called in a team of psychologists to explain what they were fighting for. Lethargy and conservatism stem from the same root. One cynic said that the Austrians were so religious that they did not like to interfere with God's handiwork. Taken to poetic extremes, Grillpurzer ruined his life because he could not make the decision to propose to the woman he loved.

The Counter Reformation

45. There are some important ingredients in the pudding besides Baroque. The Baroque followed the Counter Reformation; and the Counter-Reformation left an indelible mark. It was carried through under the slogan "Better a desert than a land of heretics". Its success was complete. Heresy was rooted out and so was genuine religion. The outward form survived, gorgeously embellished with Baroque tinsel. Austrians never discovered spiritual reality; they were given instead orthodoxy in an operative setting. A visiting friar sadly recorded that he had not found a single soul in the whole of Austria. Wickham Steed, summing up the work of the Jesuits, wrote in 1913, "The rest is domination, intrigue, enjoyment of fat revenues, and maintenance of control over a people very observant of religious form and very void of religious feeling". The gaiety of Vienna is the child of Jesuitism and Baroque. Its formula is other-worldly materialism: Recognise that life is a dream; enjoy it as a play; and leave the ultimate responsibility to God. This explanation of Viennese shortcomings naturally goes down especially well in Protestant circles. But it must ipso facto be used sparingly; the Protestants are little more than 4% of the Austrian people.

The Nation of Hofrats

46. The Counter-Reformation also involved the disestablishment of the aristocracy and their conversion into courtiers. By the time Ferdinand had purged Bohemia, for example, only eighteen noble houses were left. The gaps in his court were filled by men with no other home. Maria Theresa took the process further and pursued a deliberate policy of alienating the nobility from its local allegiance. The Bureaucratic machine was designed to turn local politics into shadow boxing and to centralise practical administration in Vienna. The result was to deprive Viennese society of any roots. Its only purpose was to be decorative, to ooze "culture", and here and there to supply an imperial minister or a senior bureaucrat. It became "the nation of Hofrats", divorced from any real sense of political or social responsibility. Nor was the deficiency made good by a middle class. In order to cure the problem of landless peasants at the end of the 18th Century, Joseph II introduced legislation which made a clear division between peasant holdings and the great estates. Austria is to this day a country of a handful of big estates, a large number of small holdings and very few medium-sized ones. One of the results was to help forestall the development of a squirearchy which might have brought a breath of earthy realism into the sophisticated capital. Thus the urban intelligentsia knew no country cousins and was even more superficial than the aristocracy. The merchant class, in high proportion Jewish, immigrated during the 19th Century from all parts of the

the Empire. . And the industrial working class was equally without roots in the country. For another result of Joseph II's reforms was the separation of town from country. Austrian industry was denied the plentiful source of surplus agricultural labour which played so important a role in the development of Britain and Germany. The towns were obliged to supply a proletariat from their own resources. It grew up to distrust the peasants, whose callousness in 1919 and profiteering since 1945 have done little to restore confidence. The peasants, conservative and Catholic, hated equally the radical and atheist workers.

Everything that is forbidden is permitted

47. This lack of social cohesion, though repaired somewhat during the last fifty years, is still very apparent. Sectional allegiance is much stronger than loyalty to the community. The Viennese, renowned for his savoir-faire in the drawing-room, is without manners or courtesy in public. At home, in a cafe or a Heuriger he is a civilized and amiable being. When driving a motor-car or waiting in a queue he is a raucous barbarian+. In society he plays the gallant, fetches chairs and kisses hands. In a public waiting room he would seldom think of surrendering his seat to a pregnant woman or an aged invalid. He rejoices in his lack of social responsibility. In Germany, it is said, everything is forbidden that is not permitted; in Britain everything is permitted that is not forbidden; in Austria everything that is forbidden is permitted. Austerity and self-discipline are only for the uncultured foreigner, particularly the puritan British. Since they are alien to the Austrian temperament, it is useless to urge them, however pressing the economic necessity. If the British and Americans wish to preserve the Austrian way of life against Communist infiltration, they must pay for it. Blue-prints proving that Austria could be viable if she tightened her belt, worked harder, suspended comfortable restrictive practices and so forth are as unreal to the Austrians as the famous proposition : if your aunt wore trousers she would be your uncle.

The Art of Living

48. The Austrian's ideal is to be a "Mensch". In theory he judges men of all classes, nationalities and origins on their merits. In practice he finds it easier to recognise a "Mensch" who belongs to the same party or clique; and so important is background that everyone from chimney-sweep to Chancellor must have some title to preface his name, by which he is invariably addressed. The Viennese's greatest pride is his cosmopolitan culture and his European outlook. ø He claims possession of the inventiveness and musical genius of the Germans together with the imagination, wit, and art of living of the French. (He has also appropriated the culinary specialities and gypsy music of the Hungarians.) In fact he falls between two stools. He lacks the German's energy and the Frenchman's originality. He is a critic rather than an

+ The driving schools came out on strike recently for more pay to compensate them for the hazards of their profession, though it is only fair to say that the appalling ubiquity of Viennese trams is one of the greatest of these.

