

'Global Austria' and the League of Nations: Reframing Empire and Internationalism

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10000 with footnotes]

'This allows us to sum up the lessons of history. Internationalism the feature of our time, is not a new thing, but rather the rule. Nationalism was the new thing. For a time internationalism was in eclipse. Now we are back to it again.'

Karl Polanyi, 'Nationalism and Internationalism', c. 1945.¹

In 1945, when Karl Polanyi was in London typing up his lecture notes on *Nationalism and Internationalism*, the Geneva-based League of Nations, perhaps the most extraordinary institution that had yet appeared in human history, was all but dead, without funeral and without fanfare, and a new international organization, and the foundations for the United Nations Organization were being laid on the other side of the world. Polanyi had already lived through through the great transformations of twentieth century international politics. His birth in 1886 in Vienna to a Jewish bourgeois family—his father was a railway entrepreneur, whose real name Pollacsek spoke to the diverse Habsburg origins—coincided with the international turn of the 1880s and 1890s. As we will see, in the Austrian empire as well as Europe's other empires, bourgeois and aristocratic contemporaries were likely to identify with a 'new internationalism'—the characteristics of which were a faith in international law, arbitration, and governance, as the means of a permanent peace.

At the end of the First World, as a young intellectual radical in Budapest, Polanyi was a witness to the invention by the victor powers of the League of Nations, as an inter-governmental method of international governance; he could hardly have missed it since the League's creation was one half of a package of peace terms the other half of which applied the principle of nationality to the lands of the austro-Hungarian empire, lending an international imprimatur to the reinvention of post-imperial national-states of the new 'central Europe,' —including the Hungarian republic, which later became the Hungarian soviet republic, and the Kingdom of Hungary—all before Polanyi found himself in exile in the wider transatlantic world.

This context makes it less surprising that Polanyi presented as a lesson of history 'Internationalism' as 'not a new thing but rather the rule', and nationalism as 'the new thing'.² This of course was almost the antithesis of how historians have long viewed modern political progress, as a movement towards the nation. However, for historians newly-interested in reaching beyond the boundaries of an older nation-based view of the international past, Polanyi offers us a provocative framework for thinking about the subject of this conference, the history of the League of Nations in the lands of the former Habsburg empire, and the broader historical questions to which it inevitably gives rise:

What was twentieth century internationalism, how was it experienced and understood, and what was its significance, particularly if we pose these questions from a Habsburg and post-habsburg perspective ?³

I want to begin the search for answers in the ‘global Austria’ of Polanyi’s early years, the pre-First World War decades of the ‘new internationalism’, and, for reasons that will become apparent, I’m drawn to the lens provided by Robert Musil’s masterpiece, *The Man without Qualities*.

Although written in the interwar, Musil’s novel was set on the eve of war in 1913. It lays out a political and social spectrum of the citizens of the Habsburg lands planning for the seventieth jubilee of the accession of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef—the “Emperor of Peace” in 1918. It is here that we find the phrase ‘weltoesterreich’ promoted by the Vienna salonniere Diotoma/ Ermelinda Tuzzi as a slogan for proclaiming Austria the “true home of the human spirit everywhere”; ...[and] satisfying “the need to simulate a unity that could govern all of humanity’s highly varied activities; that unity of mankind that had been lost because the disparity of interests in society had grown so great.”

Diotima like her slogan are fictional creations. But many of welt oesterreich’s reference points are not. For all its stylized rendering, the *The Man without Qualities*, captures the terms and tones of the pre-First World war period, and gives brief cameos to both the Hague Peace Palace, and Bertha von Suttner, each in their own way icons of a dominant narrative of the new internationalism.⁴ However, I want to argue that the novel links us to the significance of a specifically Austrian experience of internationalism.

Take the Prague-born Baroness von Suttner, described by an obituary in her honour by the American Journal of International Law, as the peace movement’s Harriet Beecher Stowe; ‘just as the Baroness von Suttner’s novel, *Die Waffen Nieder* (Lay Down your Arms), published in 1889, can properly be compared with Uncle Tom’s Cabin’:

‘It has been translated into many languages. It has shown the horrors of war just as its prototype showed the horrors of slavery. Both reached the heart and, through the heart, the conscience.’⁵

Suttner was certainly an exceptional woman, who used her exceptional networks to establish the first pacifist society in the Habsburg empire (the Austrian Society of Friends of Peace, 1891), and convince the Swedish Alfred Nobel, an enamoured dynamite manufacturer to fund a peace prize in his name.⁶ For our purposes, Suttner also represents a pre-war Austrian-identified generation committed to pacifism, civil society, and the mechanics of internationalism.⁷ She stood out as a woman leading this network of organizations and actors espousing an international future in institutional forms; she also embodied the mainstream status of the new internationalism, as anchored in the all male Inter-Parliamentary Union, and the state delegates and NGOs involved Hague peace congresses of 1899 and 1907,⁸ among whom stood not only a number of international women’s organizations, but

also the very Habsburgian Heinrich Lammasch, another relatively well-known figure in histories of international law.

Lammasch, like the Hague Peace congresses, offers us a direct link between a pre-war Habsburg history of internationalism and the creation of the League (he was involved in the Hague congresses, and the 1919 Paris peace talks that lead to the league, and because some of his espoused views of international law were echoed in the League's covenant); Lammasch was a member of Suttner's Austrian Peace Society (although she thought him too legalistic) and of the Inter-Parliamentary Union; he died only 4 years after Suttner, but unlike her he lived long enough to see the pre-war vision translated into its (often disappointing) post-war future.

A professor of law at Vienna University, Lammasch was no political radical, he combined the outlook of conservative monarchist and Christian socialist, with faith in the power of international law. His law career mirrored that of many of his contemporaries in Western Europe and across the Atlantic: attendance at both Hague peace congresses as the Austro-Hungarian legal adviser, and then, in 1911, as president of the Hague-based Permanent Court of International Arbitration, one of the core institutions of the trend to a liberal internationalism built on law and institutions.⁹ In 1911, both he and Suttner too were elected to bodies of the NY based Carnegie Foundation for International Peace (another bastion of the new internationalism and its overlapping pacifist, humanitarian and political inflections. What was his view of internationalism? Eric Kussbach has pointed out 'Lammasch clearly refused to accept arguments referring to the sovereignty of states, including not only their right to war but also the right to decide when they want to resort to the use of force.' This was echoed in "The Peace Alliance of States" (published in 1918) in which Lammasch argued for 'mandatory procedures serving the peaceful settlement of disputes as recommended by the Hague Peace Conferences,' and implemented by 'an organization of states with as wide-ranging participation as possible'.

Now there were obvious limits to the influence of women such as Suttner and men such as Lammasch in the period prior to the outbreak of the First World War; As Peter Becker has noted, for all the Habsburg international activity outside the empire (and about which we still know relatively little), within the empire, the new practices of international congressing were relatively unfamiliar—remember that Musil left it to the salonniere Diotima to conceive of a 'weltoesterreich' in the image of the new internationalism. But for all its political limitations the traces of this pre-war internationalism have left their physical mark on the landscape of the Habsburg lands (and beyond) [SLIDES/suttner stamp collection online].

