



**STUDIES IN THE
MAKING OF CITIZENS**



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**THE DISSOLUTION OF
THE HABSBURG MONARCHY**



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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE HABSBURG MONARCHY

By OSCAR JÁSZI
Oberlin College



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TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER

DR. FRANCIS JÁSZI

A PHYSICIAN ON THE MAGYAR-RUMANIAN BORDER, WHO
CONVINCED ME IN MY EARLY CHILDHOOD THAT ANY
PUBLIC POLICY NOT DIRECTED BY MORAL
PRINCIPLES IS ONLY A FORM
OF EXPLOITATION

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. . . . Speaking generally, there is something peculiar in national hatred. We always find it strongest and most vehement on the lowest stage of culture. But there is a stage where it totally disappears and where one stands, so to say, *above* the nations and feels the good fortune or distress of his neighbor people as if it had happened to his own.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

This study of civic education is one of a series of similar analyses of a variety of states. Broadly speaking, the common purpose of these inquiries has been that of examining objectively the systems of civic education in a group of states, of determining the broad trends of civic training in these modern nations, and of indicating possibilities in the further development and control of civic education. In two of these cases, Italy and Russia, striking experiments are now being made in the organization of new types of civic loyalty. Germany, England, the United States, and France present instances of powerful modern states and the development of types of civic cohesion. Switzerland and Austria-Hungary are employed as examples of the difficulty experienced in reconciling a central political allegiance with divergent and conflicting racial and religious elements.

The series includes the following volumes :

- Soviet Russia*, by Professor Samuel N. Harper, Professor of Russian Language and Institutions in the University of Chicago.
- Great Britain*, by Professor John M. Gaus, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin.
- Austria-Hungary*, by Professor Oscar Jászi, formerly of Budapest University, now Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College.
- The United States*, by Professor Carl Brinkmann, Professor of Political Economy in the University of Heidelberg.
- Italy: Part I*, by Professor Herbert W. Schneider, Professor of Philosophy in Columbia University, and Shepherd B. Clough.
- Germany*, by Mr. Paul Kosok, New York City.
- Switzerland*, by Professor Robert C. Brooks, Professor of Political Science in Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.
- France*, by Professor Carleton J. H. Hayes, Professor of History in Columbia University. (This is a part of the Columbia University series of "Studies in Post-War France" and is included here because of its intimate relation to the other volumes in the series.)
- Civic Attitudes in American Textbooks*, by Dr. Bessie L. Pierce, Professor of History in the State University of Iowa.
- Induction into Citizenship*, by Dr. Elizabeth Weber, Professor of Political Science, Hunter College, New York City.
- Comparative Civic Education*, by Professor Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science in the University of Chicago.

Wide latitude has been given and taken by the individual collaborators in this study, with the understanding, however, (1) that as a minimum there would be included in each volume an examination of the social bases of political cohesion and (2) that the various mechanisms of civic education would be adequately discussed. There is inevitably a wide variation in point of view, method of approach, and in execution of the project as investigators differ widely in aptitude, experience, and environment.

Of the various investigators the questions may be asked: What part do the social groupings play in the spirit of the state? What is the attitude of the economic groups which for this purpose may be considered under certain large heads, as the attitude of the business element, of the agricultural group, or of labor? What is the relation of the racial groups toward the political group whose solidarity is in question? Do they tend to integrate or disintegrate the state? What is the position of the religious factors in the given society, the Catholic, the Protestant, the Jewish? How are they concerned to loyalty toward the political unit? What is the place of the regional groupings in the political unit. Do they develop special tendencies alone or in company with other types of groupings already mentioned? What is the relation of these competing loyalties to each other?

