Austrian Ideas for a United Europe (1789–2004)

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ABSTRACT

For centuries, a unified Europe has been a place of longing for many intellectuals. This is evidenced by the manifold conceptualizations of Europe that have been proposed since the 14th century. The search for ideas about Europe in the given period that originate from Austria first leads to federalist ideas of (*Mittel-*) Europe from the Habsburg Monarchy, which represent a 'Europe en miniature.' Only toward the end of the 19th century did Bertha von Suttner call for the foundation of a European Confederation. Beginning during the First World War and then manifesting in the interwar period, metropolitan Vienna served as a starting point and laboratory for implementing the European vision. Thus, the founder of the Pan-European Union, Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi, was the first visionary of Europe who tried to turn this idea into reality. With the process of European integration starting after the Second World War, the idea of unifying European states materialized, and visions for Europe that originated from Austria became rare.

KEYWORDS

Federation plans – Habsburg Empire, *Mitteleuropa*, Pan-European Union, *Kulturbund*, European Union

Introduction

When the revolution broke out in Paris in the midsummer of 1789, the Austrian hereditary lands were subject to Emperor Joseph II's enlightened absolutist rule. After having been destabilized on a political level through the French Revolution, Europe also began to fall apart on a military level; the Habsburg monarchy suffered a significant loss of territory in the coalition wars. The reform of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation through the establishment of a *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* in 1803 could not keep it from being dissolved by Emperor Franz II in 1806. Two years earlier, he had elevated the Austrian hereditary lands into the Empire of Austria and started to wield the title of 'hereditary Emperor of Austria.' The Austrian Empire covered the entire territory of today's Austria as well as Hungary, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, parts of Italy, Slovenia, Croatia, Romania, Poland, and the Ukraine. The revolution, the coalition wars, and the downfall of the Holy Roman

Empire produced a new order in Europe. This new order, represented by a restorative plan for Europe, had been the declared aim of the 1814/15 Vienna Congress and was intended to establish political stability for Europe. Through an alliance among the major powers of Austria, Prussia, France, Russia, and Great Britain (the so-called Pentarchie), this plan sought to create a 'balance of power' and thus ensure peace.

In those days, alternative concepts for Europe originating from Austria also sought to create peace. 'The territorially complex, multi-confessional and poly-ethnically structured Habsburg Monarchy was, until its downfall in 1918, one of the most innovative places of contemplation about federally-oriented state formations.'[1] There were plans for *Mitteleuropa* about the future relationship of the Habsburg monarchy and the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) and about possible reforms of the Austrian monarchy. To conserve space, this chapter is limited to a brief discussion of some examples. One example is Bertha von Suttner's plan for a European confederation, which represents the first Austrian plan of this kind at the end of the 19th century. Against the background of the foundation of the League of Nations in 1919/1920, Heinrich Lammasch drafted a plan for a global confederation, while Richard Riedl theorized a European confederation. Special consideration should also be given to the arguably most well-known and intriguing Austrian plan for Europe: the Pan-European Movement. Its founder, Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi, was in fact the first visionary in this regard, seeking to realize the idea of Europe with Vienna as its departure point. In parallel, Karl Anton Rohan had also chosen Vienna as the city representing the conceptual center for his European cultural union. After the Second World War, the European integration process began, and the vision of Europe became a reality. The following discussion uses several examples to sketch Austria's contribution to the 'construction of the house of Europe,' seeking to lay the basis for further research.

1. (Habsburg) plans for Europe before World War I

'Modern history, in contrast, illustrates the application of the principle of solidarity and equilibrium among the states.'[2] This quote does not originate from a native Austrian, but from a man who strongly influenced Austrian politics between 1810 and 1848: State Chancellor Klemens Wenzel Lothar Prince of Metternich (1773–1859). During the 1814/15 Vienna Congress, he held Europe's destiny in his hands when, in his role as 'Europe's coachman,' he counted on the balance of powers represented by the Grand Alliance to reach peace for Europe.

The vacuum left by the 1806 dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire at the center of Europe was filled by the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) founded at the Vienna Congress. Soon after, ideas were developed for how the area at Europe's center

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1 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 413.
2 Cited in Siemann, 2014, p. 307.

