1
Habsburg Histories of Internationalism

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> 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, the Vienna-born intellectual Karl Polanyi was in London typing up lecture notes on *Nationalism and Internationalism*, insisting on his view of a past in which internationalism was 'the rule', and nationalism was 'the new thing'.[2] At first glance, Polanyi's historical perspective seems counterintuitive, particularly in the context of more familiar historical narratives of modern political progress as the progress of national-states. Even the fate of Polanyi's own *multi-national* imperial birthplace appeared to undermine his argument. The 1919 Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye that established the new League of Nations also determined the demise of the defeated Austro-Hungarian empire, granting *post-hoc* international recognition to its seceding national-states: the Austrian, Hungarian, Polish, and Czechoslovak republics, and a Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. If anything, at the least these developments reinforced wartime characterizations of the Habsburg empire as the *ancien* antagonist of the post-1919 modern national future.[3] Even more radically, I want to argue that the Habsburg and Austrian history of internationalism leads to a different pattern altogether, of the persistent *intersections* of imperial, international, and national politics.

By situating Polanyi's thinking in the context of the new historiography of internationalism which turns on studies of the League of Nations, this chapter explores these points of ideological and institutional intersection in the Habsburg

[1] Karl Polanyi, Lecture—'Nationalism and Internationalism'—Notes, n.d. [annotated typed lecture notes], 9 pp., (Con_18_Fol_35), in Archive Catalogue—'Listing of archival material', Karl Polanyi Digital Archive, Karl Polanyi Institute of Political Economy (KPIPE), Concordia University, California; available online at <http://hdl.handle.net/10694/684> accessed 13 April 2020.

[2] Polanyi is remembered today for *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Farrar & Rinehart 1944).

[3] For this background, see Glenda Sluga, 'Bodies, Souls and Sovereignty: The Austro-Hungarian empire and the legitimacy of nations' (June 2001) 1/2 Ethnicities 207.

Glenda Sluga, *Habsburg Histories of Internationalism* In: *Remaking Central Europe*. Edited by: Peter Becker and Natasha Wheatley, Oxford University Press (2020). © the many contributors. DOI: 10.1093/oso/9780198854685.003.0002

and Austrian past. Half a century after Polanyi, international historians are delving into the archives of international institutions, piecing together a new historical framing of the modern era that draws closer the fates of nations, empires, and an internationalism that was not simply a by-product of Marxist thought. To be sure, on this new view, the 1880s, the same decade in which Polanyi was born, ushered in a 'new internationalism'. As evidence, contemporaries pointed to multiplying international organizations, international laws, and practices.[4] The adherents of this new internationalism placed their faith in progress and peace in international practices (such as intergovernmental conferences on protective labour regulations), international law (most memorably the Hague peace congresses of 1899 and 1907), and the assemblies of endless international organizations (think of the International Council of Women, and the all-male Inter-Parliamentary Union). But this new internationalism was perched on the horizon both to the right and left of contemporary political expectations, it coincided with imperial consolidation of territorial ambitions, and was connected to the rising fortunes of nationalism across that same European and colonial landscape.

In 1919, from this view of Europe as an *International land*, the Geneva-based League of Nations was a belated manifestation of the mainstream political status of nationalism and internationalism, and a persistent imperialism. The Covenant of the League of Nations—like the equally novel Geneva-based International Labour Organization—reinforced and renewed the late nineteenth-century emphasis 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'.[5] In the context of the havoc wreaked by the violence of a nationalist war, however, we can detect a heightened sense of urgency surrounding the internationalist expectations heaped on a new international order.

As the arrival of this collection of essays underscores, the history of League-based internationalism has rarely been considered in the context of the Austro-Hungarian, Habsburg, or Austrian pasts. This is despite the close conjunction between the rise of the League and decline of the Habsburg empire. That conjunction is evident in the Treaty conditions which juxtaposed the dismantling of the Habsburg empire and the invention of the League of Nations. It is also reflected in the life of the Jewish bourgeois Polanyi, who, as a young intellectual in Budapest, could not ignore the 'supranational' claims surrounding the form and function of the new intergovernmental organization (even though its jurisdiction was firmly

[4] For an overview, see Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism* (University of Pennsylvania Press 2013); see also her 'Remembering 1919: international organizations and the future of international order' (January 2019) 95/1 International Affairs 25.

[5] See 'The Covenant of the League of Nations', The Avalon Project—Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Law School, online at: <http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/leagcov.asp>.

demarcated by the sovereignty of member-states). Nor is it a coincidence that in 1919, Robert Musil, the writer so closely identified with the new Austrian republic, mused on the importance of 'creating a world-political goal!'[6] Musil defined that goal as 'the task of the impulses that have grouped themselves around the idea of a League of Nations'. At a time when Habsburg imperial federalism had been dismantled in the interest of new nation states, Musil set the League idea against 'the evil destiny that attaches itself to the organization of mankind into states'.[7]

By the mid-twentieth century, Polanyi was formulating his distinctive view of nationalism and internationalism against the background of two devastating world wars, *and* the creation of a second more ambitious intergovernmental body, the United Nations Organization. At around the same time, in 1942, Musil died, while in exile in Geneva, leaving behind his masterpiece, *The Man without Qualities*. Although written in the interwar, Musil's novel was set in the prewar of 1913. It mapped out a political and social landscape in which imperial, national, and international imaginaries mingled, and the idea of '*Weltösterreich*'—conventionally translated into English as 'Global Austria'—became a slogan for proclaiming Austria the 'true home of the human spirit everywhere'. Even as the irony in Musil's tone seems to announce itself, we can also hear in *Weltösterreich* echoes of Musil's own internationalist thinking. It captures the prewar feel of intersecting imperial and international imaginaries, of what Musil describes as 'the need to simulate a unity that could govern all of humanity's highly varied activities', but which he also announces as 'lost' 'because the disparity of interests in society had grown so great'.[8]

As I pick my way through the documentary debris of a Habsburg/Austrian past, Musil's conceptualization of *Weltösterreich*/Global Austria is a useful provocation. Drawing from the expanding historiography of international ideas and institutions, on the one hand, and the uncollected evidence of people and politics of the Habsburg empire-*cum*-Austrian republic, on the other, my intention here is to gauge the political, cultural, and economic significance of these strands of the 'new internationalism' in the history of the Habsburg empire, and its afterlife. Overall, this approach allows me to address the broader aims of this breakthrough volume. In this context I emphasise the affinities between the post-First World War history of internationalism and Austria's prewar experience with diversity and multinationality, nowhere more obvious than in the ambitions attached to *Weltösterreich*.