It cannot be assumed that any of these groups have a special attraction or aversion toward government in general; and the analysis is not conducted with any view of establishing a uniformity of interest or attachment in any type of group, but rather of indicating the social composition of the existing political units and authorities. It may well be questioned whether there is any abstract loyalty, political or otherwise. These political loyalties are determined by concrete interests, modified by survivals that no longer fit the case and by aspirations not yet realized. The cohesion is a resultant of conflicting forces, or a balance of existing counterweights, a factor of the situation. All these factors may change and the balance may be the same, or one may change slightly and the whole balance may be overthrown. It is the integration of interests that counts, not the special form or character of any one of them.

Among the various approaches to civic education which it is hoped to analyze are the schools, the rôle of governmental services and officials, the place of the political parties, and the function of special patriotic organizations; or, from another point of view, the use of traditions in building up civic cohesion, the place of political symbolism, the relation of language, literature, and the press to civic education, the position occupied by locality in the construction of a

political loyalty; and, finally, it is hoped that an effective analysis may be made of competing group loyalties rivaling the state either within or without.

In these groups there is much overlapping. It would be possible to apply any one or all of the last-named categories to any or all of the first. Thus the formal school system may and does utilize language and literature, or symbolism, or love of locality, or make use of important traditions. Symbolism and traditions may and do overlap—in fact, *must* if they are to serve their purpose; while love of locality and language may be and are interwoven most intimately.

Intricate and difficult of comprehension as some of these patterns are, they lie at the basis of power; and control systems, however crude, must constantly be employed and invented to deal with these situations. The device may be as simple as an ancient symbol or as complicated as a formal system of school training, but in one form or other these mechanisms of cohesion are constantly maintained.

In the various states examined, these devices will be traced and compared. The result will by no means attain the dignity of exact measurement but will supply a rough tracing of outlines of types and patterns in different cities. It is hoped, however, that these outlines will be sufficiently clear to set forth some of the main situations arising in the process of political control and to raise important questions regarding the further development of civic education.

It may be suggested that the process by which political cohesion is produced must always be considered with reference to other loyalties toward other groups in the same society. Many of the devices here described are common to a number of competing groups and can be more clearly seen in their relation to each other, working in co-operation or competition, as the situation may be. The attitude of the ecclesiastical group or the economic group, or the racial or cultural group, or any of them, profoundly influences the nature and effect of the state's attempt to solidify political loyalty; and the picture is complete only when all the concurrent or relevant factors are envisaged.

These devices are not always consciously employed although they are spoken of here as if they were. It often happens that these instrumentalities are used without the conscious plan of anyone in authority. In this sense it might be better to say that these techniques are found rather than willed. At any rate, they exist and are operating.

These eight or nine techniques are only rough schedules or classifications of broad types of cohesive influences. They are not presented as accurate analyses of the psychology of learning or teaching the

cohesive process of political adherence. They presuppose an analysis of objectives which has not been made, and they presuppose an orderly study of the means of applying objectives; and this also has not been worked out in any of the states under consideration.

Professor Jászi's study of Austria-Hungary is an analysis of a tragic failure in civic cohesion, of fatal inability to develop a central political loyalty of a type comparable to that found in many contemporary and competing states. The contrast between this case and the nations here examined is a significant one. When, however, a comparison is made with Switzerland, likewise obliged to blend together diverse nationalities, localisms, and religions, the differences are even more striking. There are, of course, wide variations between the social background of the Swiss state and the Habsburg empire, but there are also notable differences in the techniques employed for the development of a central loyalty and a common morale; and some of these are highly useful for the analysis of the process of civic education and cohesion. The flow of blind social forces may be discerned in Austria-Hungary, but we may also observe the deliberate policies of omission and commission, alternately strengthening and weakening the bonds of national allegiance and unity. And in the interplay of these social forces and techniques are revealed glimpses into the nature of political aggregation.

Professor Jászi's work is based on a lifelong familiarity with the Habsburg problem, including his connections with the University of Kolozsvár, later with that of Budapest, his experiment in civic training as Director of the Free School of Social Sciences, in the same city, his membership in the last cabinet of the declining empire as Minister of Racial Minorities, his recent laborious study of the specific subject of civic education in the Habsburg state, and his broad reflection on the whole problem from the more detached point of view of a Professor of Political Science in Oberlin College.