could be filled with life, not only in economic terms, but also with culture, intellect, and thoughts.[3] Metternich was one of the most innovative minds regarding the question of a new order in the 'small' Europe of Habsburg.[4] In 1817, he presented a plan to reorganize the Habsburg monarchy into parts with equal rights and proposed the following division: Bohemia-Moravia-Galicia, Inner Austria, Illyria, Lombardo-Venetia, Hungary, and Transylvania.[5] These areas were intended to exist autonomously and independently in relation to the emperor—united by a strong central administrative body.[6] Metternich's plans were not successful, probably also because they were focused on the state and elites rather than society, privileged the German people, and denied the significance of non-German ethnic groups.[7] These were also the main reasons for the outbreak of the revolution in March 1848. In September 1848 and then in January 1849, František Palacký (1798–1876), an Austro-Slavic delegate of Bohemian descent, presented a respective draft constitution,[8] which contained the rudiments of a concept for Great Austria, later expanded on by Popovici.[9] One of the consequences of the revolutionary year of 1848 was that the differences between Prussia and Austria became more obvious. This culminated in a heated debate in St. Paul's Church in Frankfurt regarding the question of whether the Empire should be organized with or without Austria, that is, into a 'greater' or 'smaller' Germany. The Viennese lawyer and minister Franz Sommaruga (1780–1860) proposed a constitutional draft that suggested uniting the German Confederation *(Deutscher Bund)* of Prussia and Austria into a 'Seventy-Million-Empire.'[10] Accordingly, the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund)* and the Habsburg monarchy would form a confederation, with the Habsburg monarchy federally structured into the following: the states of the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) in Austria (Inner Austria with Bohemia), Galicia, Lombardo-Venetia, Hungary with the Slovaks, and Illyria (Croatia-Slavonia, Dalmatia, military border). Following US-American and Swiss models, the 'Austrian' parliament would be organized as a two-chamber system. External affairs, defense, financial, trade, and infrastructural policies would be national ministries. The educational system, civil and criminal law, and administrative organizations would be uniform within the Habsburg monarchy; further agendas would be in the hands of the respective country groups.[11] Sommaruga's plan probably failed because his idea of a unified Austrian state worked against the union aspirations of Prussia and small Germany.[12] Austria then tried going alone with Prussia.[13] This is why, in his essay from October 1849,

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3 Koch, 2015, p. 79.
4 Osterkamp, 2021, pp. 87–95.
5 Osterkamp, 2021, pp. 88–89.
6 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 89.
7 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 93.
8 Detailed Osterkamp, 2021, pp. 133–141.
9 Stegherr, 2014, p. 460.
10 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 141.
11 Osterkamp, 2021, pp. 142–43.
12 Koch, 2015, p. 80.
13 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 145.

the Austrian minister of commerce Karl Ludwig Freiherr von Bruck (1798–1860) suggested a Middle-European economic, currency, and traffic union between Prussia and Austria. This also meant an association with the customs union (German *Zollverein*), founded in 1834,[14] to be implemented according to steps firmly defined in a plan.[15] However, this plan, too, failed, not only on Austria's part, but also on the Prussian side. Eventually, the sole outcome of these efforts was a mere trade contract signed in 1865, which would later be referred to as the 'Königgrätz of trade policy.'[16] The idea of *Mitteleuropa*, conceptualized in the narrower sense as economic cooperation between Austria and Germany, would resurface in the interwar-period as the so-called Schober-Curtius-Plan in 1931.

Toward the end of the 19th century, plans for a Habsburg 'Europe en miniature' were not the only plans developed in the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. At the 1892 peace congress in Bern, the pacifist Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914), together with the Englishman Samuel Capper and the Italian Teodore Moneta (Nobel Peace Prize winner in 1907), presented the Capper-Moneta-Suttner proposal about creating a European confederation:

> Considering that the damage caused by armed peace as well as the danger looming all across Europe are due to a lack of legal basis among the various European states;
> considering that a European state union, which would also be desirable regarding the trade relations between all those countries, would remedy this state of lawlessness and create a lasting legal framework for Europe; considering, lastly, that such a state union would not in the least limit the independence of the various nations regarding their internal affairs and, thus, their forms of governance; The congress invites all European peace societies and their supporters to make the foundation of such a state union the highest aim of their propaganda, on the basis of solidarity toward their interests. It further invites all societies in the world to explicitly point out the necessity of a lasting Congress of Nations during times of political elections, to which every question of international concern would be subjected to so that every conflict could be solved through legal regulations instead of violence.[17]

In 1889, Suttner had published the book *Lay Down Your Arms*, which became a bestseller, was translated into 16 languages, and even served as the basis for a movie produced in 1914.[18] Strengthened by this success, Suttner founded peace societies not only in Austria (1891), but also in Germany (1892) and Hungary (1895).[19] For her

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14 See Hagen, 2015; Schöningh, 1936, p. 6.
15 Macho, 2013, pp. 71–73.
16 Cited in Koch, 2015, p. 83.
17 Hedinger, 2000, pp. 64–65.
18 Hedinger, 2000, p. 63.
19 Hamann, 2013, pp. 207 et seq. and 124 et seq.

tireless efforts for peace, in 1905 she became the first woman to receive the Nobel Peace Prize. Besides her time-intensive and exhausting engagement for peace, Bertha von Suttner also tried to promote unifying the European states, which, as can be seen from the proposal quoted above, should be formed based on legal regulations and the sovereignty of individual states.[20]

Since the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867, there had been various attempts to reform the Habsburg monarchy to alleviate the substantial problem of nationalism. Among those plans, those of the so-called 'Belvedere-Circle' have become particularly well-known. This elitist circle, referred to by Jana Osterkamp as a 'federalist thinktank,'[21] was founded by the heir to the throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand (1863–1914). It consisted of expert representatives of the various nations of the monarchy,[22] among them the Romanian journalist and politician Aurel Popovici (1863–1917). Just like Franz Ferdinand, Popovici saw a real opportunity in federalizing the Imperial and Royal Monarchy to overcome the problem of nationality, especially in relation to the Hungarians, Czechs, and Serbs.