[6] Robert Musil, '"Nation" as Ideal and as Reality (1921)' in Robert Musil, *Precision and Soul: Essays and Addresses* (Burton Pike and David S. Luft, ed. and tr., University of Chicago Press 1990) 101, 115.

[7] Robert Musil, '*Anschluss* with Germany (1919)' in Musil *Precision and Soul* (n 6) 90, 91.

[8] Musil, *Man Without Qualities* (Pan Macmillan 2017) 104.

I. The New Internationalism

The late nineteenth-century European trend to intergovernmental meetings, and 'public international unions' for the discussion of labour and health policies, and the setting of international standards, inspired some observers to see a pattern: the progress of the world was towards larger and more inclusive forms of governance, even towards an 'international land'.[9] As Peter Becker has noted, not all these developments were part of the experience of the Habsburg empire, where international congressing, for example, was relatively unfamiliar.[10] However, in *The Man Without Qualities,* Robert Musil left it to the aristocratic *salonnière* Diotima, a character meant to represent a passing political order, to conceive of a future *Weltösterreich* in the image of the new internationalism. The circumstances, in this case, were the pre-First World War plans for the anticipated (and fictional) seventieth jubilee of the accession of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Josef as the 'Emperor of Peace' in 1918. In the real prewar period too, individual Habsburg imperial subjects took cameo roles in the denouement of international 'progress' throughout Europe. Some of them, such as the Prague-born Baroness von Suttner—a woman of mixed class descent—have since become central to narratives of internationalism's general appeal, including its pacifist and progressivist liberal connotations.

In 1891 Bertha von Suttner established the first pacifist society in the Habsburg empire, the Austrian Society of Friends of Peace. In addition, she convinced the Swedish Alfred Nobel (an enamoured dynamite manufacturer) to fund a peace prize in his name. Less well-known is her work organizing non-governmental participation in the Hague peace congresses of 1899 and 1904, which established the legal framework for limiting war technologies and arsenals, and the idea of war crimes. In all these contexts, Suttner stood out as a woman leading a network of organizations and actors espousing an international future that would take institutional and legal forms. In general terms, Suttner represents a prewar Austrian-identified generation committed to civil society and international law to the ends of peace, the motifs and characters of which (including herself) made appearances in the storyline of *The Man without Qualities*.[11]

Among this prewar generation too were the Austrian lawyers who became proponents of international law as the core of a new internationalism. Like Suttner, the Vienna University law professor Heinrich Lammasch was no political radical.

[9] See Alfred Hermann Fried, *Das internationale Leben der Gegenwart* (B.G. Teubner 1908).

[10] Peter Becker, 'Von *Listen* und anderen Stolpersteinen auf dem Weg zur Globalisierung. Die Habsburgermonarchie und der Internationalismus des „langen" 19. Jahrhunderts' in Barbara Haider-Wilson, William D. Godsey, and Wolfgang Mueller (eds), *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis/International History in Theory and Practice* (Internationale Geschichte/International History 4, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2017).

[11] Musil, *Man Without Qualities* (n 8) 18.

Unlike Suttner (who died in June 1914), Lammasch also personally connected the prewar Habsburg history of internationalism with the postwar creation of the League of Nations. Through this period his views combined a conservative monarchism and Christian socialism with faith in the wisdom and power of international legal codes and practices. We can also use Lammasch's law career, as well as legal thinking, as a template for understanding many of his legal contemporaries in Western Europe and across the Atlantic. Their typical *curriculum vitae* would include attendance at both Hague congresses (in his case as Austro-Hungarian legal adviser), and employment at the Hague-based Permanent Court of International Arbitration (in 1911, Lammasch was president).[12] Lammasch also linked his professional past with membership of international associations, in his case, the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and Suttner's Austrian Peace Society, although she thought him *too* legalistic.[13] For all their differences, Suttner's and Lammasch's transnational networks continuously brought them together in the prewar, most prominently in their separate election to bodies of the New York-based Carnegie Foundation for International Peace—another bastion of the new internationalist trend.

Neither the impetus of such internationalist associations, nor the political influence or elite transnational networks of figures such as Lammasch and Suttner, was of course enough to prevent the outbreak of war in 1914. Even so, during the war, conservative and progressive Austrian men and some women (although not Suttner, who died in 1914), continued to ply these same social and political, or legal 'international' routes. The hub of these developments was across the English channel. Within a year of the continental conflict, the efforts of British intellectuals (mainly classicists) and politicians led to the emergence of British societies devoted to the establishment of a League of Nations as a form of international government. By 1918, a number of these societies had unified as the League of Nations Union, and established a model emulated throughout the empire, to the extent that in former colonies such as Australia the League was often confused with British imperial aims. In Europe, local versions were created that were often linked intellectually and personally to the British versions. Thus Austrians were not alone in copying the idea for a League of Nations association, but they were among the first continental Europeans to do so. (A German League of Nations union had appeared slightly earlier, in 1918.) As significantly, an Austrian version of the League of Nations Union made its appearance against the background of the demise of the Habsburg empire.

At the Vienna centre of this phase of the history of internationalism were Lammasch (by then in his sixties), and Joseph Redlich, a jurist and Vienna university law professor. In 1918 both men had roles in the short-lived Habsburg 'cabinet

[12] A.H.F., 'Heinrich Lammasch' (April 1920) 22/1 Die Friedens-Warte 8.