Professor Jászi approaches the question as a Hungarian, it is true, but with an exceptional breadth of view and depth of insight, and without local chauvinism in his attitude. In a state comprising five principal groups, it is difficult to find anyone whose knowledge of all of them is uniform and equally adequate. Professor Jászi's attitude is only defined and above board—the general point of view of a scholar and a Hungarian liberal. His analysis of the forces of civic integration and disintegration represents a lifetime of observation and reflection, and as presented is well worth the consideration of all students of political processes.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

PREFACE

When the task of describing the mass-psychological process of the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy and of the failure of the conscious elaboration of a common will was tendered me, I was hesitant for a long time in accepting it. Before all a motive of a rather sentimental character was in my way, expressed by the words of Aeneas: *Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem*. Besides I clearly felt that such an undertaking would mean the work of many years and the energies of a man equally qualified as a historian, a sociologist, and an economist. How could one dare to do such a work in a comparatively short time without being an expert in all these fields? My doubts, however, were counterbalanced by the consideration of a single advantage which I possess over many of the writers who might be appointed to the task: I lived through, in a conscious and active way, the last quarter of a century of the Dual Monarchy and foresaw its dangers and difficulties, and amidst an apathetic or hostile world, tried to convince my compatriots that without deep organic reforms (reforms in the agrarian constitution, in public administration and education, in the national organization of the various peoples) the whole edifice would collapse. And, finding that my feeble voice was constantly drowned by the beneficiaries of the old system, two years before the War, in a last effort, I tried, in a rather comprehensive book,¹ to describe the diagnosis and cure of the national pathology. The present volume is in a sense the continuation of my former book: it shows how the experiences of the last decade of the Monarchy were the logical consequences of deep social and economic causes previously analyzed. Therefore, that of which I treat in the following pages is not books but men; the processes which I elucidate are not theories but social realities.

There was also another consideration which encouraged me to accept the challenge. During my lifetime I have witnessed a twofold tragedy. Not only will men not understand social realities which are for them disagreeable or disadvantageous when they face them, but also, a posteriori, they try to get rid of the painful past experiences. There is a tendency to falsify history in order to absolve the crimes of the past and to obtain transitory gains among the difficulties of an adverse situation. Both the victorious and the vanquished nations show this marked tendency. The so-called "War Guilt" literature is an evidence of the whitewashing of facts in order to alleviate the responsibilities of the past and to obtain momentary diplomatic advantages.

¹ *The Evolution of the Nation States and the Nationality Problem* (in Hungarian; Budapest, 1912).

It is an almost intolerable spectacle to see how the four or five great lessons of the terrible catastrophe are obscured and distorted by the leaders of a world which continues along the vicious road of the past. And a falsified history always means envenomed actions and new opportunities for armed conflicts. I feel it my duty to put into a correct light that part of the tragedy through which I lived.

Perhaps the reader will say that such a pragmatic position is dangerous in itself for the task which I am undertaking. I think it is not, provided it is combined with a sufficient amount of impartiality and universal sympathy. Even before the war, but after it still more completely, I had grown away from the old local patriotisms of Europe. At present there does not exist for me an isolated Hungarian problem; and, though with an unbroken loyalty to my own, I have the same sympathy for all the suffering peoples of the Danube Basin.

But here a more serious objection may arise, on the part of those who would discredit the reliability of my attitude. They will say a man living in exile for a decade after having lost his cause will inevitably have the tendency to extol his own point of view and misrepresent that of his adversaries. However, there are two considerations which will absolve me of this charge. The one is that the principles and conclusions which I advocate in the present book are not the results of a belated wisdom, for I can demonstrate that I maintained the same principles and conclusions for the last two decades before the collapse. The other is that there is nothing eccentric or startling in my conclusions. As I emphasize in my bibliography and explain in my book, my chief conclusions and principles are in entire harmony with those of the best thinkers of the Monarchy, who for the last three generations have been occupied with the same problem. What I did is scarcely more than to make an organic synthesis and a many-sided elucidation of the efforts and opinions of those whom I regard as the deepest observers of the Habsburg drama. There are only two points concerning which I claim a stricter originality in my researches. The one is the analysis of the dissolving economic forces of the Monarchy. The other is the elucidation of the mass-psychological situation in Hungary.