Popovici was convinced that the monarchy was the right state form for this and tried to 'unite the idea of the supranational characterizing the Danube monarchy with the idea of nationality.'[23] In 1906, he drew on the model of the Republican-Democratic constitution of the US to draft his own constitution titled 'Foundations of a federalist imperial constitution.'[24] The federal state, the 'United States of Greater Austria', under the rule of Emperor Franz Josef I, was envisaged to comprise 15 mostly autonomous 'national states': German Austria, German Bohemia, German Moravia, Western Galicia, Eastern Galicia, Transylvania, Croatia, Carniola, Slovakia, Vojvodina, Hungary, Szeklerland, Trento, and Trieste, with the exception of Bosnia and the Herzegovina (Art.1).

These United States of Greater Austria would form a common customs area (Art.4); the imperial or federal government would consist of representatives of the national states, with an imperial and federal chancellor. The imperial parliament would be constituted according to a two-chamber-system (Art.7, Art.8). Seven delegates each from German-Austria and Hungary should be sent to the imperial parliament; five from Bohemia; four from Transylvania; three each from Croatia, West-Galicia, and East-Galicia; two each from German-Bohemia and the Slovak land; and one delegate each from German-Moravia, Vojvodina, Trento, Trieste, and Szeklerland (Art.13). The emperor would exert the imperial power, and each nation state would have its own parliament, government, and court (Art.20). The emperor would appoint an imperial governor in each federal state (Art.21), and each federal state would have its own constitution. Art.24 grants the federal states full autonomy within the framework of

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20 Hamann, 1996, pp. 264–265.
21 Osterkamp, 2021, p. 389.
22 Detailed Osterkamp, 2021, p. 390.
23 Stegherr, 2014, p. 464.
24 Popovici, 1906, p. 317–327.

the imperial constitution. Regarding the issue of language, Art.25 stipulates that each federal state have its own language:

> The language for international communication of the Empire is German. Thus, it constitutes the official language of all imperial authorities residing in Vienna, the imperial government, the parliament, the army, and the marine, it is furthermore the official language for communication among the federal states on the one hand and between the former and the empire on the other. In the imperial parliament, however, each member can use their own language. [25]

Civil servants would be required to fully master the national language as well as German; laws, regulations, and announcements on the part of the imperial authorities would be required to be written and published in the language of the federal state they concerned. Popovici hoped that this construct of ethnically widely homogenous provinces would reduce national-emancipatory ambitions and subject themselves to the monarchy as the superordinate entity. He was aware that the monarchy could never turn into a nation state but instead into a league of nations.[26] Still, his proposal did not meet with the emperor's approval or that of the members of the government or the various nations of the Habsburg monarchy; on the contrary, it was rejected.

The outbreak of the First World War rendered ideas such as this one obsolete. During the war, Bertha von Suttner's most important assistant und fellow, the Austrian Alfred Fried (1864–1921),[27] revived the idea of a Union of European states. In his essay 'European reconstruction,' published in 1915, the 1911 Nobel Peace Prize winner[28] argued that conferences and talks did not help if the respective states did not demonstrate 'the will which most governments are still lacking – the willingness to establish laws, to subject themselves to these terms and the farsightedness necessary to realize their usefulness.'[29]

Fried claimed that instead of the existing system of alliances, a non-politically oriented European union should be created that would operate based on the two Hague Conventions (of 1899 and 1907). According to him, not a political but a non-obligatory union of states cooperating in the fields of economy, traffic, social, and shared ideals would lead to a political intergovernmental organization.[30] Thus, he put forward a more differentiated proposal for founding a European administrative union (*Zweckverband*) than he had before the war. Accordingly, states should not subordinate to any goal, as would be the case with a political federation, but the goal should serve the states. This way, the administrative union could become a center for what

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25 Popovici, 1906, p. 325.
26 Stegherr, 2014, p. 461.
27 Grünewald, 2016; Tuider, 2010; Ziegerhofer, 2019, pp. 341–356.
28 Schönemann-Behrends, 2004, p. 33.
29 Fried, 1915, p. 92.
30 Fried, 1915, p. 120.

is commonly European.[31] He considered the Pan-American Union, which had existed since 1889, an example of this idea.[32]

Toward the end of the First World War, Emperor Karl tried to save the monarchy. The imperial manifest of October 16, 1918, also contains Popovici's idea to unite the German-speaking parts of the monarchy into a common Austria: 'Austria should, following the will of its people, become a federal state in which each people, in their own settlement area, can form a state community of their own …'[33]