[13] For more on the importance of pacifist organizations, see Daniel Laqua, 'Pacifism in fin-de-siècle Austria: the politics and limits of peace activism' (March 2014) 57/1 Historical Journal 199.

of liquidation'. Redlich, like Lammasch, was part of an expanding network of international lawyers, and personally close to the English intellectuals at the heart of British internationalism, while his American peers described him as a federalist 'child of the Enlightenment'. The anglophile Redlich was briefly Minister of Finance to Lammasch's Prime Minister in this last cabinet of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Later, Redlich would assume a role in the League 'system' as Deputy Judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague (1930–36). Amy Ng has argued that Redlich regarded the League of Nations as unworkable because it had no true Anglo-American support—the United States having opted not to join. However, in this early period, before the reticence of the American state was formalized, Redlich's investment was less ambivalent, even if never ostentatious.[14] As for Lammasch, he published an essay entitled 'The Peace Alliance of States', which advocated the mandatory adoption of 'procedures serving the peaceful settlement of disputes as recommended by the Hague Peace Conferences', and the institution of 'an organization of states with as wide-ranging participation as possible'.[15] One scholar suggests that Lammasch was even prepared to conceive of new limitations 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'.[16]

The origins of the Austrian League of Nations movement were rooted in the combination of such intellectual and institutional trends. Ideas were fostered in the foment of local wartime associations, many of which espoused expectations contiguous with the pacifist, legal, and economic trends of prewar, law-focused internationalism.[17] In Vienna this included not only lawyers, but also businessmen, at times together. The *Meinl* group was a political circle of Austrian intellectual pacifists established by the businessman Julius Meinl, to serve 'as a platform for public debates and for peace initiatives aiming at the termination of World War I'. Alternatively, Redlich was key in an Austrian version of the Fabians, touting a 'humane' version of socialism, and the more populist *Para Pacem* movement, which was set up to further understanding among peoples, as '*Völkersverstandigung*'.[18]

The story of the Austrian *Völkerbundliga*, headquartered at Burgring 9, Vienna 1, with its sections on economics, rights, transport, press, education, teaching, and ethics, draws us into this almost exclusively male world of politicians, lawyers, and university professors. That exclusivity is particularly apparent when we compare

[14] Amy Ng, *Nationalism and Political Liberty: Redlich, Namier and the crisis of Empire* (Oxford Historical Monographs, Clarendon Press 2004 [& Oxford Scholarship online 2010]).

[15] See Erich Kussbach, 'Heinrich Lammasch, Scholar of Public International Law and Austrian Statesman' (2004) 1/2 Miskolc Journal of International Law 64, 3.

[16] Kussbach, ibid, 3–4.

[17] Helen McCarthy, *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism c.1918–45* (Manchester University Press 2011); Thomas Richard Davies, 'Internationalism in a Divided World: The Experience of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 1919–1939' (April 2012) 37/2 Peace & Change 227, 246.

[18] One of the most famous Fabians was Michael Hainisch, who was later elected Federal President of Austria.

the Austrian and English League of Nations associations—as Helen McCarthy has shown, the English version owed its grass-roots foundations to women's advocacy groups.[19] In Austria that was not the case. Instead, the formation of the *Völkerbundliga* resonated within the networks of Lammasch and Redlich, each of whom was involved in the amalgamation of local pacifist groups into a single Austrian League of Nations society. The overriding intention was to move away from advocacy of a sentimental and humanitarian pacifism towards a more overtly political program promulgating 'the idea of an international peace organisation'. That said, the association's origins were markedly inauspicious, as Redlich's diary records (with characteristic brevity): on 5 February 1919, a retired Habsburg diplomat in his seventies named Constantine Dumba held an 'incredibly silly' meeting of a so-called League of Nations Committee; 'first Dumba spoke, then me; there were approximately 100 people present'.[20] Although Redlich felt he could not go along with the limited Dumba's nonsense, two weeks later an Austrian League of Nations society was formally constituted.

Newly ennobled and implanted in the Austrian Herrenhaus, Constantin Dumba was also part of the *Para Pacem* network, the influence of which was reflected in the Liga's original name: *Österreichischen Liga Für Völkerbund und Völkersverstandigung*. Only later was the society known by a name that echoed the League of Nations—*Österreichischen Völkerbundliga*.[21] Dumba assumed the association's presidency and clung on to the role for two decades.[22] Redlich, despite his disdain for Dumba, became one of two vice-presidents, along with the economist Josef Schumpeter, Lammasch's academic protegé.[23] Lammasch took on the role of the Liga's honorary president, although based at a distance in Salzburg. In some contexts, the *Völkerbundliga* was reinvented as a progressive, even radical, association that would work 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 civilized nations—victors and vanquished and neutrals alike—would be equal members'.[24]

Völkerbundliga was not the only Austrian body inspired by an internationalist mood and interest in ever-larger political units on the imperative of peace. In early 1919, new ideas for League-inspired groupings were common—from a *Deutschösterreichisch-Italienische Liga*, proposed by Councilor Grunhut from the

[19] McCarthy, *The British People* (n 17) chapters 6 & 7.

[20] See Redlich's diary, F. Fellner (ed), *Schicksalsjahre Österreichs 1908–1919*: *Das politische Tagebuch Josef Redlichs*, *II. Band 1915–1919* (Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachf 1954) 492.

[21] Österreichischen Völkerbundliga, *Heinrich Lammasch und der Völkerbund. Die Gedenkfeier der Österreichischen völkerbundliga für ihren Ehrenpräsidenten* (Verlag der Österreichischen Liga für Völkerbund und Völkerverständigung 1920).

[22] Constantin Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat* (foreword by Joseph Redlich, George Allen & Unwin 1933) 314.

[23] While the Ministerial Councillor and pacifist Arthur Miller was appointed the Liga's Secretary-General and Friedrich Moc, its Treasurer: Dumba, ibid, 315.

[24] Dumba, ibid, 316.

Ministry of Labour, to a League for a Free Economy suggested by the entrepreneur Meinl.[25] Then there was the *Institut für Kulturforschung* (also known as the Institute for Research of Mankind) established in 1915 by a relatively unknown figure, Erwin Hanslik, to promote *Weltkultur und Weltpolitik*. Hanslik's concept became the hallmark of a wartime 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.[26] In 1920, with a League of Nations in operation, and Austria reduced to national status, Hanslik renamed his cause the Institute for World Culture (World-Science, Art and Education), boasting its own *Weltkulturgesellschaft* (or Society for World Culture).

