

THE
AUSTRIAN
MANIFESTO

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John Roberts Press Ltd.
London, E.C. 1**

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This Manifesto has been drafted on behalf of all the Austrians who are now enslaved by Germany and who are unable to speak for themselves. It is addressed to all who stand by the cause of the Allied Nations. It wishes to enlighten them on Austria and on what Austria's destined part is to be in the future Europe.

The author of this Manifesto represents no special group of Austrians, neither at home nor abroad. The only title which he claims as authorizing him to publish this Manifesto is that he is of pure Austrian extraction, that he feels himself imbued with and inspired by the Spirit of his country, and that in his life, extending over more than half a century and lived in many places inside and outside Europe, he has had an opportunity of acquiring a thorough knowledge of all things human.

May this Manifesto, with the help of God, be a waymaker for a happy Austria in the new world which will rise from the ashes.

London, in the month of May, 1942.

A. KUNZ.

1.

Austria is an individual, separate national entity. The incorporation of Austria into the German Reich in March, 1938, which was carried out by force of arms, is illegal and invalid. The last Austrian Government protested against the annexation; the subsequent plebiscite, arranged by the Germans, was a fake. The Government of the United States, in full appreciation of the facts, has never recognised the annexation of Austria by the Germans. Austria is entitled to claim the *status quo* as it was before March, 1938, on the strength of the Peace Treaty of St. Germain and in virtue of Article III of the Atlantic Charter.

2.

One fact must be stated clearly and emphatically: Austria can never be an insignificant province of the German Reich. The Austrians are not, and never were, Reichs-Germans. Racially the Austrians are a people of Germanic stock with strong admixtures of Celtic, Latin, Slav and a drop of Eastern blood. Culturally they are what one may call "old" Germans, as are the German-speaking Swiss, the Dutch, the Flemish, and as were the Chaucerian English. Austrian civilisation rests on that of the ancient Roman Empire, of the Holy Roman Empire, and on the universalism of European Christianity. The new German Reich—ruthless, materialistic and nationalistic—is a political organisation created and held together by Prussian militarism. It is diametrically opposed to the Spirit of Austria.

3.

Asserting Austria's state-individuality does not imply a refusal on the part of Austria to join, as a first step, a Central European Federation, comprising either the Danubian Countries, or extending from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. It has become evident by now that, for military and economic reasons, the States of Central Europe cannot exist as totally separate units. Austria's mentality is a Central European one; Vienna lies exactly half-way between Oslo and Malta, half-way between London and Constantinople. The Central Europeans are Austria's kith and kin.

4.

While taking this first step, the final aim, however, must never be lost from sight, i.e., the formation of the United States of Europe. The U.S.E. must be a federation—a mere confederation would serve no purpose. This aim may not be attainable until a new, European-minded generation has grown up; but no rational planning for the future—neither political, nor social, nor economic, nor cultural—is possible unless this aim is permanently kept in mind, and all work of reconstruction, from the very beginning, directed towards this goal.

5.

The U.S.E. will comprise Continental Europe only. Great Britain, being part of the British Empire, would not be included, nor would the U.S.S.R., which are a Continent and a political entity for themselves. The ultimate formation of the U.S.E. is a necessity for Austria, as it is for

all other European States. These States which in their totality have, during the centuries, created the greatness of Europe must not, by remaining disunited, bring about the downfall of our Continent.

6.

In order to evolve the European Spirit as well as democratic thinking the early creation of a European Consultative Parliament is advocated. This Parliament should be organised similar to the American House of Representatives. It will be composed of representatives of all European States, elected in each State by popular vote, the number of representatives in each State being allotted in proportion to its population. It will, however, for the time being have only consultative and no legislative powers. Its decisions will be submitted to all governments concerned for consideration only.

7.

The European Parliament may also elect a President who, though not vested with powers, will on certain occasions be able, by the mere fact of his position, to symbolize and express the spirit and frame of mind of Universal Europe.

8.

The League of Nations should no longer be vested with political functions. The League has failed in this task. It has not saved Austria from being invaded ; it has not prevented the second World War. But the League can remain the centre

of administrative world affairs ; the International Labour Office has done excellent work.

9.

Austria expects that the reconstruction of Europe will be planned and initiated by the victors. Only the victors have the power and the authority to deal with the intricate problems of reconstruction. All negotiations between the victors themselves, between victors and affiliated States, or with the vanquished nations, should be carried on through the ordinary diplomatic channels. This is better and more efficient than using international institutions with fixed rules of procedure. Diplomatic channels are not hampered by legalism, which is not at all synonymous with legality and justice.