Vedi the plaque at the front of the Hyatt building on Am Hof, commemorating Henri Dunant, the Swiss business man credited with the creation of the International Red Cross, and the invention of the Geneva Convention; or the shelves of the Austrian National Library bursting with the evidence of the discursive reach of international ideas. That is where, for example, one can find Alfred H. Fried's 1919, *Der Völkerbund Ein Sammelbuch*, published in Vienna and Leipzig, in which the eccentric

German internationalist traces an intellectual line from Immanuel Kant in the late 18th century to Woodrow Wilson at the Paris peace conference in 1919, via Baroness Bertha Suttner herself.¹⁰

There was more to this story of course than Kant and Suttner, let alone Wilson. Fried jumped over the First World War, as indeed have many historians who prefer to focus on its disruptive impact on international associations; yet once we start looking, we find that even in wartime Austria, as in France, England, and Germany, internationalist associations soon given a new lease of even stronger life. At the Vienna centre of this wartime story, we find not only Lammasch (by then in his 60s), but other men who would become crucial political spokespersons for the League in the interwar, including the jurist and Vienna university law professor, Joseph Redlich. As is well known, in 1918 the Moravian, Jewish, German, Anglophile Redlich was briefly Minister of Finance to Lammasch's Prime Minister in the last cabinet of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and in the interwar assumed a role in the League 'system' as Deputy Judge of Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague (1930-6).¹¹

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We know less however, about the range of internationalist societies focused on a future international government that were also born in this period. In 1915, for example, both the conservative monarchist Lammasch and the progressive anglophile Redlich joined a variety of such associations, from the "Meinl" group, 'a political circle of Austrian intellectual pacifists, established by the businessman Julius Meinl, which 'served as a platform for public debates and for peace initiatives aiming at the termination of World War I'; to Redlich's own Austrian version of the Fabians, touting a 'humane' version of socialism, which was also linked to the *Para Pacem* movement, set up to further understanding among peoples or 'Völkerverständigung'.¹² These networks laid the seeds of the specifically League-focused internationalism of the war years.

In contrast to the explicit League of Nations societies active in England through the war, the Austrian version made its appearance only in 1919, as the Habsburg empire's formal death loomed. In the aftermath of the own roles in the shortlived 'cabinet of liquidation', Lammasch and Redlich were involved in the amalgamation of pacifist groups as a pro-League of Nations society or liga [bund/liga].¹³ Redlich's diary records (with characteristic brevity) that on February 5, 1919 Constantine Dumba had held an incredibly silly meeting of the League of Nations Committee, and that he, Redlich, could not go along with the limited Dumba's nonsense. And then, suddenly on Friday 21st, the Austrian Liga was formally constituted, 'in den Raumen der Politischen Gesellschaft...: erst Sprach Dumba, dann ich; etwa 100 Personen waren anwesend'.¹⁴ The intention was to move from sentimental and humanitarian pacifism, to a political program promulgating and popularising 'the idea of an international peace organisation.'

Lammasch accepted the role of the liga's honorary president (because he lived in Salzburg). The actual presidency went to Dumba, a retired Habsburg diplomat in his 70s, who clung on to the presidency for the following two decades [he died not

longer after the League's death, in 1947].¹⁵ Newly ennobled and emplanted in the Austrian Herrenhaus, Dumba was also part of the *Para Pacem* network, the influence on of which was reflected in the Liga's original name: Österreichischen Liga Für Völkerbund und Völkerverständigung—only later known more simply as the Österreichischen Völkerbundliga.¹⁶

Redlich, despite his disdain for Dumba, was one of two vice-presidents, along with Josef Schumpeter (Lammasch's academic protegee).¹⁷ While the Ministerial Councillor and pacifist Arthur Miller was made its Secretary General and Friedrich Moc its Treasurer. Obviously there is more to learn here too from the long list of members that we know of, and Schumpeter's own role, and the conceptual links between this interest in the League, and the development of a German field of 'world economics' studies.

The story of the Völkerbundliga, with its headquarters at Burgring 9, Vienna 1, and its sections on Economic, 'rights', transport, press, education, 'teaching and ethics', draws us into a very exclusive and elite world of networked 'Habsburg' (mainly men) politicians, lawyers, and university professors.¹⁸ Whereas in England, the League of Nations Union had a deep foundation in women's associations, in Vienna that was not the case, (although we do find one woman the only member not identified with an external position, among the list of its delegates).

It is also worth noting the intellectuals and elites who were not part of this Liga line-up: Ignaz Seipel, the future chancellor, who later supported them as Chancellor and Chair of the Christian socialist Party;¹⁹ and of course Polanyi, who was in Budapest in this period, and who, Redlich duly noted in his diary, was a 'member/leader of the Budapest bolsheviks and Führer des Galilei-Clubs.' [there are reasons, I would venture for challenging this depiction as the end of the Polanyi story in this period, not least because of the lack of space Polanyi's later account of internationalism gives to bolshevism, and even more so because he was an exile from the Soviet period of the Hungarian republic].

There were of course strands of internationalism that had a familiar home in Red Vienna as well as Budapest during the war and after; but there was also, as Redlich noted in March 1919, daily expressions of new ideas for League inspired groupings, from a deutschösterreichisch-italienische Liga (Councilor Grunhut, from the Ministry of Labour), to a League for a Free Economy' proposed by Meinel himself.²⁰ A little digging in the library and the League's own archive, also leads us to a more curious object: the Institut für Kulturforschung, or as it was named in English, the Institute for Research of Mankind, established in 1915 by a relatively unknown figure, Erwin Hanslik.

For all its historical invisibility, Hanslik's Institut für Kulturforschung, distinguished itself by bringing together the artistic and scientific worlds, a cohort of social scientists (a new disciplinary breed), architects and artists as well as a wartime 'world culture' movement, with bases in Berlin and Stockholm as well as Vienna. The evidence available in the ONB alone shows us that their key ideas, 'Weltkultur und

Weltpolitik,' were the hallmarks of an Austrian and German publication series, and drew in men of the cultural and political calibre of Walter Rathenau, Georg Simmel, Oskar Kokoschka, and Egon Schiele.²¹ But its most vocal advocate was Hanslik himself.