This attempt, however, could not stop the Habsburg monarchy from falling apart within only a few days from the end of October 1918 onward: On October 28, the Czech-Slovak state was proclaimed; on October 29, the state of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs (SHS-state); and on October 31, Hungary.[34] The newly founded states had been created in the hope of implementing the right to self-determination demanded by Woodrow Wilson in his 14-point-program. Claiming this right to self-determination, the German-speaking delegates of the *Reichsrat* (Parliament) formed the provisional national assembly on October 21 and proclaimed the Republic of German-Austria on October 30, 1918. On November 11, Emperor Karl resigned from his duties in state affairs, which meant the downfall of the monarchy. On November 12, 1918, the Republic of German-Austria was officially proclaimed. On September 10, 1919, Karl Renner signed the contract of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, which caused enormous territorial losses for Austria; while the Habsburg monarchy had covered 676.614 km^2 with a population of almost 52 million people in 1910, it was now reduced to only about 6.5 million people on a territory of just under 84.000 km^2. This led the French minister of external affairs, André Tardieu, to the following statement: 'Prenez l`Autriche-Hongrie de 1914, supprimez-en la Bohême, la Pologne, la Yougo-Slavie, ce qui est allé á l´Ìtalie; que reste-t-il? L`Autriche actuelle.'[35]

2. Vienna of the inter-war period becomes the center of the United States of Europe

While at the Vienna Congress, Metternich had seen a balance of powers as the basis for a peaceful state system; the outcome of the First World War fundamentally changed this political concept. At the 1919 peace conference in Paris, the victorious powers tried to replace hegemonial and imperialist power ambitions through internationalism and therefore founded the League of Nations. This first international peace organization assumed its work at the beginning of January 1920. One year before,

31 Fried, 1915, p. 120.
32 Fried, 1915, p. 122.
33 Cited in Hoke and Reiter, 1993, p. 505 [2477].
34 Suppan, 2016, pp. 1257–1341.
35 Zollinger, 2008, p. 627. Translated into English, the Statement means: Take the Austria-Hungary of 1914, remove Bohême, Poland, Yugoslavia, what went to Italy; what is left? The present Austria.

the last prime minister of the monarchy, university professor Heinrich Lammasch (1853–1920), published a book in which he suggested a state union to maintain peace for the twenty years to follow.[36]

This planned union was to have an international court, an international council of communication, and an international conference.[37] Instead of the League of Nations, this Union of States was to be called a 'peace association of the states.' In a first step, the states would be asked to solve conflicts peacefully; if that did not work, the League of Nations should intervene as the final mediating body. His suggestion to expand the League of Nations into an instrument of collective security was published posthumously.[38]

Some of Lammasch's suggestions were put into practice in the UNO, founded in 1945. Alfred Fried's idea of a Pan-European Union, conceptualized similarly to the Pan-American model,[39] was taken up by Richard Nikolaus Coudenhove-Kalergi (1894–1972) after the First World War. Europe had lost its dominant position and now found itself in between the economically striving US and the Bolshevist USSR. For it to become a world power again, this made it necessary to position the European continent between the two world powers. Coudenhove-Kalergi, a descendant of an Old-Austrian noble family, had become stateless after the First World War. Because his family's possessions were in the newly founded Republic of Czechoslovakia, he decided to become a national citizen there; later, after the 1938 Munich agreement, he adopted French citizenship; however, he reported feeling like a global citizen.[40] To turn Europe back into a world power, the graduated philosopher developed the concept of 'Pan-Europe'—a plan to unify all European states. After preparing 'literary-propagandistic' ground for his idea with the book *Pan-Europe* published in 1923, Coudenhove-Kalergi started building the Pan-European headquarters in Vienna's Hofburg, further Pan-European Unions in almost all European capitals, and in 1926, even in New York.[41] The Pan-European movement was registered as a society in Vienna in 1926. Coudenhove-Kalergi's Pan-Europe was, indeed, original, if not revolutionary, because he was the first to propose realizing the idea of Europe in the following steps. First, a European government, the Pan-European conference, should be summoned. Next, it was envisaged that arbitration and guarantee agreements among all future member states of Pan-Europe would be closed. In a further step, a customary union was to be formed. The idea would eventually culminate in the constitution of the United States of Europe with a European constitution.[42]

36 Ibid.
37 Oberkofler, 2019, p. 344.
38 Oberkofler, 2019, p. 344.
39 See Fried, 1910.
40 Coudenhove-Kalergi, 1966, pp. 29–93.
41 Detailed Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, 2003, pp. 3–26.
42 Coudenhove, 1926, pp.151–154.