Hanslik ran the Institute and wrote around twenty books on Geography, Sociology, Anthropology, and Politics with 'the unity of civilization' as their common theme. Within and across these categories he drew on the new *Völkerpsychologie*, as well as on social data on the status of women and levels of education, as tools for distinguishing between people. This was of course only one intellectual trend out of which the idea of a *Weltkultur* was born during the war, and from which connections to the League were made in the postwar.[27] As importantly, Hanslik repeatedly emphasised the 'world' context of Austria: '*Die Menschheit*', he argued, '*ist des Österreichers wahres Vaterland*' ['humanity is the true fatherland of Austrians'], or '*Österreich ist ein viel verwickelterer Kosmos des Zusammenlebens als alle westlichen Einzelstaaten*' ['Austria is a more complex cosmos of cohabitation than all the Western states'].[28]

In the mode of the *Völkerbundliga*, the legitimacy of Hanslik's World Culture Institute drew on the weight of its representative expertise rather than the actual number of members. During the last years of the war 1917, the Institute attracted the likes of Otto Wagner and Gustav Klimt, as well as Josef Hoffmann, Oskar Strand, Joseph Matthias Hauer, and Adolf Loos.[29] (The Institute continued to claim Klimt, Wagner, and Schiele as honorary members even after they died.) At the same time it relied on the financial support of the industrialist, art lover, and philanthropist, Dr Victor Ritter von Bauer. Hanslik took the role of one of its Scientific

[25] Diary entry for Sonntag 23 März [Sunday, 23 March] in Fellner, *Schicksalsjahre Österreichs* (n 20) 106.

[26] Exploring the new 'Weltkultur 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 für Kulturforschung [Institute for Cultural Investigation]. LONA, section 10C, 718963, 1916, 'World Culture and World Politics: Austrian Signature Series', edited by the Institut für Kulturforschung in Vienna and Ernst Jadh in Berlin, and published by F. Brudmann in Munich.

[27] The series was published by Bruckmann Verlag, München, in 1916. Individual books featured maps, onto which Hanslik visualised data regarding geology, climate, and the demography of a world population, divided into geographical settlement areas East and West Urvölker, Europe, India, and East Asia.

[28] LONA, section 10C, 718963, 1917, by Professor Dr Erwin Hanslik of the Institut für Kulturforschung: a/ 'Austria: Earth and Spirit'; b/ 'Humanity Through 30 World Maps'.

[29] This institution connected in 1917 with Stockholm to create a Büro für Kulturforschung and brought Schiele into the circle.

directors (*Wissenschaftliche Leitung*), while Dresden-based Kokoschka was named Artistic director (*Künstlerische Leitung*).[30]

In 1920 Hanslik and Kokoschka decided to approach the League of Nations in Geneva on behalf of the *Weltkulturgesellschaft*, working in the first instance through the Austrian embassy in London. They hoped that they could use Austrian diplomats to offer the League the Institute's help in realizing a world cultural mission—on the assumption that the League was in pursuit of this same mission. They wrote to the League's Secretary-General that they would help the League of Nations work for 'a consciousness of the unity of the world so far nonexistent on the continent of Europe'. The Institute for World Culture would generate that consciousness among people of diverse languages through Kokoschka's concept of 'visual consciousness': 'a uniform international system of education based on Object-Teaching conceived on the foundation of its work', which they presented as 'WORLD SCIENCE' (the capitalization was theirs). The League of Nations' executive was invited 'to join the Society, to facilitate the creation of an International Institute for World Culture', and to grant its representatives 'exterritorial' status—a concept that resonated both diplomatic norms and prewar Habsburg conceptions of cultural identity disconnected from territorial sovereignty.[31]

While it is clear that League bureaucrats were not interested in the *Institut für Kulturforschung*, Hanslik and Kokoschka's ambitions offer further evidence of the Habsburg-inflected international imaginaries that reached into different corners of society and politics in the lands of the former empire, during the war and after. Hanslik and Kokoschka argued that Vienna and the Habsburg empire were beacons 'showing the direction in which this old outpost of civilization may once more be called upon to perform an important function in the future organisation of the world'—intimating that it might represent major League functions, both in symbol and practice.[32] From this view, as in the case of the British League societies, which were as likely to reference the British empire, among Austrian league supporters there was a conscious connection between the Habsburg imperial past and international future. The Austrian idea of *Weltösterreich* resonated the experiences of the Habsburg empire as an amalgam of diverse nationalities.

It is somewhat ironic, then, that in 1919 the twin principles of the new international order—nationality on the one hand, and the League of Nations on the other—generated actual new patterns for the organization of the lands of the former Habsburg empire that undermined the international ambitions associated

[30] Edmund Küttler (a student of Orientalism and Ethnography, and PhD from the University of Vienna) was the other 'Scientific Director'.

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

[32] LONA, section 13, series 4601–10500: a/ undated, Society for World Culture, Vienna, 1; and b/, 1920, letter from Professor Dr Erwin Hanslik and Oskar Kokoschka, of the Society for World Culture, to the Chief Secretary of the League of Nations, 1.

with *Weltösterreich*. Even in this context, the Habsburg experience could be invoked as having set precedents for the League of Nations. Dumba, for instance, happily took credit for the League's emphasis on minority representation. At the World Union's meeting in Vienna, in 1921 (the first to which the still pariah Austrians were invited), he claimed Austrians were 'the first to touch on the important question of minorities'.[33] In celebrating this achievement, Dumba declared his own version of a nation-based 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.[34]