Born in 1889 in Galicia in the bilingual slawisch-deutsch town of Bielitz/Biala, to a Roman Catholic factory worker and a washerwoman,²² Hanslik went on to study in Vienna under Prof Eduard Suess – the liberal politician, prof of paleontology, coiner of the term biosphere. Publicly, Hanslik would claim the influence on his ideas of Wilhelm Dilthey's historical method—particularly the notion that environmental factors, such as geography, geology, climate, history, kultur, shaped humans. But we might also count the significance on conceptions of weltkultur of Suess' view of geology as a subject that could help combat narrow trival affiliations of humans, that fed a 'planetary perspective' that would lead to 'a politics that would not privilege mankind over other living things'.²³

On the back of his university education, Hanslik developed an identification for himself as an 'anthropogeograph'. Career wise, however, he was stuck making a living as a teacher at the Staatsrealschule in neunten Wiener Gemeindebezirk, during which time he also ran the Institute and wrote around 20 books on Geography, Sociology, Anthropology, and politics. The common theme of these publications was 'the unity of civilization', or at least achieving that goal. They featured maps, onto which he visualised data regarding geology, climate, and the demography of a world population, divided into geographical settlement areas East and West Ur-völker, Europe, India, and east-Asia. Within and across these categories he distinguished between peoples drawing on the new Völkerpsychologie, as well as social data on the status of women, and levels of education.²⁴ This was the strange, but perfectly of the time, intellectual world out of which the idea of a weltkultur was born during the war, and the connections to the League made in the postwar.²⁵ Here there are connections to be pursued with the new work on the German-Austrian origins of the study of a world economy.

As importantly, Hanslik and his institute repeatedly emphasised the world context of Austria: 'Die Menschheit' he argued, 'ist des Oesterreichers wahres Vaterland' [Humanity is the true Fatherland of Austrians; 'Oesterreich ist ein viel verwickelterer Kosmos des Zusammenlebens als alle westlichen Einzelstaaten' Austria is a more complex world of cohabitation than all the Western states.²⁶ During the last years of the war 1917, the Institute attracted the likes of Otto Wagner, Klimt, and Schiele (all of whom died in 1918), as well as Josef Hoffmann, Oskar Kokoschka, Oskar Strand, Joseph Matthias Hauer, and Adolf Loos,²⁷ and the financial support of the industrialist, artlover, and philanthropist, Dr. Victor Ritter von Bauer.

The Institut für Kulturforschung leads us to an important story of the numerous international imaginaries that reached into different corners of society and politics in the lands of the former empire, during the war and after, as well as the conceptual links of these imaginaries with the idea of a League of Nations.²⁸ By the time the League was functional in 1920, and 'Austria' had simultaneously gone from imperial

to national status, Hanslik had renamed his cause as the Institute for World Culture (World-Science, Art and Education), boasting its own *Weltkulturgesellschaft* Society for World Culture, with Global 'Vienna' now at its emblematic centre (based at 1, Gluckgasse). This new version still claimed Klimt, Wagner, and Schiele as (deceased) honorary members, alongside science directors ('Wissenschaftliche Leitung') Hanslik and Edmund Küttler (doctor, Orientalism and ethnography, Vienna); an Artistic director ('Künstlerische Leitung'), Kokoschka (based in Dresden), and a string of members and 'correspondence members.'

In 1920, Hanslik and Kokoschka approached the League on behalf of the *Weltkulturgesellschaft*, through the Austrian Legation in London, offering the Institute's help to realise the world cultural mission which they attributed to the actual League: they argued for 'a consciousness of the unity of the world so far nonexistent on the continent of Europe', to be promoted among people of diverse languages by using Kokoschka's concept of 'visual consciousness': 'a uniform international system of education based on Object-Teaching conceived on the foundation of its work 'WORLD SCIENCE'''.²⁹

The League's Secretary-general was informed Vienna's worldly significance in this cause was due to its 'geographical situation, ... its ancient culture evolved out of a mutual penetration of different races'; in the context of the city's increasingly desperate postwar circumstances this 'international mission', 'is like a beacon showing the direction in which this old outpost of civilisation may once more be called upon to perform an important function in the future organisation of the world'.³⁰ The League was invited 'to join the Society, to facilitate the creation of an International Institute for World Culture', and to grant its representatives 'exterritoriality'.³¹

Given the structural limits of the new League, it was perhaps predictable that its bureaucrats dismissed the institute's ambitions as premature.³² The question is should we give any more time to Hanslik and his organization? Hanslik's personal fate suggests a life lived on the political margins. By the Second World War, Hanslik had been institutionalized at the Am Steinhof in Wien Heil und Pflegeanstalt für Geistes und Nervenranke, (either for schizophrenia, 'imbecility', or progressive paralysis); in 1940, he was one of 3,200 patients deported to Hartheimin Oberösterreich where he was killed, a victim of Nazi ideology, and the systematic murder of chronic psychiatric patients.³³

But as eccentric as Hanslik's earlier activities might have seemed as the actual League took form, it doesn't mean that the *weltkultur* and pro-League movement were peripheral to the main political events across the Empire, instead there is more evidence of the resonance of his world view across the landscape of that end of war, often traumatically transitional period. Here is where we find Robert Musil finding a political as his novel is in gestation.

Born in 1880 Klagenfurt, dead in 1942 after a life of exile in Geneva, in 1919, the the year of the League's creation, Musil was on the cusp of his 30th year. Here I ant to

give you a small taste of the intellectual thinking that might tempt some of you to recover Musil's connections with the history of internationalism, and the League past. Take his essay on 'Anschluss with Germany' (1919), in which Musil mused,

'the spirit of humanity which is rising up on all sides, the movement that has now begun in reaction to war and social injustice has assumed the forms of the League of Nations and class conflict. ...What stands in the way is the state—not as an administrative organism, but as a spiritual-moral entity—and it is the task of the impulses that have grouped themselves around the idea of a League of Nations to break out of the evil destiny that attaches itself to the organization of mankind into states.'³⁴

Or:

'...what is our future? ...Getting revenge without the world political goals that have eluded us? Or: creating a world-political goal!'³⁵

As importantly, within this same world-political view, Musil's views echoed the strains of the cultural thought of the imperial past that I want to name a *weltoesterreich* imaginary, and a trajectory that lead from 'the state animal to the human state':

'it has been argued with at least some justice that genius is international and only narrow-mindedness is national' but language community 'is a natural association for accomplishing things, the collecting basin within which intellectual exchange develops quickly and most completely'. In this sense – rather than a political one—that the nation was the building block for the world-political goals.³⁶

Now it's time to look away from the 'horizon of expectations' heaped upon the idea of a League of Nations by the good citizens of the imperial and post-imperial '*weltoesterreich*'/'*weltvienna*', and towards the really actually-existing League. To adapt a 1923 British League of Nations Union pamphlet title, let's see 'What the league did for Austria'.

2. 'What the league has done for Austria'

Even if we bypass the pre-war and war periods and settle in to an analysis of the period after the League of Nations was actually established, the connections between the history of internationalism and *welt-oesterreich* are hard to ignore. Nowhere are these intersections between the rise of the League and the end of the Austrian empire more clearly expressed than in the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, signed in December 1919: it announced the twin terms of the defeated empire's reduction: the principle of nationality and recognition of the League of Nations.