ø Educated Austrians show far more interest in European problems than in their own domestic troubles. It is a way of preserving the illusion that Vienna is still one of the centres of European thought. It is also a reflection of the unimpaired strength of their instinct to belong to a larger unit, which probably accounts for half the retrospective glamour of the Hapsburgs. It is thus understandable that the idea of European Union is growing in popularity.

an artist; and a conservative critic at that. No one would question the Austrians' musical achievements or fail to wonder at the well-nigh universal appreciation of established classics. Even the Counter-Reformation, which destroyed so much, did not kill music. Leopold I, who attended three masses a day on his knees, was a passionate opera goer. His wife accompanied him with a special prayer book disguised as an opera score. But the crowds who are able to discuss the finest points of their favourite operas are slow to recognise the merits of new works. Nowadays this is perhaps a virtue. Nevertheless Beethoven, who has since been made a naturalised Austrian, was allowed to die in poverty in the city of music. One of his friends overheard a member of a leading Viennese family say that "Fidelio is stinking trash, of which one cannot understand how anyone could have gone to the trouble of boring themselves by it". Abandoned by the Austrians, he received just before his death a gift of £100 from the London Philharmonic Society. It provided him with a lavish funeral, which as a belated act of penitence was attended by Viennese society in great numbers. Nor for all their pretensions do the Austrians know how to cook. The "Wiener Küche" depends chiefly on the preparation in a frying-pan of huge quantities of excellent meat, followed up by weighty slices of sickly and often stodgy cake buried under an avalanche of whipped cream. Beggars should not be choosers; but the fact remains that an Austrian cook faced with a Briton's weekly ration would show no more imagination than a Blackpool landlady.

Die gemütliche Stadt

49. When all this is said - and it is easy enough to convict any people of hypocrisy - the Viennese remain a remarkable community and an ornament of Western civilisation. They themselves would conclude that they were too civilised for a barbaric world. They have no intention of learning from others the practical technique of the Twentieth Century. They are resignedly waiting for the rest of the world to catch up with them. One endearing characteristic they share with the British: no one grouses more about the shortcomings of Vienna than the Viennese; yet no Viennese would be happy living anywhere else. It has what for him no other town has, Gemütlichkeit. For all their cosmopolitanism they despise their own emigres.

An Austrian Nation?

50. Austria is obviously not Vienna, but it is hard to say precisely what it is. A short answer is that the provinces, with their distinct characters, dialects and outlooks, consist of South Germans coloured in different hues and shades by Vienna and by the neighbouring countries, with at least one of which they are all contiguous. Viennese culture must have affected them all to some extent; and they were subjected to many of the same historical influences which moulded the character of the capital. But this did not inspire any feeling of loyalty to Vienna, as was shewn plainly enough by their behaviour after 1918. The lack of social cohesion between town and country has already been mentioned. Even in Lower Austria, which has its provincial headquarters in Vienna, the Viennese were always regarded as foreign, irresponsible and irreligious. The division of the country into zones of occupation has tended to emphasise these distinctions. True, Lower Austria and Vienna now share a common destiny in the Russian embrace. But the Western provinces have only been the more encouraged to look outwards rather than inwards. Before 1914 the capital, if not loved, was at least useful. It housed the Hapsburgs, who represented the only recognisable symbol of unity which the Empire possessed. The

The German provinces could take a little pride in such remarks as "I am the Emperor of the German Reich; therefore all the other states which I possess are provinces of it". Most of present-day Austria was in fact known as the Crown Lands. Even after 1918 Vienna was still an indispensable centre of international trade; prevented from separating, the provinces still found compensation in a marriage of convenience with the capital.

Points of the Compass

51. After 1945 the ties of self-interest were further weakened. Vienna lost any appearance of being a centre. It became a lonely outpost of civilisation surrounded by the Red Army. Its sole importance was as the seat of Quadripartite Government. In the years that followed the authority of the Austrian Government was strengthened and the provinces had perforce to recognise it. But there crept into the relationship a more and more plaintive note. The capital was obliged to appeal to the provinces to play the game, to show compassion for their less fortunate countrymen. It evoked more irritation than sympathy. If left to themselves, most of the provinces would probably still go their own way. Salzburg and Tyrol at least would probably still welcome Anschluss with Germany in some form. The occupation has enforced the continuance of the marriage of convenience and when the Treaty is signed it will maintain the sanction. But if the provinces cannot go their own way, they can and do look their own way. Styria and Carinthia in the British Zone with their Slav minorities both face South. The marcher history of Styria is a live force. The days are not so many since Graz was a flourishing centre of South Slav commerce, a hinterland to Trieste. Provincial leaders in Styria and Carinthia expect more comprehension from the British over their problems with Yugoslavia and Trieste than from their own Federal Government and its Tyrolese Foreign Minister. Salzburg and Linz see in Munich the centre of their commerce and feel themselves part of one strategic area with Southern Germany under the protection of the American Army. Tyrol looks South to the lost provinces and North to Bavaria for the realisation of its dream of a Catholic union free from red and atheist Vienna. Economically too it is the playground of Southern Germany. Vorarlberg, as pointed out earlier, is regarded by the rest of the country as more Swiss than Austrian. In 1919 the Mayor of Lustenau, a village near the Swiss border, represented that his burghers did not mind whom they belonged to, so long as they remained a frontier town. Lastly, Burgenland, the youngest of the provinces, still in outward appearance more Hungarian than Austrian, is only now celebrating its 30th anniversary as an Austrian province.