The impact of the League version of nation-based internationalism is obvious in the ways in which the multiplication of pro-League organizations within the new Central European nations both mirrored and distorted the national question in the older imperial order. We still know little about each of these societies, or the multiple motivations of their members, except that an association with League unions (as much as membership of the actual League of Nations) was regarded as a useful instrument for sovereign ambitions and recognition.[35] In June 1923 the seventh conference of the International Federation of League Unions held in the Vienna Hofburg was eagerly attended by new League societies representing minorities within the rump Austrian republic, as well as the nation states that had been carved out of the territory of the former Habsburg empire. The new Czecho-Slovakia was represented at the conference by two bodies: the Czecho-Slovak and the Czecho-Slovak German Associations. Both 'followed with a close assiduity' the work of the League of Nation's Commission of Minorities.[36] At the 1926 International Federation annual conference, the number of league societies carrying a Czecho-Slovak banner had multiplied to four: the Czecho-Slovak National Association for the League of Nations, the *Deutsche Liga für Völkerbund und Völkerverstandigung in der Tschechoslovakischen Republik*, the Hungarian League for the League of Nations in the Czech Republic, and the Jewish Association for the League of Nations in Czech-Slovakia.[37] Meanwhile the Austrian delegation itself fielded two groups: the *Österreichischen Völkerbundliga* and the *Judische Völkerbundliga*

[33] Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat* (n 22) 320.

[34] Ibid, 321.

[35] LONA, section 22, 12579, 8 June 1921, bulletin of the 5th conference of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies; LONA, section 22, 30323, 23 June 1923, programme for the 7th congress of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies.

[36] The stories of the creation of the Czechoslovak League of Nations Association (like that of the Hungarian one, and others in the former Habsburg lands after empire) remain to be told. LONA, section 22, 24444, 12594, 1922, report of the International Federation of League of Nations Societies, 19.

[37] Societé de la Paix Chelcicky, 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;

für Österreich.[38] The following year, the Austrian delegation was split between the *Österreichischen Völkerbundliga*, the *Judische Völkerbundliga für Österreich*, and the Slavic Minorities Association.[39]

By contrast, the Habsburg biographies of Austrian supporters of the League of Nations also resonated a distinctive multi-national and trans-national past: Dumba was of Greek-Austrian bourgeois origins as well as being the last Habsburg ambassador to the United States, under Wilson's regime; Karl Polanyi was the Jewish son of a railway entrepreneur, whose real name Pollacsek spoke to his diverse Habsburg origins; Redlich could be described as Moravian, Jewish, German; Hanslik was born in 1889 in Galicia, in the bilingual *slawisch–deutsch* town of Bielitz/Biala, to a Roman Catholic factory worker and a washerwoman. Hanslik's educational background too counted in his formation as a 'world'-focused internationalist, as he went on to study in Vienna under Professor Eduard Suess, a liberal politician, professor of paleontology, and coiner of the term 'biosphere'.[40] Then there is Robert Musil himself. Born in 1880 in Klagenfurt, of a noble family with connections to the Hungarian lands of Transylvania and Czech-inflected Bohemia, Musil was on the cusp of his thirtieth year when the League of Nations was established. As we have already seen, his writing from that time reveals an engagement with the ideas that led to the League's creation. The sense of a League *zeitgeist* appears in his essay from that time, 'Anschluss with Germany' (1919), as 'the spirit of humanity which is rising up on all sides', and as 'the movement that has now begun in reaction to war and social injustice [that] has assumed the forms of the League of Nations'. On Musil's view, what stood in the way of this spirit was 'the state—not as an administrative organism, but as a spiritual-moral entity'.[41]

As significantly, Musil evaluated the actually existing League of Nations as 'an association of states [that] reveals itself as ever more grotesque' because it manifested the national more than the international; 'nothing', he explained, 'more

LONA, section 22, 52205, 12594, May 1926, the League of Nations Societies and their International Federation.

[38] 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.

[39] Delegates from the Austrian League included Constantin Dumba (chairman and former ambassador), Joseph L. Kunz (secretary), Friedrich Spitzer (assistant director of the Austrian bank Creditanstalt), Dr Stolz (professor at the University of Innsbruck), Ernst Mumelter (former district chief of Bozen), Robert Breza (Ministerialrat), Alain Stuchly-Lux. Delegates from the Jewish League included Dr Goldhammer, Dr Davied Rothblum and Dr Oskar Karbach. Delegates from the Slavic Minorities Association included 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.

[40] Franz Smola, 'Vom "Menschenbewusstsein" zum neuen Menschenbild—Egon Schiele und der Anthropogeograph Erwin Hanslik' in Leander Kaiser and Michael Ley (eds), *Die ästhetische Gnosis der Moderne* (Passagen Verlag 2008) 123.

[41] Robert Musil, 'Anschluss with Germany (1919)' in Musil, *Precision and Soul* (n 6) 90; 91.

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'.[42] His diary entries for this period reveal 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.'[43]

It could be argued that, at the end of the First World War, the Habsburg-induced cultural internationalism of men such as Hanslik and Kokoschka, and even Musil, was more ambitious than the political internationalism of the League of Nations itself. Hanslik's Institute presented the League's (British) Secretary-General with the idea of Vienna's specific 'international mission', owing to its 'geographical situation, […] its ancient culture evolved out of a mutual penetration of different races'. It was League bureaucrats who simply dismissed the Institute's plans as premature.[44]

II. 'Austria [and] What the League has done for Austria'[45]

In 1919, the particular circumstances of the League's invention coinciding with the Habsburg empire's demise drew ambivalent reactions. Redlich's diary denounced the American president Woodrow Wilson as a doctrinaire without any heart who had discredited the League project. Dumba recalled that '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'.[46] This included Part IV of the Treaty of Versailles, which required the Habsburg monarchy to give up territory, economic rights and interests inside and outside Europe. In effect this meant that in Morocco a French Protectorate replaced Habsburg rule, and mining, property, shares and banks were all passed on to the French. In Egypt, Britain benefited. In Siam and China, Austria-Hungarian leases were returned to the sovereign state. Each of these territorial re-occupations reminds us, firstly, that *Weltösterreich* stood for Austria as an imperial-colonizing space, not simply the aspirations of Habsburg or Austrian subjects for international status and internationalist thinking. Secondly, the demise of the Habsburg empire did not coincide with the demise of imperialism overall: other European empires assumed Austrian privileges. Indeed, the League of Nations mandate system saw the transfer of the colonies

[42] Robert Musil, '"Nation" as Ideal and Reality (1921)' in ibid, 115.