The principle of nationality gave post-hoc international recognition to the seceding national-states of the Austro-Hungarian empire (even when those states announced themselves as composite entities, or with significant minorities). Often forgotten however, are the treaty's internationalist aspects, pronounced in its preamble

including a stress on ‘international co-operation,’ ‘international peace and security,’ ‘international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments’, and ‘the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,’

As news leaked out of what the world might expect of the League—constructed as an intergovernmental body built out of sovereign nation-states, upholding a version of imperialism softened (and vulnerable) by the minority application of mandates—not everyone agreed on why they should be critical of this new international organization, but critical they were. Redlich’s diary denounced Wilson as a Doctrinaire without any heart, who had discredited the League project (in part because of his treatment of Germany). Dumba recalled:

‘The great majority of Austrians would hear nothing of the League of Nations of which the covenant formed the opening clause of the fateful peace treaties.’ This was bad news for the Liga:

‘In these circumstances we were forced to indicate in our programme that our endeavours were directed towards a far-reaching reorganisation of the League of Nations. ...[from a body] promoted by the victors for the permanent protection of their booty into a true League of Peace in which all civilised nations--victors and vanquished and neutrals alike-- would be equal members.’³⁷

Dumba may have had in mind the terms of Part IV of the treaty requiring the Habsburg monarchy to give up territory (and economic rights and interests) outside Europe (who remembers just how global the old Austria was)

1. Morocco, where a French Protectorate was put in place instead, and mining, property, shares and banking presence passed on to the French;
2. Egypt, where the British had already established a protectorate in 1914, including control of the Suez Canal.³⁸
3. Siam and China where Austria-Hungary lost its leases, which were returned to the ‘sovereign state’. Except that it was the victor powers who benefitted most:

There is of course an important break here in the Global Austria story from the imperial practices that historians most often talk about that has the League at its centre: that is the League of Nations as the overseer of a system which saw the transfer of the colonies of the defeated powers to the trust of victor powers (British, French, Australian, New Zealand, Japanese), as their mandates, and the League’s Permanent Mandates Commission given the weak role of moral ‘guardian’.

For Musil, the actually-existing League of Nations was an association of states that revealed itself ‘as ever more grotesque...nothing more nefarious stands in the way of a natural ordering of human society than the arrogance that the two ideals of nation and state show toward human beings.’³⁹ If we look at his diary entries we find him closely parsing the implications of the new international ‘world’ order, and the statehood version of nation and nationalism it entrenched:

‘The “Idea” of world unity was so alien to “Realpolitik” thinking with its orientation toward nationalism and the state, it seemed so utopian to them, that they were obviously unable to give it serious consideration.’⁴⁰

Yet even with the extent of disillusionment provoked by the postwar version of the League, it soon assumed the status of a fixture in attempts to shore up the future of the new Austria, and later the new Hungary.⁴¹

As Patricia Clavin has argued, the Financial reconstruction of Austria constituted crucial episode in the League’s reinvention of its self, and, as the instrument of a ‘liberal, capitalist world order’, and guarantee of the ‘common economic needs’ that would stabilize international relations, make the world more secure.’ It is also a topic that these days takes us into the history of development, technical assistance, questions of nutrition and disease, as well as the burden of reparations and the failure of the financial system, the imperial reach of the League, and the imagining of the role of international organization.⁴²

Briefly, in October 1922, the League stepped in on the formal request of Chancellor Seipel, and in what was an international first, offered immediate food aid, and a plan for long term capital supplies from financiers, who saw themselves as working on an ‘humanitarian impulse.’ On offer was the infamous (and now extraordinarily resonant) Geneva Protocol, which provided fiscal assistance if Austria pursued ‘a rigorous programme of fiscal retrenchment: food subsidies were cut and state expenditure was slashed. Some 50,000 civil servants lost their jobs, and there were continuing attempts to reduce the pension provision of former officials who had once administered the now lost empire...’⁴³ As Clavin describes, this was the League’s ‘financial “dictatorship”’,⁴⁴ overseen by the League-appointed Commissioner General, Alfred Rudolph Zimmerman, a former mayor of Rotterdam, who now had extraordinary powers ‘to determine when and where Seipel’s government disbursed or cut expenditure’.⁴⁵

Within six months, the economy had stabilized, and within a year the budget was in black. League officials touted Austria as a success story and used it as a template for tackling economic crises in Hungary and Germany in the 1920s. The British League of Nations Union announced the League intervention as a prime example of ‘Self-help and international cooperation’: ‘the league alone had sufficient moral authority to induce Austria to make the first difficult but necessary steps towards self-help’, but it was the financial experts [JP Morgan, Montagu Norman and others] who had offered their services ‘for free’ who were celebrated as the heroes of the operation.⁴⁶

The League’s economic role is also part of the history of the idea and experience of internationalism in the former empire. Again Clavin is our guide, drawing our attention to its effect on ‘Austrian attitudes towards international cooperation and with regard to internationalism.’ As we might expect, the Austrian social democrats, including the key architects of the more innovative conceptions of nationality in the old empire, Otto Bauer and Karl Renner came out swinging. Each spoke up on the Austrian parliament against the Geneva Protocol and its ‘enslavement’ of the

Austrian people.⁴⁷ On their view Genf or Geneva and its 'general komissar' were imposing a 'bourgeois capitalist order'.⁴⁸

The League did not always explicitly stand for that order; in the 1920s, its bureaucrats discussed the sympathies that were by nature shared between Labour and Socialist parties and League ideals, 'concern for international good will and cooperation. The one exception, and it confused them, was indeed the Austrian Socialist Party which 'still pays deference to a revolutionary tradition or rather convention, enjoining an attitude of critical aloofness toward the 'bourgeoisie' and all its works.

The nuances of intersecting pre-war internationalisms and their meeting point in post-imperial Austrian cultural and political life was also in evidence at the 1927 League-organized World Economic Conference, where the Bohemian-born (1878-d. 1948 NYC) Emmy Freundlich was given a voice (because an international women's association insisted women be invited). Freundlich was not only a prominent social democrat in the era of imperial Austria, but also a leader of the international cooperative movement. She had close connections with English socialist and cooperative organizations, which she thought of as closely identified with the aims of the League, as she argued in 1927: 'To co-operators the birth of the League of Nations represented the dawn of a new era, because they were convinced that the League, though a government creation, would gradually come more and more under popular influence.'⁴⁹

Freundlich's aim in making this identification of mutuality, was to argue for a 'new economic evolution' leading to a 'democratic cooperative' method of the economic organization at a world level', 'a fixed tradition that women should take part in all discussions that concern the human race as a whole.'⁵⁰ The detail of that economic organization was reducing custom tariffs *and* 'economic governance of prices, as well as representation for women and consumers' through cooperative societies.⁵¹

It would be wrong to overstate the relative influence of views such as Freundlich's; yet, it is worth considering the economic underpinnings of the internationalisms that were given a platform through the League, and by virtue of the range of interests defended by the diverse staff at the League itself: from Friedrich Hayek's role as a League consultant on business statistics in this period, to the organizations in the region who saw the League as an instrument of 'free trade' (vedi the role of Dr. Franz Klein) and perhaps Redlich himself. Under Dumba the Austrian Liga also lobbied for a European customs union, joining with the Bohemian-born aristocratic Austrian-Japanese Count Richard von Coudenhove-Kalergi's pan-Europa movement which was also taking off in Vienna in this period, and which League bureaucrats distrusted.

