

AUSTRIA - THE KEY TO EUROPEAN PEACE.

W.E.T.U.C. address on July 12th,  
Oriel College, Oxford.

[1934 or 1935?]

Introduction:

The subject of my talk in to-day's headlines. An arrangement between Austria and Germany announced. Austria: German, 6 mill. Catholic, remnant of the old Dual Monarchy with Germany with its 60 mill., Nazi dictatorship, Unified, our ~~own~~ <sup>to make</sup> world history.

I.

Austria's geographical key position .- Cross roads of the North - South and of the Western- Eastern strategic routes in Central Europe .- Foothills of the Alps; Danube, a military highroad .

historical position .

- A/ Hungary : former partner's in the firm;
- B/ Succession States: the nucleus of an Empire; Aust. <sup>the centre</sup> of a world Empire when England was still a sucking babe amongst the nations

12 votes & 4 re.

- a/ High political culture ( Chinese meth)
- b/ Hatred and distrust of the dynasty.

- C/ A former ally: Germany's gateway to the Danube
  - " " to the Balkans;
  - " " starting point of disintegration of new States
- Utmost Emphasis.

II.

The forces at work for Union with Germany - and counter.  
Two kinds of forces: National and social ( class).

FOR

- a/ national:
  - 1/ economic railways ! banks and insurance ( 12 big banks ) 55 mill. free- trade territory
  - 2/ political: identity of language and race.
- b/ social ( class): Austrian counter- revolution ( every Easter ~~day~~ country except Russia).

AGAINST

- a/ national : particularism . Unification of Germany ( no federal s)
- b/ social ( class) :
  - Habsburg aristocracy
  - working class ( socialists) 42% poll.
  - very strong force , broken by Mussolini and Hitler together. Latently existent .

Austria's internal history governed by international developments:

- a/ birth of the new Austria;
- b/ wiping out of Socialist Working Class parties;
- c/ in the future the fate of democracy, linked with working classes , internally and externally.

( Austria - the key to European peace )  
continued.

III.

Present internal situation. Three political forces in the country:  
Heimwehr ( Clerical Fascist )  
Nazi ( illegal ) German Fascist  
Socialist ) illegal; working c.

This development happened as an echo to German events:  
Dollfuss governm: Prussian diet April 24, 1932 ( elections )

Constitution suspended ; 7 March 1933 ( Hitler elections March 5th )

Idea : to steal the thunder of Fascism by <sup>taking</sup> a conservative line.

Italy rebuilds Hwiwehr: Socialists shelled Febr. 12, 1934.

Dollfuss murdered ( ITALY MOBILISES ) July 25th, 1934

Germany puts her attack on Austria into cold storage. Time working for her?  
IV.

Other solutions of the Austrian problem.

HABSBURGS

- a/ ~~Habsburgs~~ unacceptable to Yugoslavia ( on account of Croatia supported by Rumania and Czechoslovakia.
- b/ Germany against, on the long run. ( on the short, an unsuccessful attempt most fateful to H

DANUBIAN

- a/ unacceptable to Hungary and to Germany. Not favoured by Italy either.

INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATIC AUSTRIA V.

Block of Fascist States: Germany, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Austria.

War has become inevitable. Encouragement of war against Russia. The outcome: Russia might be not beaten, but the Western democracies might collapse.

1. remnant of the German part of the D. M.  
A purely German country, of some 6 millions inhabitants, Catholic.  
The military importance of Austria.  
Geographical. North-South (foothills of the Alps)  
Historical. West-Eastern - Danube (not commercial high way, but a military highroad).

Its connection with Hungary is that of ~~two~~ two former partners in the firm.

Her connection with the Succession States. (--the nucleus of an Empire. Austria, the centre of a world Empire at a time when England was still a sucking babe amongst the nations.)

1/ This explains the high political culture of ~~the~~ its people (something of the Chinese wisdom in politics :- 12 races and 4 religions.)

2/ The hatred and distrust of the dynasty (the Habsburgs).

Its connection with Germany is that of the former ally. If Germany gets hold of it:

- a/ Gateway to the Danubian Empire,
- b/ Gateway to the Balkans,
- c/ Starting point of the disintegration of the new States.

## II.

Two different reasons working toward the establishment of Union with ~~Germany~~ Germany.

3/ 55 Mill. free-trade territory  
1/ railways; 2/ banks and insurance  
a/ National-economic: In fact Austria ruined.  
political: The identity of language and race.

b/ class and social: counter-revolution. (in every country exc. Russia).

against:

a/ national: regionalism (particularism) Unification of Germany.

b/ class and social: Habsburgs (aristocracy) landed estates, working-class (42%)

III.

III.

Austria's history, internal and external, dominated by international factors.

The present situation:

- 5 March 1933 German elections.
- 7 March 1933 Austrian constitution suspended (Italy rebuild HW).
- 12 February 1934 Socialist shelled.
- 25 July 1934 Dollfus murdered. (ITALY MOBILISES)

Italy's reasons

- a/ no great power in the Danube.
- b/ Southern Tyrol
- c/ Trieste
- d/ Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean.

Czechoslovakia

- a/ Western German's
- b/ Hungarian revisionism.

Roumania and Yougoslavia

France

Mussolini forced Fascism upon Austria.

Three parties: Heimwehr, Catholic Fascism, Nazi Socialists

IV.

Solutions to the Austrian problem:

Hapsburgs: Little interests oppose it, especially Yugoslavia. Germany stands against on the long run.

Danubian Solution: Never was anything Hungary opposed

Union with Germany.

V.

Internal situation:

1) Democrat.

2) Communist / Popular Front, Major working class movement.