[43] From 'Notebook 19: 1919 to 1921', in Mark Mirsky (ed), Robert Musil, *Diaries 1899–1941* (Philip Payne sel., tr., an.; Basic Books 1999) 269.

[44] The decision was taken by the Deputy Secretary-General, Nitobe: LONA, section 13, 7521, 13 October 1920, letter from the Austrian Legation, London, to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.

[45] This is the title of a British League of Nations Union pamphlet, 1923.

[46] Dumba, *Memoirs of a Diplomat* (n 22) 315.

of the defeated powers to the trust of victor powers (British, French, Australian, New Zealand, Japanese), and the League's Permanent Mandates Commission was given the weak role of moral 'guardian'.

The tension between an imperial and international League of Nations percolated through other arenas of postwar Austrian life, most prominently when the League was invited to intervene in Austria's "Hunger Catastrophe". The path to this experiment in international economic governance was prepared by Dumba, who used the 1921 meeting of the International Federation of the League of Nations' societies in Vienna to ask for financial assistance—a loan from the Entente of $US250,000,000.[47] A year later, in October 1922, the League of Nations itself stepped in on the formal request of Ignaz Seipel, President and Chancellor of the new Austria. For the first time in international history, an inter-governmental organization offered immediate food aid along with a long-term plan for capital supplies from financiers, who presented their motivation as an 'humanitarian impulse'.[48]

The economic historian Patricia Clavin has argued that the financial reconstruction of Austria constituted a crucial episode in the League's reinvention of itself as the instrument of a 'liberal, capitalist world order', and as the guarantee of the 'common economic needs' that would stabilize international relations to 'make the world anew and to guarantee peace'.[49] The League of Nations package—the so-called Geneva Protocol—offered Austria fiscal assistance in exchange for 'a rigorous programme of fiscal retrenchment'. That is, Austria was required to cut food subsidies and slash state expenditure. The League's financial 'dictatorship', as Clavin describes it, was overseen by the League-appointed Commissioner General, Alfred Rudolph Zimmerman, a former mayor of Rotterdam, who exercised extraordinary powers 'to determine when and where Seipel's government disbursed or cut expenditure'.[50] Within six months, the Geneva Protocol had helped stabilize Austria's economy, and within a year the national budget was in black, although at the expense of the larger population. Regardless, League officials touted Austria as a success story and used it as a template for tackling other 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 co-operation'; 'the League alone', it said, 'had sufficient moral authority to induce Austria to make the first difficult but necessary steps towards self-help'. Financial experts—including the American banker J.P. Morgan, and the Governor

[47] LONA, section 22, 10490, 1921, meeting between representatives of the Italian, German, Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian League of Nations Unions, 2.

[48] Patricia Clavin, 'The Austrian hunger crisis and the genesis of international organization after the First World War' (March 2014) 90/2 International Affairs 265, 271.

[49] Clavin, 'The Austrian hunger crisis' (n 48) 265–266.

[50] Ibid, 266; 276–7.

of the Bank of England Montagu Norman—were celebrated as the heroes of the operation.[51]

While the League of Nation's economic intervention was invited by the Austrian government, its austerity policy further corroded 'Austrian attitudes towards international cooperation and with regard to internationalism'.[52] 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 against the League. Each spoke up in the Austrian parliament against the Geneva Protocol and its 'enslavement' of the Austrian people.[53] In their view, Geneva and its 'general komissar' were quasi colonial powers imposing a'bourgeois capitalist order'.[54]

Consideration of the diverse strands of Habsburg and Austrian engagement with international ideas, institutions, and practices—including the spectrum of left- and right-wing internationalist thought—as well as the complexity of the League's own bureaucracy, prevents us from too simple a reduction of the League's significance as simply capitalist or elitist, or even as a proxy for the victor imperial powers.[55] These nuances of intersecting prewar internationalisms and their unpredictable meeting points in post-imperial Austrian economic life were also in evidence at the 1927 League-organized World Economic Conference, when the Bohemian-born Emmy Freundlich was given a voice (because an international women's association insisted she be invited).[56] Freundlich was a prominent social democrat in the era of imperial Austria, and a leader of the international cooperative movement. She had close connections with English socialist and cooperative organizations, which she herself 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'.[57] 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'.[58] The detail of that economic

[51] See League of Nations Union, *Austria. What the League has done for Austria* (League of Nations Union November 1923) 10.

[52] Clavin, 'The Austrian hunger crisis' (n 48) 277.

[53] *'Der Genfer Knechtungsvertrag [contract that enslaves people] und die Sozialdemokratie Rede des Abgeordneten Otto Bauer auf dem Socialdemokratischen Parteitag in Wien am 14 Oktober 1922'* (Verlag der Wiener Völksbuchandlung 1922).

[54] Karl Seitz, *Die Schmach von Genf und die Republik* (Verlag der Wiener Völksbuchandlung 1922) 31.

[55] See the essays in Glenda Sluga and Patricia Clavin (eds), *Internationalisms: A Twentieth-Century History* (Cambridge University Press 2016 [online 2017]).

[56] See Glenda Sluga, 'Women, feminisms and twentieth-century internationalisms' in ibid, 61.

[57] LONA, section 10C, 59187, 46431, 5 May 1927, International Economic Conference, Record of the Third Plenary Sessions Speeches given by Zimmerman (Netherlands), Freundlich (Austria), von Siemens (Germany), and Shidachi (Japan); LONA, 48847, 1926 Mission of Mlle Radziwill to Vienna, I 1604 5801 580.