The twin principles of the new international order, as much as the legacy of welt-oesterreich returns us to the varying significance of the nation in the history of league-based internationalism. By the interwar period, the options were growing increasingly limited under the auspices of the League idea itself. This became

apparent around the same time as the Geneva Protocols were brought into force: on June 1923, at the seventh conference of the International Federation of League Unions held at Vienna in the Hofburg, minority populations began to form their own League societies: in Czechoslovakia there was the German Association in Czechoslovakia, 'chiefly devoted to the study of the problem of Minorities'; and the Czechoslovakian Association, which 'followed with a close assiduity' the work of the Commission of Minorities.⁵² [the stories of the creation of the Czechoslovak league of nations association, like that of the Hungarian and others in the former Habsburg lands after empire, remain to be told]

It is clear that by this time, League unions, as much as membership of the actual League, were regarded as the international staples of sovereign ambitions and recognition.⁵³ Its significance in this respect is signalled loud and clear by the appearance of five league societies under the Checho-Slovak banner at the 1926 International Federation annual conference: the Czecho-Slovak National Association for the League of Nations (Association nationale tchecoslovaque pour la Societe des Nations), the Deutsche liga für Völkerbund und Völkerverständigung in der Tschechoslovakischen Republik, the Hungarian Liga for the League of Nations in the Czech Republic (Ligue hongroise pour la Societe des Nations dans la republique Tchechoslovaque), the Jewish Association (Association Juive pour la Societe des Nations en Tchechoslovaquie) and the Societé de la Paix Chelcicky.⁵⁴ By relatively modest contrast, only two groups arrived as the Austrian delegation, the Österreichischen Völkerbundliga (based at 9 Elizabethstrasse); and the Judische Völkerbundliga für Oesterreich (6 Lugeck).⁵⁵ But in 1927, the Austrian delegation was split between the Oesterreichischen Völkerbundliga, the Judische Völkerbundliga für Oesterreich, and the Slavic Minorities Association known anomalously by its French name, Associations Minoritaires Slaves.⁵⁶

Dumba happily took credit for the emphasis on minority representation, claiming that at the 'World Union's meeting in Vienna, in 1921, the first to which the Austrians were invited, they were indeed 'the first to touch on the important question of minorities'.⁵⁷ In celebrating this achievement, he declared his own very specific international vision:

'Each people has a kind of natural right to cherish and reverence these intellectual ideals by which the soul finds expression. .. it is the duty of all lovers of peace to defend their imperishable heritage. .. the only way which leads to lasting peace.'⁵⁸

In 1923, at the International Federation's Vienna plenary, the Austrians took the lead again, laying down a minorities policy for the Council of the League of Nations which was then submitted Drummond; some of their suggestions were adopted in Madrid and Geneva in 1929, namely that Minority complaints should be published and brought to the attention of every member of League, and thereby given a hearing in the public opinion of the whole world.

Throughout this period, and parallel with the existence of the Völkerbundliga,

more effort was put into imagining 'Vienna'. In 1927 there were explicit moves to move the League of Nation's seat to Vienna – an idea that occasionally headlined in the world's media as in 1932 when Vienna sought the Disarmament conference, and even as late as 1944 (by Dorothy Thompson in the St. Petersburg headlines) Vienna was being touted as the natural home for the League's replacement. The reason? From the Geneva side, bureaucrats and delegates complained about the Swiss city's climate, bad transportation, its constrictive political atmosphere, and the problem of running an international organization that sought to have clout in domestic jurisdictions in a state that proclaimed its neutrality. Vienna, by contrast, was full of empty palaces, that could it was argued even save the League money. Certainly Vienna hosted no shortage of international events in the intervening postwar years (including IPU conference 1922; international women's conference 1921; and the paneuropa congress in 1926).

Should we imagine that Hanslik's vision of Vienna as a world centre was coming to the fore? Not quite, by 1928 the decision had been made to build the Palais des Nations, in Geneva, the expansive building that became an iconic image of interwar internationalism. Even in Vienna, there were mixed messages; Seipel wanted Vienna as the capital of a 'reconstructed Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a Central European empire'.⁵⁹ The question for Seipel was how to stay in control, and ensure Austrians would be able to act as the subjects of League activity, rather than being treated as its passive objects.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, individuals from the Habsburg lands were keen inventors as well as interpreters of the main trends of the new liberal internationalism, and the place of the nation in the new worldly international order. Their efforts, like the League of Nations and the complex of organizations and networks that it encompassed in the interwar years take us, as it took so many of its adherents and employees, back and forth across an ocean of international objectives, methods and obstacles. Musil's version of internationalism was hardly on par with Dumba's, or Hanslik's.

The talks presented over these two days of international conferencing, here in Vienna—with its UNO city, International Atomic Energy Agency—take us even deeper into that ocean. Indeed, once we start looking the intersections seem so obvious that one is struck by the fact it has taken historians so long to bring them together, again.

When we do bring them together, what do Austria, and the former Habsburg lands, add to a new narrative of the history of internationalism (and international governance) that, for all its innovation, is often focused solely on British, at most trans-Atlantic, experiences?

How was the significance of internationalism, in the face of nationalism, in the first half of the twentieth century, experienced and understood in the former lands of the Habsburg empire?⁶⁰

By way of conclusion, I want to briefly try to answer this question, in the context of the evidence I have discussed.

When I first conceived of this paper, a bit like Polanyi, I was thinking of the history of the League and Global Austria as an episode in the longue history of internationalism.⁶¹ Although instead of his sequential pattern of waves of nationalism and internationalism, we find them as entangled ideas, often mutually reinforcing.

Although Austria rarely appeared in historical accounts of the creation of the League, as the subject of that history, during the late imperial era, its citizens debated, discussed, and promoted their view of internationalism and its scope. Indeed other words, the debates around identity and sovereignty that have long defined our understanding of *weltoesterreich* and its legacy, were embedded in transnational debates about the international as well as the national: not only *weltoesterreich*, but Humanity as Austria's larger fatherland.