There is a further argument which I would adduce to demonstrate the impartiality of my book. Fate ordered that I should be, if not *au dessus de la mêlée*, at least outside of it. I was compelled to live outside of my country for the last decade because I had a small share in the endeavor to democratize Hungary and to remold the old feudal state into a confederation of free nations. This effort failed completely, and, as far as sociological prognostications can be indulged in, I regard my present position as final and unchangeable for the remainder of my life. I have no longer any personal interest, except that of my ideals, in the Danube region, having become a humble worker in the great American Republic in one of its historical colleges which has al-

ways been associated with the idea of personal liberty and international solidarity. This book is therefore neither an apology nor a program, but a sincere effort to elucidate a problem which still deeply influences the future of Europe and of mankind. It may also become useful in a coming age, when the present nationalistic dementia will ebb, as a kind of political testament.

Some minor remarks may be added. One of the greatest shortcomings of the present volume is the fact that among the many languages of the former Monarchy I read only German, Hungarian, Italian and Rumanian whereas the Slavic literature I know only through translations and excerpts made by my friends. However, this serious drawback is somewhat compensated by the fact that in consequence of my policy of national conciliation I lived always in good and close personal contact with many leaders of the Slavic nations, who honored my peaceful endeavors with their confidence.

The other point which I beg to mention is an apology for the great number of quotations which I use throughout the book. Though I feel the distastefulness of too many quotations, in the present book I was compelled to resort to them. As my task was the interpretation of certain mass-psychological currents, I found the necessity of demonstrating that I do not express in the analysis of the social realities personal opinions but widely spread mass conceptions. However, in order to avoid a superabundance of footnotes, I included only such references as seemed to me very important or of a controversial character.

I would also mention that the manuscript of the present book was finished by contractual engagement in the fall of 1927, but difficulties outside of my control delayed its publication. Therefore, to the literature published after this date I could only refer in notes and with occasional remarks so as not to destroy the unity of the composition.

Finally, I would like to express my personal thanks to those who helped me in my task. Professor Charles E. Merriam, of the University of Chicago, Professor Karl F. Geiser, of Oberlin College, and Professor Robert J. Kerner, of the University of California, gave me some important suggestions and expurgated many Hungarianisms in my style. My good friend Madame Anna Lesznai (Vienna) offered me some excellent hints concerning the social psychology of the last generation. Two other Viennese friends, Arnold Dániel and Dr. Joseph Rédei, sent me valuable excerpts from the libraries. Besides, the former assisted me with keen and original observations in the economic field. I am sorry that I cannot express publicly my acknowledgments to some of my Budapest friends, for reasons which are perfectly clear. More than anyone else I wish to thank my wife, whose co-operation and care I felt on many pages of this book.

OSCAR JÁSZI

OBERLIN COLLEGE
March 1, 1929

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REMARKS ON THE LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT

The author of the present volume has somewhat heretical opinions concerning the values of bibliographies. It seems to him that the power of our intellectual assimilation is as limited as that of our biological; that creative thoughts must have their natural growth, which too many references choke rather than promote; that literary footnotes are like a pedigree: they are more decorative than essential. As a matter of fact a detailed bibliography of the subject would be a book in itself. Concerning the Austrian part of the Monarchy, a careful bibliography was compiled by Richard Charmatz, the distinguished Austrian historian: *Wegweiser durch die Literatur der österreichischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart und Berlin, 1912). Concerning Hungary, a similar work was undertaken in the Appendix to Count Paul Teleki's book, *The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History* (New York, 1923), mostly from the pen of the noted Hungarian bibliographer, Mr. Charles Feleky.