Among the advantages of this federation, according to Coudenhove-Kalergi, were the avoidance of an inner-European war, which he feared would break out between Germany and France. He therefore advocated a reconciliation between Germany and France. A unified Europe would also serve to protect from an invasion by 'red or white Russia' and would further be able to compete with the American and British industries as well as the future East-Asian and Russian economies.[43] In 1924, he described the nature, goals, and organization of the Pan-European Union:

1. The pan-European movement is a non-partisan mass movement for a unified Europe. The Pan-European Union is the vehicle of the Pan-European movement.
2. The Pan-European Union has the goal of creating a sister organization to the Pan-American Union, which is working on uniting the American continent.
3. Its goal is the unification of all states on the European continent west of the U.S.S.R. with the aim of safeguarding peace, equality and a customary union.
4. The world-political positions of the Pan-European Union are:
    a) A close mutual understanding with the British Empire;
    b) Lasting maintenance of peace between Russia and Europe and promotion of their economic relations;
    c) Friendly cooperation with the states of Pan-America and Eastern Asia.
5. The Pan-European Union refrains from intervening in domestic political affairs.
6. The Pan-European Union is structured into states; each state is represented by its own committee that self-finances autonomously.
7. The central office of the Pan-European Union maintaining the relations among all single-state unions is located in Vienna.
8. The Pan-European Union's sign is a red cross on a golden sun.[44]

Coudenhove-Kalergi imagined creating a European economic and monetary union as well as a politically united Europe with common external, security, and defense policies. Pan-Europe was intended to include all European democratic states (and all non-European possessions) except Great Britain (because of its transatlantic relations and the Commonwealth of Nations) and the Soviet Union (because of Bolshevism).

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43 Coudenhove, 1926, pp. 154–155.
44 Coudenhove, 1924, n.p.
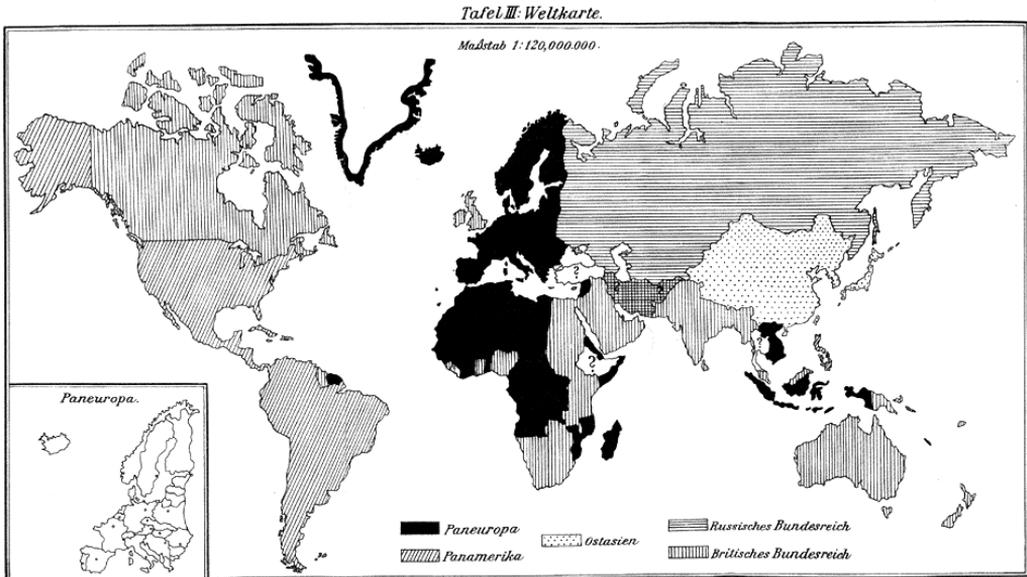
Source: Pan-Europa, 1924, n.p.

An additional task of the Pan-European Union should be to raise awareness for Europe and Pan-European patriotism. To promote Pan-Europe, Coudenhove-Kalergi used all communication means available at the time and became a great networker. He was invited by almost all important European statesmen to present his idea of Pan-Europe and managed to find many potential sponsors among them and among renowned industrials (e.g., Robert Bosch).[45] The Pan-European plan was to first win political support among the population for the idea to facilitate implementing the vision of a peaceful Europe. Thus, he also developed a corporate design in the form of the flag of Pan-Europe with the Pan-European symbol (a red cross in front of a golden background), a motto, a hymn, and even a currency, which would increase people's awareness of the Pan-European vision. In parallel to building up the organization, from 1924 onward, Coudenhove-Kalergi published and mainly authored the newspaper 'Pan-Europe,' which appeared ten times a year. It represented part of his 'Pan-European propaganda quest,' which involved promoting the idea in newspapers, on the radio, and at congresses. The first Pan-European congress took place at the beginning of October 1926 in Vienna, with 2,000 people attending; after the congress, Aristide Briand became the honorary president of the Pan-European Union. In Geneva in September 1929, the French minister of external affairs gave a speech on the 10th Convention of the League of Nations in which he talked about the unification of European states. Following this talk, he was commissioned by the members of the League of Nations attending the conference to write a 'Memorandum for the Construction of

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45 Ziegerhofer-Prettenthaler, 2004, pp. 106–116.