Take Lammasch's posthumously published *'Völkermord oder Völkerbund?'*⁶² in effect a critique of the League, as not the League it might have been; the union he imagined was a more effective and legally powerful:

'An effective "league of peace" must transform the "recommendations" of the Hague Conferences into legal obligations, it must embrace within its jurisdiction all disputes, including those affecting vital interests as well as those hitherto regarded as justiciable, and it must create a sanction to enforce the observance of the law.' It opens by referencing Kant's ambitions for perpetual peace, and a *Weltrepublik*:

'The devastation and depopulation of Europe, the brutalization of Nations, the demise of European culture can be prevented only by a powerful organization, which is able to compel the nations, their differences and conflicts in a way other than through the double-edged sword simple. This organization is the League of Nations . That is why we are faced with the alternative : physical and moral genocide, or an all civilized countries comprehensive League of Nations.'⁶³

Lammasch's words reminds us of the kinds of racial thought that informed European imperialisms, and, in the post-imperial Austrian era, *weltoestrreich* imaginaries were a part of world/European discussion regarding the new internationalism. *Völkermord or Völkerbund* can be read as a view onto the Austrian empire itself as a *Völkerbund*, and the intellectual life of the imperial past, including the late imperial conception of the personality principle (much as Musil had described), as an alternative rendering of the model of the compatibility of nationalism and internationalism. From this perspective, as Musil put it, 'this grotesque [postwar] Austria [was] nothing but a particular clearcut case of the modern world'.⁶⁴

Pursuing these strands of the international past could take easily take us into other areas of the former empire (including Masaryk's *The World Revolution*); the point I would argue takes us beyond a revisionist history that is salvaging the Austrian past

from the dialectic of bad/good Austria/Habsburg; national vs multinational; to re-read the Austrian global/imperial past from the points at which a Weltoesterreich imaginary intersected with the history of internationalism.⁶⁵

Even after its disappearance, and the League's disappointing end, the global/imperial past continued to feed the imaginary of the possibilities of internationalism. If Hanslik had lived to see the end of the war, he would have heard the resonant tones of his much earlier ambitions in the 'world citizenship' cultural program of the UN and UNESCO's own internationalism. We not only have the evidence of Polanyi's loss of history, but also Egon Ranshofen Wertheimer's otherwise unenthusiastically titled *The 'International Secretariat — A Great experiment in International administration'*

Ranshofen is the topic of Madeleine Herren's paper tomorrow (which I can't wait to hear): For now suffice to introduce him as having been born in 1894 in Ranshofen, a Catholic with Jewish roots. Much younger than the generations I have covered so far, Ranshofen was 20 when the war broke out, and arrived at the League only in 1930, where he remained for ten years in its Social Questions section [only?]. He was also clearly, as he himself pointed out in his preface, never 'a League of Nations man'. He had never 'felt the urge to watch the League in action, nor belonged to a League of Nations Association, nor even so much as looked into a League document.' But he had been 'a frontline soldier. I had taken off my uniform in 1919 after three gruelling years in three European theatres of war and had made a vow never to forget what I had gone through with millions of my contemporaries. ... While I was not a League of Nations man, I was a believer in international organisation.' Ranshofen's internationalism was in fact anchored in post-war political radicalism, as an adherent of the social democrats.

In 1945, this believer in international organization, and former League employee (he was in effect a League of Nations man) turned his hand to writing up an account of the secretariat and its achievements, as a guide to the formation of a new organization the UN, and in this context referred his reader back to only one example, even though it did not correspond absolutely to the League, a 'multinational civil service' that had been in existence for hundreds of years in the Center of Europe.⁶⁶

This is the only time that Ranshofen allowed himself the indulgence of resuscitating 'the Austrian experience'. And he took the moment to issue his own lesson of history, if that experience 'had been studied by the pioneers of the League Secretariat,' he insisted, 'it might have suggested that existing cleavages even strong disaffection, can be counterbalanced or more than counterbalanced by a common administrative loyalty, by common social and material conditions. This might have conveyed the important lesson that supranational loyalty was possible even if full harmony among the members composing the international organisation should not be achieved. But who could have expected the League's creators to ponder this lesson of the past at the very moment when the Dual Monarchy had dissolved into her component parts under the impact of the explosive forces of nationalism.'

Adding global Austria is a project in its infancy, moving forward will require even closer attention to the significance of language and ideas. In the first half of the twentieth century, for example, the term global would probably not have been used, indeed, the key phrase is the more historically specific *weltoesterreich*; a term that coincided with the moment of 'weltkultur' and 'world politics', world government (another Habsburg citizen's idea) and even world revolution. Restoring *weltösterreich* reintegrates Austria's imperial past in the history of internationalism, and restores history of a *weltoesterreich*—and what Steven Beller has termed 'the first, rationalist, anationalist version of liberalism'—to a broader (even more worldly) context of intellectual and political and economic thought.⁶⁷ By the mid 20th century the different strands of intellectual and political and economic thought that fed *weltoesterreich*, and vice-versa had become—at least in the minds of those who could remember— the fabric of internationalism on a UN scale.

To make those claims is also to recognize that this is less a story of success than intersecting failures—the Austrian empire, the league, internationalism—(in contrast to the real 'success' stories of national self-determination, and the turn to fascism and war). I'm reminded of Maurice Blanchot's description of the 'profound failures' of the Man Without Qualities, or as Musil wrote in 1912:

'Somewhere in this country a secret must be hidden, an idea, but no one knows where. It is not the idea of the state, not the dynastic principle, not the idea of a cultural symbiosis of different peoples (Austria could be a world experiment): apparently the whole thing is really only motion in the absence of a driving idea, like the weaving of a cyclist who isn't going forward'.⁶⁸

Weltoesterreich as a site of imperial memory as well as international memory that moves us away from empire as the opposite of internationalism, to thinking about the Austrian past as embedded in international developments and the twin legacies of the peace, beyond minorities and the pseudorealities of the parallel campaign, to 'a notion of transculturation that anticipates fundamental features of the concepts of hybridity, border culture and *metissage*.'⁶⁹ As Stefan Jonsson reminds us in his brilliant study, 'Subject without Nation', at its end *The Man Without Qualities* has moved from the *weltoesterreich* of the parallel campaign, to the intertwined fate of Rachel 'Diotima's housemaid, a poor Jewish girl from remote Galicia' and Soliman, 'a young African' servant 'usually referred to as the Moor. They become lovers, just as the outbreak of war, and the purification of the race is announced, and they pose for us the more radical possibility of a *weltoesterreich*, 'the Austrian-African-Jew'.⁷⁰

¹ Karl Polanyi, Digital Archive: Con_18_Fol_35 Nationalism and Internationalism Karl Polanyi: Lecture – "Nationalism and Internationalism" - Notes, n. d. File contains Karl Polanyi's annotated typed lecture notes on "Nationalism and Internationalism", 9p. <http://hdl.handle.net/10694/684>

² Polanyi is remembered today as the originator of substantivism, a cultural approach to economics, which emphasized the way economies are embedded in society and culture. This view ran counter to mainstream economics but was popular in anthropology, economic history, economic sociology and political science.

³ Given the intersecting histories of internationalism and the Habsburg empire it should come as no surprise that Polanyi saw the lessons of history as waves of internationalism, interrupted by nationalism, rather than as a story of the progress of political life towards the end point of the nation, or alternatively a stadist evolution in the direction of internationalism.

⁴ Musil, *Man*, 247.