[58] Ibid.

organization was reducing custom tariffs *and* 'economic governance of prices, as well as representation for women and consumers' through cooperative societies.[59]

Evidence of the engagement of 'non-state actors' as well as state actors with the League of Nations indicates that through the interwar the League continued to be a focus of international thinking in the lands of the former Habsburg empire. A range of economic, cultural, and political Austrian interests sought and found a platform in internationalism under a Habsburg or *Weltösterreich* umbrella in the first decades of the twentieth century: not only Freundlich's cooperative ideal, but also Vienna-born Friedrich Hayek's influence as a League consultant on business statistics in this period, and the organizations in the region whose members imagined the League as an instrument of free trade, the cause pursued by the Austrian jurist and politician Franz Klein, and by Dumba, when he directed the *Völkerbundliga* to lobby for a European customs union.

Despite the social, political and economic provocations of the Geneva Protocol, there is a longer through-line of political and economic imaginaries which reinforced the relevance of internationalism in that area. Often those imaginaries drew on a vision of the Habsburg empire as the beacon of the international future rather than the past. In the interwar and after, however, Vienna, rather than Austria, became the more common focus of these deliberate connections between the imperial past and an international future. In 1927 there were explicit moves by local governments to relocate the League of Nation's seat to Vienna. Although in the Habsburg period Vienna had been an unlikely centre of international congressing, in the interwar the city was an eager host of international events: including the 1921 International Women's Conference; the 1922 International Postal Union Conference; and the 1926 Paneuropa Congress; as well as the annual meetings of the International Federation of League Societies. From the Geneva side, bureaucrats and delegates who complained about the Swiss city's climate, bad transportation, and its constrictive political atmosphere, were not averse to the prospect of Vienna as home—Vienna, it was argued, was full of empty palaces that could even save the League money.[60] The appeal of Vienna lost its traction only once the League of Nations had taken the decision to build the Palais des Nations on Lake Geneva—the expansive building that, belatedly, became the iconic image of interwar internationalism. That said, Vienna still occasionally, and briefly grabbed headlines: in 1932 when it was mooted as the site of the League's Disarmament conference; and in late 1944, at the hand of the British progressive intellectual Dorothy Thompson who touted Vienna as the *natural* home for the League's replacement.[61]

[59] E. Freundlich, 'The Coöperative Movement in the Present World Order' (1935) 180/1 The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 119.

[60] See Andreas Resch and Dieter Stiefel, 'Vienna: The Eventful History of a Financial Center' in Gunter Bischof (ed), *Global Austria: Austria's Place in Europe and the World* (Innsbruck University Press 2011) 117.

[61] Eric Frey, 'Konferenzplatz Wien: Vienna as an International Conference Site' in Bischof, *Global Austria* (n 60) 147.

Should we imagine that by the mid-twentieth century Hanslik's vision of Vienna as a world centre was coming to the fore? Not quite. International Vienna carried mixed messages. Seipel wanted Vienna as the capital of a 'reconstructed Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a Central European empire'.[62] Polanyi, for his part, would record 1944 as a time when internationalism (even as the rule) had been reduced 'to an exclusivist and imperialist ideology, a vehicle of oppression rather than emancipation'.[63] By then, Hanslik, who had been institutionalized at the Am Steinhof, a Vienna institution for *Geistes und Nervenkranke*, was one of 3200 patients deported to Hartheimin Oberösterreich. There he was killed, a victim of Nazi anti-internationalist ideology that systematically murdered psychiatric patients.[64]

III. Conclusion

Through the first half of the twentieth century, individuals from the Habsburg lands were keen inventors as well as interpreters of the main trends of the new liberal internationalism. 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 a sea of international objectives, methods and obstacles. Swathes of this social history of the internationalist past and its imperial and nationalist inflections has long remained unexplored terrain. Bringing together what we do know adds to the existing historiography of internationalism the evidence of a spectrum of political and intellectual elites from the left and right of European politics engaged with the promise of internationalism, whether in its political, cultural, or economic manifestations. In the lawyer Lammasch's posthumously published 1920 *Völkermord oder Völkerbund?*, a critique of the League was layered in arguments about its failure to meet the expanse of his expectations.[65] 'An effective "league of peace" ', Lammasch supposed, 'must transform the 'recommendations' of the [1899 and 1907] Hague [Peace] 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.'[66] Lammasch associated ambitions for the League with a longer history of international thinking, perpetual peace, and a *Weltrepublik*. But he also inserted the urgency of those ambitions in the contemporary context of the postwar, '[t]he

[62] Ignaz Seipel, *Nation und Staat* (Braumüller 1916) 322.

[63] Karl Polanyi, Lecture—'Nationalism and Internationalism'—Notes, n.d., (Con_18_Fol_35), in Archive Catalogue—'Listing of archival material', Karl Polanyi Digital Archive (KPIPE).

[64] Franz Smola, 'Vom "Menschenbewusstsein" zum neuen Menschenbild' (n 40) 124.

[65] Dr. Heinrich Lammasch, *Völkermord oder Völkerbund?*, written for a German-speaking audience, with a preface by Prof. Hans Sperll, University of Vienna (Martinus Nijhoff 1920).

[66] Ibid, 8.

devastation and depopulation of Europe, the brutalization of Nations, the demise of European culture'. The body he imagined was nothing like the real League; it was a 'powerful organization,' an 'all civilized [*sic*] countries comprehensive League of Nations,' with the power 'to compel the nations, their differences and conflicts,' in order to avoid 'physical and moral genocide'.[67]

Although Austria rarely appears in historical accounts of the creation of the League, during the late imperial era, its citizens debated, discussed, and promoted their views of internationalism and its scope in relation to an empire imagined as *Weltösterreich*. Lammasch's words echo the resonant imperialism integral to interwar institutionalised internationalism, with its knee-jerk distinction between 'civilized' and un-civilized countries, and, in the Austrian case, Habsburg nostalgia. In the latter case (as was also true of enduring British imperial imaginaries), imperial government was idealised as a landscape of national diversity managed in ways commensurate with the unifying aims of internationalism. *Völkermord oder Völkerbund?* can be read as a view onto the Habsburg empire as a *Völkerbund*, and its intellectual life as an alternative rendering of a model for making nationalism and internationalism compatible.