10.

For carrying out their decisions the victors will need a permanent, strictly administrative body which may be called the "European Office." The most important departments of this office will be: (a) the Military Department, which will deal with the disarmament of the aggressor nations and with plans concerning the future security of Europe and the world; (b) the Economic Department, which will be in charge of the economic, social and financial reconstruction of the Continent.

11.

The reconstruction will be based on the Atlantic Charter. It will probably proceed in three phases. In the first phase emergency and relief measures

will be the most important items; in the second re-planning and re-constructing will be begun ; in the third phase the edifice of the New Europe will be completed.

12.

The unification of our Continent does not imply the disappearance of the twenty odd national Souls in Europe. Austria wishes to retain her individual self, and so shall all the other European nations. A federation antagonizes martial nationalism, but it does not interfere with national cultural development.

13.

As to the language problem in the twenty odd European States, this *can* be solved. In territories where two languages are spoken, the inhabitants must be bi-lingual. The *lingua franca* of Europe may be any language. The most convenient language will probably be English, written in a simplified orthography.

14.

Politically Austria must be organized on the lines of a "responsible democracy." This means that every member of the constituency who is entitled to vote should represent, and should be fully aware that he represents, some share of the total assets, spiritual or material or both, of the community. "Responsible" means further that every member of the community who accepts public office must be fully conscious of the great

responsibility which he, or she, undertakes. He must give his best and his all. And he must be prepared to answer for his activities before a permanent Supreme Judicial Authority of the land, if he is so required.

15.

The form of government best suited to the character of the Austrian people is that which combines conservatism with progressive evolution. In the old days this ideal was attained in certain periods of history under enlightened monarchs who were assisted by capable advisers. In the new Austria the executive will be entrusted to a State Council which will be similar to the Swiss Federal Council. This system will assure a permanent executive, able to plan for the future and able also to act quickly in moments of danger. The executive will have at its disposal a civil service staff, re-created on the well-tested tradition of Old Austria.

16.

The Austrians, kindly by nature and possessed with a strong sense of justice, have from early days correlated economics and social thinking. In medieval times the great monasteries, colonizers of the Eastern March (Austria), themselves big land-owners, instilled Christian ethics into feudal rule and economics. In the succeeding phases of history paternal care for the ruled was considered an obligation incumbent on the ruling classes. And even in the heyday of *laissez-faire*, in the last century, Austria refrained from plunging into 100

per cent. exploitation of the poor. Later, when this phase waned, Austria became a protagonist in the battle for social progress. Social Democrats, Christian Socialists, social reformers of all kinds, politicians, civil servants, judges, writers and scholars, clergy and laymen, Austrians from all walks of life tried to give their best for a better world to come. And so they will do again, when Austria's fetters fall.

17.

Agriculture, forestry and mining are Austria's basic sources for the upkeep of her population. These three decide in the main how many people can live on Austrian territory. Industrial production depends on these three basic elements. It must be adapted to the needs of the consumers. No goods must be manufactured in excess of the needs of the home market unless they can be sold abroad. Uncontrolled competitive industrialism, the result of the sudden "discovery" of fast-producing machinery in the last century, is only a short phase in the long history of man. Industrialism must, and will be absorbed and made the servant of the consumer.

18.

Austria's other potentials, her tourist traffic, her importance as a centre of commerce, finance, art and learning, will be put to good use. Poverty must be fought and overcome. Every Austrian will be made to have a direct or indirect share in the assets of his country. Austria will be a state of peasants and workers. Her aristocrats will be

those who combine the best brains with absolute devotion to duty and with a blameless character.

19.

In the field of "grand political, social and economic strategy" Austria wishes to fit into the schemes which will have to be elaborated by the victors. She wishes and hopes to be given her rightful place in the world and to get her fair share in the assets of the globe. She has no undue aspirations. She will be content to be a happy nation among the other nations. No Austrian will suffer from the inferiority complex of belonging to a small state, if he can be made to feel that he is, at the same time, the citizen of a great and happy Europe.

20.

Austria waits for the hour of her deliverance. She cannot throw off the German yoke alone, but she will help in the final battle for freedom as soon as she can move. The Spirit of Austria is not dead. This Spirit has built wonderful cathedrals, and it has built wonderful hospitals and workmen's dwelling houses. It has produced famous scholars and scientists, it has inspired renowned artists, and it has formed Austria's great past. It has radiated and spread Christian, universal, super-national civilisation; it is known all around the world in Austria's immortal music. The Spirit of Austria, though suppressed now, is alive. Austria waits for the hour of her deliverance.