⁵ 'Slavery was in 1852 discredited and confined to particular localities. Mrs. Stowe's triumph was therefore easier and more immediate. The war system is not confined to any locality, and it can not be said that however opposed by the select few it was discredited by the many. But the Baroness von Suttner's book called attention to it in such a way as to put it on the defensive; and the style of the novel and its incidents were so interesting in themselves as to compel attention. This is the service which this high minded and gifted woman rendered to the cause of mankind'; THE BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER (1843-1914) editorial comment 614 THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

⁶ Daniel Laqua, 'Pacifism in Fin-de-Siècle Austria: The politics and limits of Peace Activism'. *Historical Journal* 57 1 (2014) 199-214. Von Suttner *Die Waffen Nieder* 1889; 1905 Nobel peace prize.

⁷ 18.

⁸ Laqua 200; Their capacity to draw in mainstream politicians also reflects changing political status of pacifism (coinage of the term pacifism itself in 1901, to describe a 'general commitment to peace and arbitration').

⁹ World Unity: Non-Partisan discussion of international movements.

¹⁰ Edited and intro by Alfred H Fried, 1919, Leipzig E.P Tal and Co. Verlag. Wien, p.10.

¹¹ While Amy Ng has argued that Redlich thought of the League as unworkable because it had no true Anglo-American support, in this early period Redlich's investment was less ambivalent, even if not ostentatious. Amy Ng, *Nationalism and Political Liberty: Redlich, Namier and the crisis of Empire*, Oxford historical monographs. 2004; Schicksalsjahre Österreichs 1908-1919 Das politische Tagebuch Josef Redlichs, II. Band 1915-1919 1954 Verlag Hermann Bohlaus achf/Graz-Koln.

¹² One of the most famous Fabians was Michael Hainisch, who was later elected Federal President of Austria. Redlich, was close to the British intellectuals at the heart of British internationalism (including Gooch, Bryce, Seton-Watson Redlich, by Felix Frankfurter and Charles C. Burlingham, Cambridge mass usa, Harvard law Review association, 1937 (L, jan, 3); (His American peers would describe him as an anglophile, federalist, 'child of the enlightenment'.)

¹³ The aim was a „Studienkonferenz für eine Organisation eines künftigen Völkerbundes“ - a study conference for the creation of a future league of nations. Redlich was also invited

¹⁴ 492

¹⁵ 314 Dumba was a well-known if controversial diplomat (including the last Habsburg ambassador to the United States, under Wilson's regime), of Greek-Austrian bourgeois origins, and by this time retired Dumba memoirs of a diplomat, London 1933

¹⁶ Die Gedenkfeier der Österreichischen völkerbundliga für ihren ehrenpräsidenten. Wien 1920

¹⁷ 315

¹⁸ Freitag 4 april Redlich's diary suggests that Henry Brailsford was close by in 1919, as the group got themselves together

¹⁹ The formation of the Völkerbundliga resonated the precedent set by the creation of League of Nations societies in Britain, the outcome of collaborations between intellectuals (mainly classicists) and politicians that had begun in 1915— and culminated in 1918 in their unification as the League of Nations Union, but with a local twist, the (English) union was a

(germanic) league, and the English league was a Germanic 'bund' or federation. Their complementarity is also evident in their mutual membership of the International Federation of League of Nations associations. Although Austrian intellectuals and politicians were not alone in copying this model, they were among the first. (The Germans got in a bit earlier, in 1918).

²⁰ Sonntag, 23 Marz.

²¹ Exploring the new 'Weltkulture Gemeinschaft' – this was the work in the main of Erwin Hanslik, (published in Munich) the Society for world culture, or originally, the wartime established institut for Kultur forschung. LONA section 10C, 718963, 1916, 'World Culture and World Politics: Austrian Signature Series', Edited by the Institut fur Kulturforschung in Vienna and Ernst Jadh in Berlin and published by F. Brudmann in Munich.

²² Franz Smola, Vom "Menschenbewusstsein" zum neuen Menschenbild Egon Sciele under der Anthropogeograph Erwin Hanslik', in Leander Kaiser, Michael Ley Hg. Die aesthetische Gnosis der Moderne, Passagen Verlag, 2008 123-146

²³ Eduard Suess, [the original Dr. Suess, 1831 (London)-1914(Vienna); prof of paleonotology Vienna univ 1851.

²⁴ 15 vol of the K series. 128

²⁵ Bruckmann Munchen publishers. and their own publications. 1916

²⁶ 25 Beitragende Mitflieder erhalten jährlich gegen K 10-, Mk. 10-, Frs 10-schwed. K 10-... ufw die zwanglos erscheinende Kulturzeitung. its journal is EINHEIT.p.24

LONA section 10C, 718963, 1917, 'Austria: Earth and Spirit' by Professor Dr. Erwin Hanslik of the Institut fur Kulturforschung

LONA section 10C, 718963, 1917, 'Humanity Through 30 World Maps' by Professor Dr. Erwin Hanslik of the Institut fur Kulturforschung

²⁷ This institution connects in 1917 with Stockholm to create a Bureau fur Kulturforschung and brings Schiele into the circle.

²⁸ p. 125

²⁹ 'Institut has completed materials for object teaching including books, maps, films (including 'Vienna. Its relation to the society of nations') and public performances.'

³⁰ LONA section 13, series 4601-10500, Undated, Society for World Culture, Vienna, 1 and LONA section 13, series 4601-10500, 1920, letter from Professor Dr. Erwin Hanslik and Oskar Kokoschka of the Society for World Culture to the Chief Secretary (doesn't know title?) of the League of Nations, 1

³¹ LONA section 13, 7521, 13 October 1920, letter from the Austrian Legation, London to the Secretary General of the League of Nations

³² Seen by Walters, Eco Section, Halecki (a year later, Nov 1921, the others Oct and Dec 1920., and Nitobe sees it first and says no thanks.

³³ 124, [70,000 overall]

³⁴ 'History teaches us that the achievement of an enduring agreement always requires the formation of a higher community... an organization of humanity will not result from preventive measures, but only from an extensive fusion into new common interests in which the individual state steadily recedes to the level of a body for self-administration.'

³⁵ 'Ideas...do not show the path to the future, but only the direction: They are nets thrown over the future to catch what they can;

³⁶ The answer was specifically the prewar conception of extra-territorial nationality—Karl Renner's 'personality principle'—taken up in this period again by Musil – and the relatively conservative Ignaz Seipel, as much as the social democrats— as the answer to the persistent problem of nationality.