Therefore, I offer only at the end of this volume a restricted list of books which either impressed me or will show the reader an opposite outlook on the situation. Generally I omitted, with few exceptions, those books in the foreign languages most inaccessible to English readers, namely those in the Hungarian, Rumanian, and the Slavic tongues. (Some few of these I inserted in translation.) Similarly, I omitted the so-called "war literature," which has only an indirect connection with this book. An almost complete list of this will be found in R. W. Seton-Watson's book *Sarajevo* (London, 1925) and in S. B. Fay's comprehensive work on *The Origins of the World War* (New York, 1928).

However, in order to make the position of the present volume clearer, I would like to emphasize those authors and books of the following bibliography whose conception helped or influenced me mostly. Among the men of a previous generation, the remarkable statesman and diplomat, **BARON VICTOR ANDRIAN-WERBURG** analyzed in a masterly way the structure and the main tendencies of the Habsburg Monarchy. Later the keen and courageous historian, **ANTON SPRINGER**, realized the forces which would lead to the deadlock of the Empire. Among the responsible statesmen, the great economist and sociologist, **A. E. F. SCHÄFFLE**, has shown more insight into the problem than any of the leading ministers of Austria. **DR. ADOLF FISCHHOF**, the brilliant representative of the great liberal generation of 1848, developed an acumen and discrimination in the deepest foundations of the Monarchy which was never surpassed. Among the Hungarian statesmen and publicists of the same period, the state philosophy of **BARON**

JOSEPH EÖTVÖS is unique from the point of view both of breadth and penetration, whereas the prophetic vision of LOUIS KOSSUTH concerning the formation of a Danube federation inspired my speculations very much concerning the future. Within the narrow circle of the few faithful followers of the great tribune, it was LOUIS MOCSÁRY who, with an exceptional moral courage and independence, pointed out the right road for a half-blind generation.

Among my own contemporaries, on the Austrian side nobody has so much aroused my admiration as PROFESSOR JOSEPH REDLICH, who, with an unrivaled mass of information and deepness of judgment, has unveiled the most intricate aspects of the Habsburg problem. Though I feel the point of view of PROFESSOR VICTOR BIBL too pro-German, I think his *Der Zerfall Österreichs* is the most complete and sincere historical description of the catastrophe. He was especially successful in the gathering of what was called *unique facts* concerning the historical forces of the past, and I often used his rich repertory of significant data. Another Austrian, a man of the higher bureaucracy, FRIEDRICH F. G. KLEINWAECHTER, wrote the best book concerning the psychology of the imperial administration and showed an unusual grasp of the problem of the irredentas. The artistic and moral side of the problem found a brilliant and sensitive exponent in the writings of the Viennese art critic and novelist HERMANN BAHR. I am also very appreciative for the remarkable works of two Austrian socialist leaders, DR. KARL RENNER and DR. OTTO BAUER, who with the one-sided strength of a revolutionary ideology of a new class have introduced fresh points of view into the stagnant waters of Austrian public life.

Among my Hungarian contemporaries, I wish to mention the original and independent work of BARON J. SZILLASSY, one of those rare diplomats who clearly visualized the relation between the inner and outer policy.

Among the foreigners who were in more intimate touch with the problems of the Monarchy, none saw the situation more penetratingly than HENRY WICKHAM STEED, R. W. SETON-WATSON, and LOUIS EISENMANN (all three, until the World War, convinced supporters of the Habsburg Monarchy and hoping for her rejuvenation).

Finally, I wish only to mention two authors who, though disconnected with my special problem, influenced the general trend of my argument. Though I disagree with certain conclusions and constructions of PROFESSOR CARLTON J. H. HAYES, I regard his studies on nationalism as an important contribution to the general problem. On the other hand, the fundamental inquiries of PROFESSOR FRANCIS OPPENHEIMER concerning the social consequences of the feudal system supported very much my own diagnosis of the downfall of the Monarchy.

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PART I
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