A Silver Thread?

52. Where then is one to find the Austrian nation? And what is the Austrian character if it is not to be identified with the Viennese? It is true that no part of Austria is quite like any part of Germany. But is there anything common to the Austrian provinces, and not shared by those of Southern Germany, which would justify calling the country on one side of the line from Passau to Constance "Austrian" and that on the other side "German"? In a sense, however, this form of analysis is misleading. In spite of all its social and economic problems between 1918 and 1938, in spite of its want of a will to live, Austria was not extinguished without the intervention of German troops. Moreover, even if one accepts the absence of a clear-cut ethnic distinction between Austria and Southern Germany, there is no mistaking the political and psychological difference between Vienna and Berlin or even Bonn. This

This must after all be the fundamental factor in determining Austrians' political allegiance. Some welcomed the efficiency of German administration during the Anschluss; more, probably, resented the regimentation and yearned for their own technique of indiscipline and muddling through. Also, whatever be the theoretical case for their kinship to the Germans, the dilatoriness, grasp of practical advantage and, to give them their due, the realism and common sense of the Austrians save them from one of the worst traits in the Germanic character, the fatal tendency to pursue an idee fixe to its remorselessly logical end.

Body and Soul

53. Lagarde's aphorism that; whereas Prussia had not enough body for her soul, Austria had not enough soul for her body, was undeniable in 1853. It was still true in 1938. Austria had less body but she had still to discover a soul; Austrians, or at least the Viennese, now profess that the years of occupation disillusioned them for ever of Germany and enabled them to find their soul. How far this is wishful thinking is impossible to know. All Austrians east of the Enns Bridge are forced to believe in Austria because they have no future apart from Austria. The treaty by which alone they can be rid of the Russians must be an Austrian Treaty, a State Treaty. But to believe under compulsion in an Austrian State does not create ipso facto an Austrian nation. Only time and faith can do that. The end of the occupation will remove the zonal frontiers which encourage many Austrians to look outwards. It will also remove the compulsion which inspires in other Austrians a sense of unity. Above all it will show whether the Austrians have faith in themselves. In the final analysis a state becomes a nation because it feels itself a nation. If enough Austrians feel that way for long enough, Austria will become a reality.

1951

German Political Dept. and Austrian Section

AUSTRIA

C A 10113/28

FROM Sir H. Baccia
Vienna
To Rt. Hon. Anthony Eden
Confidential

No. 182 (1018/31/51)

Dated 16th November 51.

Received in
Registry— 22nd November 51.

References

CA 1015/17

CA 1015/7

CA 1102/8

(Print)

(How disposed of)

COPIED TO Mr. Harrison.

D/Sir H. Baccia 2.12.51.

(Action
completed)

(Index)

SD 5.12.51.

19/7/52

CA 1019/ — 1952

Second attempt of Austrian people to form a
State within their present boundaries. Encloses a
memorandum of Austria by Mr. P.M. Foster.

MINUTES

This makes pleasant and interesting
reading, and is a useful introduction
to Austrian and Austrian affairs.

I think we should

thank the Embassy.

Draft sent.

21.12.51 30/11

I agree.

This is light & amusing
stuff; some of it should not
be taken too seriously.

Stanwick

3 xii

But it is well written and clearly the
product of fairly wide reading and experience.

D. Allen 4/xii

yes.

Guth 4/xii. 11/11

41070

OUT FILE

No. 435

(CA 10113/28)

CONFIDENTIAL

FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

4th December, 1951

Sir,

With Your Excellency's despatch No. 182 of the 16th November, you enclosed a memorandum which considered the chances of survival of the modern Austrian State from the point of view of the characteristics and historical traditions of the Austrian people themselves.

2. This survey has been read with interest and appreciation here, and it will, in addition, be a valuable introduction for those who have to deal with Austrian affairs in the future.

3. I should be grateful if Your Excellency will thank those concerned in the preparation of this survey, and in particular Mr. P. M. Foster, for their share in writing a stimulating report.

I am, with great truth and respect,
Sir,
Your Excellency's obedient servant,
(For the Secretary of State)

Sir Harold Caccia, K.C.M.G.,
etc., etc., etc.,
Vienna.