the European Union.[46] This memorandum was eventually sent to all European governments in May 1930, asking for their feedback. The Austrian government agreed its response with Germany, but instead of a rejection, there was a very general, 'elastic' reply, which represented a 'diplomatic masterpiece of hedging.'[47] Their aim, given the basic tenor of the response, was to only become a member of the planned Briand's European Union if it became commonly accepted and presented the opportunity to collaborate with other states outside the European Union.[48] The memorandum was rejected by Germany, Great Britain, and Italy. Consequently, the foreign ministry of the League of Nations formally proposed to create its own commission devoted to resolving the 'European question.' This proposal was accepted by 45 member states of the League on September 17, 1930, which meant that the idea of European unification had for the first time become legally binding. This was followed by founding the Commission of the League of Nations, which was called the 'Study commission for the European Union.'[49] This commission, which consisted of government representatives of the European League's member states, ended its work in 1937 after seven meetings, without having achieved any major results in the field of European integration.[50]

Coudenhove-Kalergi was disappointed by the result of Briand's initiative but kept pursuing his vision of realizing Pan-Europe. Soon after Adolf Hitler became Reich Chancellor on January 30, 1933, the Pan-European movement was prohibited in Germany. Coudenhove-Kalergi at that time intensified his contact with the Austrian government under Engelbert Dollfuß (1892–1934) and changed the movement's orientation: its focus should no longer be on creating a political union, but on creating an economic union of European states. Thus, Coudenhove-Kalergi organized economic and agrarian congresses in Vienna. The political and economic situation in Europe now increasingly came to a crisis; this is why Coudenhove-Kalergi once again changed the direction of the Pan-European movement, which from 1936 onward focused on uniting Europe on a cultural level. In the night before March 12, 1938, when Austria was 'annexed' to Germany, he managed to escape to Czechoslovakia in time. From there, he got to Switzerland via Italy. On September 1, 1939, Nazi-Germany attacked Poland: the peaceful unification of Europe had to give way to a terrible war.

On August 3, 1940, Coudenhove-Kalergi and his family left Europe from Lisbon and went into exile in the United States of America. Working in New York, he continued to pursue his idea of Pan-Europe.

It would be wrong to assume that only one idea for (Pan-)Europe was developed in inter-war Austria. Before the foundation of Pan-Europe, the Austrian publicist Karl Anton Rohan (1898–1975) had already founded the '*Kulturbund*' in Vienna in 1922.[51] The goal of this association was to promote the union of Europe with Great

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46 See Ziegerhofer, 1999, pp. 377–397.
47 Ziegerhofer, 1999, p. 391.
48 Ziegerhofer, 1999, pp. 391–392.
49 Neumann, 1999, pp. 209–258.
50 Neumann, 1999, pp. 257–258
51 Müller, 2005, p. 318; Prettenthaler-Ziegerhofer, 2011, pp. 210–217;

Britain and Russia on a cultural level to be able to join society and spirit beyond the constraints of nation, class, and race politics, and confession.[52] Regarding unifying Europe, Rohan was certain that the way to Europe was via the nation: 'The prerequisite for European unity is unity within the nations.'[53] In 1924, Rohan published the book *Europe*,[54] in which, among other things, he argued the need for a unified Europe because of the economic situation at the time. Still, he thought that a political rather than an economic union should be the priority,[55] and finally—if Europe wanted to avoid being crushed by the Islamic world and China—the states had to unite.[56] Rohan, however, did not clarify precisely how a union of this kind should be organized and structured. Nonetheless, this book is seen as the manifesto of the *Kulturbund* and an ideological pacemaker for the 'conservative revolution.'[57] Until 1934, Rohan organized yearly congresses across all of Europe (Madrid, Krakow, Paris, Barcelona, Heidelberg, etc.). Until 1938, talks were even held on a weekly basis in the various groups of countries and certainly in Austria. Many political, economic, and cultural actors who also approved the Pan-European idea were supporters of the *Kulturbund*. Rohan's *Kulturbund* can be characterized in terms of the mindset of uniting the opposites: revolutionary and conservative. His understanding of Europe was based on the idea of a Reich, the multinational monarchy, and the universalism of the idea of the occident or 'Western world.'[58] The Westerners consciously rejected progress and also opposed liberalism, parliamentarism, communism, and Americanism.[59] They called for unifying Europe in the sense of an 'authoritarian-hierarchical societal and state form.' Thus, it is not surprising that Rohan admitted identifying as a Fascist and that he became a member of the NSDAP in 1938. This also explains why the idea of the *Kulturbund* met with the approval of the academic-intellectual representatives of the Fascist movement.[60]

The *Kulturbund* had its own journal called the *Europäische Revue*, which is to this day considered the 'most significant European journal of the inter-war-period in German language.'[61] Back then, this journal was seen as the organ of a young, Europe-oriented generation: modern art (Max Beckmann, Picasso) and modern buildings (Dessauer, Le Corbusier, Erich Mendelssohn) were discussed, as were C.G. Jung's psychoanalytical ideas and modern literature (Andrè Malraux, Ernest Hemingway).[62] The goal of the *Europäische Revue* was the 'formation of a young reserve in Europe,