³⁷ 316 Dumba

³⁸ See Michaela Mikeshova

³⁹ 498; 1921 'Nation as Ideal and Reality'

⁴⁰ p. 269

⁴¹ It is in this guise, that we do occasionally find the League making an appearance in history books, as the financial *deus ex machina* that came to the rescue of post-imperial Austria. The end of the war had brought not only the conceptual realignment of national and international entities and ideas, but the 'Hunger Catastrophe'. It was a sign of the times when, in 1921, as the International Federation of the League of Nations societies met in Vienna, Dumba used the occasion to ask the league for financial assistance: 'a loan from the Entente of 250,000,000 dollars.' President and Chancellor of the new Austria received the societies delegates at the Vienna Town Hall. On the question of the Austro-Italian frontiers, Herr Dumba was not very explicit, and he would not express himself frankly with regard to the German-speaking territories assigned to Italy by the Treaty. With regard to the union of Austria with Germany and to the proposed Danube Confederation he was equally reticent. LONA section 22, 10490, 10490, 1921, meeting between representatives of the Italian, German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian League of Nations Unions, 2

⁴² (Letters to Nitobe Inazō of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation enclose cheques from various Japanese organisations. Dopsch is Prof at Univ of V, and Correspondent member of the CIC. LONA section 13, 29771, 24014, 1922, Intellectual Life in Austria 18, 1050 A. Dopsch brochure on 'League of Nations Committee on Intellectual Cooperation, Enquiry into the Conditions of Intellectual Work, second series Intellectual Life in the Various Countries, Austria. Cf. Through League that Austria gets LONA section 13, 28190, 24014, 22 January 1923, Letter from Burton B. Livingston, Permanent Secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences to M. H. Bergson of the Academia Francaise

⁴³ established an independent central bank and restabilize its currency on the international gold standard,' and

⁴⁴ P. 276, Internaitonal Affairs 9-: 2, 2014

⁴⁵ There are suggestions that Zimmerman was appointed in part because of his anticommunist credentials, but in Austria he was distrusted by the right as much as left.

⁴⁶ Cf 1923 League of Nations Union, London

⁴⁷ Otto Bauer Rede des Abgeordneten for the Social Democratic party, on 14 October, 1922, was published as a pamphlet entitled 'Der Genfer Knechtungsvertrag [contract that enslaves people] und die sozialdemokratie' Rede des Abgeordneten Otto Bauer auf dem Socialdemokratischen Parteitag in Wien am 14 October 1922. Wien 1922 Verlag der Wiener Völksbuchhandlung,

⁴⁸ Die Schmach von Genf und die Republic p.31 Wien 1922 Verlag der Wiener Völksbuchhandlung,

⁴⁹ LONA section 10C, 59657, 46431, May 1927, speech by Madam Freundlich at the League of Nations International Economic Conference for which she is the Vice President,

⁵⁰ LONA section 10C, 59187, 46431, 5 May 1927, International Economic Conference Record of the Third Plenary Sessions

Speeches given by Zimmerman (Netherlands), Freundlich (Austria) and von Siemens (German) and Shidachi (Japan)

LONA 48847 1926 Mission of Mlle Radziwill to Vienna I 1604 5801 580

⁵¹ ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE; Freundlich was an advocate for municipal housing development etc.

⁵² LONA section 22, 24444, 12594, 1922, report of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 19

⁵³ There is a parallel LONA section 22, 12579, 8 June 1921, bulletin of the fifth conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies held in Vienna Ludwig, Dir. Horvath, Charmant and Count Albert Apponyi listed as Hungarian members of the First Committee. Charmant, Alajo de Paikert and Apponyi listed as Hungarian members of the Second Committee. Apponyi, Hottevenyi, Horwath and Paikart listed as Hungarian members of the Third Committee.

LONA section 22, 30323, 23 June 1923, programme for the 7th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

Delegates from the Hungarian League include Count Albert Apponyi (vice-president of the Union Bureau and president of the Hungarian League and former education minister), Albert de Berzeviczy (former education minister and co-president of the Hungarian League).

⁵⁴ LONA section 22, 30323, 23 June 1923, programme for the 7th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; LONA section 22, 37074, 12594, 27 June 1924, programme for the 8th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; LONA section 22, 52205, 12594, May 1926, the League of Nations Societies and their International Federation

⁵⁵ The Society of Austrian Jews had applied for League of Nations membership in 1924, at the 8th conference of the International Federation (its delegates included Dr. I. Margulies and Dr. Karbach)LONA section 22, 37074, 12594, 27 June 1924, programme for the 8th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

⁵⁶ Delegates from the Austrian League include Konstantin Dumba (chairman and former ambassador), Joseph L. Kunz (secretary), Friedrich Spitzer (assistant director of Austrian bank Creditanstalt), Dr. Stolz (professor at the University of Innsbruck), Ernst Mumelter (former 'ches de district), Robert Breza (Ministerialrat), Alain Stuchly-Lux. No Schumpeter. Delegates from the Jewish League include Dr. Goldhammer, Dr. Davied Rothblum and Dr. Oskar Karbach.

Delegates from the Slavic Minorities Association include Anton Machat (municipal councillor of Vienna) and Arthur Kantor.

LONA section 22, 59176, 12594, 24 May 1927, programme for the 11th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies

⁵⁷ 320 dumba

⁵⁸ 321

⁵⁹ p. 322 Seipel book

⁶⁰ Given the intersecting histories of internationalism and the Habsburg empire it should come as no surprise that Polanyi saw the lessons of history as waves of internationalism, interrupted by nationalism, rather than as a story of the progress of political life towards the end point of the nation, or alternatively a stadist evolution in the direction of internatoinalism:

⁶¹ Polanyi insisted that the high point of the compatibility of internationalism and nationalism was the early nineteenth century when a Mazzinian vision of nationhood simultaneously embraced 'international brotherhood'; the early twentieth century saw it descend to an exclusivist and imperialist ideology, a vehicle of oppression rather than emancipation. Of course it was in this same period that a 'weltoesterreich' stood for a range of interpretaions of both nationalism and internationalism, and of the need to solve the question of the relation of identity to political sovereignty.

⁶² (Haag Martinus Nijh 1920), written for a German speaking audience)preface by Prof. Hans Sperll Univ Wien.

⁶³ HL p. 8 'Der Verwuestung und Entvoelkerung Europas, der Verwilderung der Nationen, dem Untergang der europaeischen Kultur, kann nur durch eine maechtige ORganisation vorgebeugt werden, die im Stande ist, die Nationen zu zwingen, ihre Differenzen und

Konflikte in anderer Weise als durch das zweischneidige Schwert zu schlichten. Diese Organisation ist der Voelkerbund. Darum stehen wir vor der ALternative: Physischer und moralischer Voelkermord, oder ein alle zivilisierten Staaten umfassender Völkerbund.

⁶⁴ Musil Diaries, 1920 201

⁶⁵ (p. 34) In 'Race Problems in Austria-Hungary and Turkey' (December 1914).

⁶⁶ 77

⁶⁷ Beller in *Global Austria*.

⁶⁸ Maurice Blanchot on 'the profundity of its failure' – the novel.. Cited p. 268 p. 267 cites chp.8. 1912, 'Subject without nation'

⁶⁹ P. 265 'Subject without nation' Musil, 1936.

⁷⁰ P. 245