There are echoes of this view of the internationalist potential of prewar and postwar Austria in the prewar writing of Robert Musil, who, in 1912, took a circumspect view of the latent possibilities of the empire and the 'secret idea' it harboured: '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)'.[68] However, postwar nation-state Austria, on his view, was 'grotesque', 'nothing but a particular clearcut case of the modern world'.[69]

If we return to Karl Polanyi, his place in this history draws our attention back to the still misunderstood engagement of socialists with the ambitions of prewar and interwar internationalism.[70] In the immediate postwar Polanyi was in Budapest, where, Redlich duly alleged in his diary, he was a 'member/leader of the Budapest bolsheviks and *Führer des Galilei*-Clubs'.[71] While Redlich's account of his compatriot's sympathies has been questioned, in 1942, the story Polanyi told of internationalism as 'the rule' premised a liberal, rather than Marxist, internationalism. On Polanyi's historical view, internationalism had its high point in the early nineteenth century, when a Mazzinian vision of nationhood simultaneously embraced 'international brotherhood'.

[67] A.H.F., 'Heinrich Lammasch' (n 12) 8.

[68] Musil, 1912, cited in Stefan Jonsson, *Subject without Nation: Robert Musil and the History of Modern Identity* (Duke University Press 2000) 267–8.

[69] Robert Musil, 'Little Notebook without a Number: At the latest 1916, to 1918–1919', in Philip Payne (ed), *Diaries 1899–1941* (Basic Books 1999) 193, 201.

[70] See Patrizia Dogliani, 'The Fate of Socialist Internationalism' in Sluga and Clavin, *Internationalisms* (n 55) chapter 3.

[71] Joseph Redlich, 'Freitag 2. Mai' in Fellner, *Schicksalsjahre Österreichs* (n 20) 342.

There were of course other versions of Austrian socialist internationalism, as we have seen in the case of Emmy Freundlich (who also reminds us that not all international thinkers were men). A distinctive bureaucratic, rather than economic emphasis, encouraged the liberal (imperial/national) internationalism of Egon Ranshofen-Wertheimer, an avowed Austrian Social Democrat. In 1944, Ranshofen-Wertheimer promoted the now all-but defunct League as a model for a new kind of postwar international organization, alongside the example of institutional multi-national governance set by the Habsburg empire itself.

Born in 1894, in Ranshofen, upper Austria, a Catholic with Jewish roots, Egon Ranshofen was twenty when the First World War broke out. He would recall of his time as 'a frontline soldier' that the experience of three gruelling years in three European theatres of war made him vow never to forget what he had gone through along with millions of his contemporaries: 'While I was not a League of Nations man, I was a believer in international organisation'.[72] In 1930, Ranshofen actually took up employment at the League of Nations, remaining there for ten years in its Social Questions section, but he had never, he claimed, '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'. Nevertheless, during the final years of the Second World War, this former League employee turned his hand to writing a study of the League secretariat and its achievements as a guide to the formation of the League's successor organization, the United Nations. The rather dull-titled *The International Secretariat—A Great Experiment in International Administration* (1944) referred the reader back to the example of a 'multinational civil service' that had been in existence for hundreds of years in the Centre of Europe.[73] This was the only reference that Ranshofen indulged in resuscitating 'the Austrian experience'. But he took the moment to issue an historical lesson. If that experience 'had been studied by the pioneers of the League Secretariat', he insisted,

> [I]t 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

[72] Ranshofen-Wertheimer and Egon F., *The International Secretariat: A Great Experiment in International Administration* (Carnegie Studies in the Administration of International Law and Organization 3, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace 1945) ix.

[73] Ibid, 77–9.

had dissolved into her component parts under the impact of the explosive forces of nationalism.[74]

By the mid-twentieth century the different strands of intellectual and political and economic thought that fed nostalgia for *Weltösterreich*, and vice-versa, had become—at least in the minds of those who could remember—the fabric of internationalism on a UN-scale. The League did take on some lessons from the Habsburg past. By 1929, the Council of the League of Nations adopted as policy the suggestions of the Austrian *Völkerbundliga*: minority complaints should be published and brought to the attention of every member of the League and thereby given a hearing in the public opinion of the whole world. We could even argue that 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 in its early years, and in UNESCO's own post-Second World War cultural internationalism.

These developments took form through the actions and thinking of individuals, women and men. *Weltösterreich* coincided with the moment of *Weltkultur*, world citizenship and world government, thanks to the intellectual and political work of Habsburg/Austrian subject/citizens. Even world government was the idea of another Habsburg citizen, the Budapest-born Rosika Schwimmer, who conjured the movement out of disillusionment with the League's limitations, and on the foundations of her personal statelessness in a nation state bound world that discriminated against women.[75] When we return to such examples of unequal diversity, the significance of internationalism in the Habsburg context also makes sense, even its permeation of the narrative arc in Musil's *The Man Without Qualities*—as it moves from the *Weltösterreich* of the aristocratic Diotima's peace 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'. As war descends, they become lovers, and pose for us the most radical possibility of a future *Weltösterreich* world, 'the Austrian-African-Jew'.[76]

The imposing patterns of the first half of the twentieth century were of mutually reinforcing and messily conjoining waves of nationalism and internationalism. When we survey the imperial and republican phases of internationalism, Polanyi and Musil represent the more high-profile examples of a broader array of bourgeois and aristocratic, imperial and post-imperial, Central European contemporaries who were more likely to identify their Habsburg past and present *with* an international future, than *against* it. The voices of the working class were more likely to

[74] Ibid, 78.

[75] See Glenda Sluga, 'Women, feminisms and twentieth-century internationalisms', in Sluga and Clavin, *Internationalisms* (n 55).

[76] Jonsson, *Subject without Nation* (n 68) 245.

associate themselves with an alternative socialist internationalism, or 'Red Vienna', and oriented away from the League as an instrument of international capitalism as much as international cooperation. In sum, the Habsburg/Austrian past was embedded in international developments and the simultaneously international/imperial/national legacies of the 1919 peace. From some perspectives that past is still considered a world experiment that 'anticipates fundamental features of the concepts of hybridity, border culture and métissage'.[77]

[77] Ibid, 265.