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52 Müller, 1996, p. 464.
53 Rohan, 1930, p. 23.
54 Rohan, 1924.
55 Rohan, 1924, p. 36.
56 Rohan, 1924, p. 38.
57 Müller, 2005, p. 332.
58 Conze, 2005.
59 Conze, 2005, pp. 25–27.
60 Müller, 1996, p. 464.
61 Paul, 2005, p. 15.
62 Müller, 2004, pp. 396–398.

especially the gathering and advancement of its elite'[63]—*at least, Rohan considered his Kulturbund a forum of the young European elite.*

Because of their similar organizational structure, the two movements were unsurprisingly seen as competing; Rohan rejected the idea of Pan-Europe, which he discredited as a mere political movement that placed democracy at its center.[64] In 1926, he criticized Coudenhove's Pan-Europe in his journal *Europäische Revue* as being construed as hostile toward traditions, unmetaphysical, and rationalistic. He described Pan-Europe as a 'fascinating amalgamation of just and grand political visions and a weirdly dry and bloodless theory stemming from visions from the past century, which was the heyday of world-salvation systems of a provider-, defender- and future-state.'[65] Throughout his life, Coudenhove reacted with indifference to this criticism, denying Rohan's movement. Neither man, in their respective memoires, even mentioned the other's name.[66]

In the year the Pan-European movement was founded, the economic politician Richard Riedl (1865–1944) published a statute for a Union of European states that he had developed in 1923.[67] During World War I, he worked on a concept for *Mitteleuropa*, which proposed an economic collaboration between Germany and Austria-Hungary under Prussian leadership.[68] This proposal was fiercely rejected by Heinrich Lammasch, among others.[69] Still, in the following, his constitutional draft for a United States of Europe is briefly sketched. Richard Riedl was an associated Austrian delegate in Berlin between 1921 and 1925. In this function, he became an eyewitness to the Occupation of the Ruhr starting in 1923. This led him to the view that Europe's situation only allowed for a choice between another Thirty Years' War and founding a United States of Europe, which led him to draft a statute for a European union of states.[70] In this endeavor, he was driven by the assumption that this Union should not be modeled after the United States of America, but rather should be based on the German Confederation (*Deutscher Bund*) founded in 1815. His vision of a United States of Europe, though, should 'not represent a mere copy of the (German) model of 1815, but an advancement and expansion of its constructive foundations in a modern spirit.'[71] The statute of the Union of European states was published in 1926 and comprised 60 articles. According to Article 1, the union, should be called the Allied States of Europe. All European states were eligible as members; states with land outside European territory could only pertain to the union with their European parts. Membership allowed for continued state sovereignty. According to Article

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63 Müller, 2004, p. 397.
64 Müller, 2004, p. 356.
65 Müller, 2004, p. 356.
66 Coudenhove-Kalergi, 1966; Rohan, 1954.
67 Detailed in Brettner-Messler, 1998, pp. 21–70.
68 Detailed in Brettner-Messler, 1998, pp. 228–248.
69 Brettner-Messler, 1998, p. 230.
70 Riedl, 1926, pp. 1–36.
71 Riedl, 1926, pp. 3–4.

2 of the statute, the goal of the union was to maintain peace among its members, construct permanent organs for settling all forms of conflict, and promote economic relations and cultural progress, all based on the principles of mutual respect, equality of all races, languages, and religious confessions. Following the German Federal Act, affairs of the union should be handled by the Congress of the Allied States of Europe. This congress was intended to consist of the delegations of the parliaments and the convent of governments and to be headed by a congress president (Art.5). The competences of the congress president, the convent, and the delegation, as well as the decision-making process, were laid down in the further articles up to Art.23. To ensure peace, the union should have its own defense system. As stipulated in Art.8 of the regulations of the League of Nations, Riedl sought to reduce national armaments (Art.24). Internal peace within the union should be regulated by the Permanent International Court of Justice (Art.25). Besides arbitration procedures, the union also applied mediation procedures, which is why Art.26 defined the creation of a conciliation committee. Similar to the League of Nations, the states should rule out violence against each other as ultima ratio. Articles 34 to 53 contained economic regulations. There should be freedom of residence and settlement in the entire federal territory (Art.34), as well as freedom of choosing and practicing a profession (Art.35). Among other things, the Federation should make decisions regarding issuing passports and visas (Art.39). Freedom of all forms of traffic, such as ships, trains, or other means of transportation (Art.43–49), were regulated, and the statute also contained import and export bans (Art.50). A financial commission should be especially dedicated to restoring financial order, in the sense of justice and benevolence, after the damages caused by the after-war crisis (Art.54). Finally, the members of the federation would consent 'to the principle that differences regarding race, nationality, language and religion should not influence the civic and political rights of their national subjects, namely admission to civil service, posts and honorary posts of all kind and the practice of professions and trades' (Art.56).

Accordingly, ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities were granted full equality, for example, concerning the right to use their own language at court, when interacting with authorities (Art.57), or in schools (Art.58). Riedl's plan reads as a compilation of the Peace Treaties, the Statute of the League of Nations, and the German Federal Act of 1815. Dungy concludes that Riedl instrumentalized the League of Nations in the post-war era to implement his imperialist idea.[72]

In the inter-war period, Austria was not alone in providing fertile soil for one of the best-known ideas for Europe. The *Mitteleuropa* idea/Danube-Federation also saw a renaissance, mainly because of the new order of the world of states established at the Paris Peace Conference. It was mainly the newly founded Czechoslovakia that took the initiative in this regard by founding the 'Little Entente'.[73] During 1930, *Mitteleuropa* awakened in Austria in the form of an economic union of Germany and Austria.

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72 Dungy, 2020, p. 13.
73 Koch, 2015, pp. 85–87. Suppan, 1995, pp. 171-197.

However, because of Art.88 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain, Austria was prohibited from becoming a part of Germany. The Treaty of Versailles contained a similar annexation ban (Art.80). At the beginning of 1931, the idea of *Mitteleuropa* became politically explosive because of the so-called Schober-Curtius plan. On March 19, 1931, the Austrian foreign minister, Johannes Schober, and his German counterpart, Julius Curtius, agreed on the creation of a German-Austrian customs union. Due to a premature press release, this plan became public, and France and Czechoslovakia considered it a violation of the Paris Peace Convention. The judges of the Permanent International Court of Justice at The Hague were commissioned by the League of Nations to examine the legal compatibility of the planned customs union with the Geneva Protocol of 1922. With a slim majority of eight to seven votes, they decided on September 5, 1931, that the planned customs union represented a breach of Geneva Protocol No. 1; six judges thought project also violated Art.88.[74] The annexation of Austria to Nazi-Germany on March 12, 1938, and the outbreak of the Second World War placed the idea of Europe in the background but did not manage to completely erase it.

3. From the post-war-period until 2004

After the end of the Second World War, Winston Churchill initiated the process of European integration with his famous Zurich Speech in September 1946.[75] In the same year, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi founded the European Parliamentarian Union. The unification of Europe was intended to be started by members of European parliaments—albeit without the participation of occupied Austria. In 1954, he eventually renewed the Pan-European movement in German Baden-Baden.[76]

Two years earlier, in 1952, the first step to unify European states started with the foundation of the ECSC. The further steps from the founding of the EEC in 1957 until today are well known to us. The unification of European states from 1952 onward happened against the background of a divided Europe. Austria only regained its state sovereignty in 1955 and started twice (once in 1963 and again in 1967) as a founding member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) to apply for association with the European Community (EC). Erhard Busek (*1941), vice mayor of Vienna and later vice chancellor, initiated the discussion about Mitteleuropa.[77] Against the background of the Prague Spring in 1968, he rekindled the discourse on Mitteleuropa in the 1970s and 1980s: 'He took up the tradition of Vienna's Christian social vice mayor during the period between the wars, Ernst Karl Winter.'[78] Busek travelled to Central and Eastern

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74 Olechowski, 2019, p. 383.
75 https://www.cvce.eu/en/collections/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/e8f94da5-5911–4571-9010-cdcb50654d43
76 See Posselt, 1987.
77 See for example Brix and Busek, 2018.
78 Gehler, 2020, p. 918.

Europe and launched activities in the fields of education and culture—'he represented an anti-Naumann, a Central Europa with Vienna, Prague, and Budapest—and without Berlin, that is, also on the basis of a divided Germany, which not without reason gave rise to the suspicion and resentment of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.'[79] In 1989, vice chancellor Erhart Busek co-initiated the Central European Initiative in Budapest,[80] which currently has 18 member states. In the same year, the foreign ministers of Austria and Hungary, Alois Mock and Gyula Horn, cut apart a piece of the 'iron curtain' between Austria and Hungary. This happened on June 27, and a few weeks later, Austria formally applied to become a member of the European Union. On August 19, 1989, under the patronage of Otto Habsburg and the Hungarian minister Imre Pozsgay, the Pan-European Movement Austria organized a pan-European picnic. On this occasion, the borders between Austria and Hungary were opened for a few hours at St. Margarethen/Burgenland.[81] This picnic, the severance of the fence at the border between Austria and Hungary and later that between Austria and Czechoslovakia achieved by Alois Mock and Jiri Dienstbier, represented key steps toward the collapse of the Eastern bloc system. Since 1995, Austria has been a member of the EU and welcomed its enlargements in 2004 and 2007. Because of their historical relations with Austria as their neighbor, these countries are also highly attractive to Austria in economic and cultural terms.

Since 1986, the EC has been a place of longing for Austria; nine years later it joined the European Union. At this time, visions for Europe originating from Austria became rare.

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79 Gehler, 2020, p. 918.
80 https://web.archive.org/web/20170913001845/https://www.bmeia.gv.at/europa-aussenpolitik/europapolitik/zentraleuropaeische-initiative/
81 Prettenthaler-Ziegerhofer, 2010, pp. 212–213.

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