

## CHAPTER I

### THE CENTRIPETAL FORCES AND THEIR GENERAL DYNAMICS

After the summary reconstruction of the historical and moral atmosphere of the former monarchy the reader will be enabled, as I hope (however incomplete and rudimentary the picture of the mass-psychology currents may have been), to follow with attention and comprehension the work and development of those forces which determined in the ultimate analysis the fate of the monarchy. These forces may be roughly divided into two big groups. The one is composed of those, which in consequence of their historic structure or social position or their transitory purposes, worked consciously, semi-consciously, or unconsciously for the continuing and the maintaining of the monarchy. These we shall call *centripetal forces*. Into the second group belong those forces which endeavored with greater or less consciousness to relax or to dissolve the imperial tie. These will be called the *centrifugal forces* of the monarchy.

It is manifest that this division, like all scientific classification, is to some extent an artificial and arbitrary one as it severs processes which in reality are closely connected. This inherent artificiality of our division is further corroborated by the fact that each social force in history has a certain particular dialectic movement, by which itself and the institutions created by it receive, in the course of its historical development, such new tendencies as at the beginning were alien to it. For instance, we witness very often that the forces of social conservation exercise revolutionary effects in their later developments or—on the other hand—that the forces, revolutionary at the beginning, later become factors of maintenance and conservation. The somewhat vague and mystical Hegelian dialectics of the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis point toward a connection of social forces which has some analogy to the phenomenon just emphasized. I have here no space to enter into the discussion of this interesting transformation. The only thing which I would like to accentuate at this juncture is that almost all the centripetal forces with which we shall become acquainted in the following analysis, developed in their later course centrifugal tendencies in one direction or another.

The same is true regarding things from the other point of view concerning the centrifugal forces. We shall soon see that the most conspicuous centrifugal forces, the forces of national awakening and integration, were at their first appearance not at all forces of dissolution or segregation but they became such only because, instead of

being prudently canalized and utilized in the interest of the state, they were pushed back by violence or fraud and were forced into a direction which was irreconcilable with the unity and development of the old state.

If we now turn to the analysis of the centripetal forces, we shall soon see that they all represented a certain *supra-national* tendency in the old monarchy, that they emphasized the unity and the common aims of the empire in face of the separatist and particularist attitude of the various nations and nationalities. They represented, therefore, common ideals and a solidarity above the nations in that league of nations against its own will, in that race struggle which was called the Habsburg monarchy. They were really international forces amid the national overclaims and individualisms. The dynasty, the army, the aristocracy, the Roman Catholic church, the bureaucracy, capitalism (represented in its majority by Jews), the free-trade unity, and (however strange it may appear) socialism were the real pillars of Austrian internationalism. These pillars incorporated very powerful organizations and vital tendencies. That they proved in spite of their strength to be too weak for the maintenance of the Habsburg structure is due partly to that dialectical movement of which we already spoke, partly to the fact that all these forces did not constitute a united front but stood very often in a desperate struggle with each other. Among the eight pillars of internationalism only the first four (and even these incompletely) were united in a real political architectural scheme. The other four were conflicting with the first four and even with each other on very important points. In this manner the eight internationalisms were rather isolated bulwarks of the Habsburg fortification than a construction directed by the same strategic plan.

We must now consider these pillars in their psychological and sociological structure.

## CHAPTER II

### THE DYNASTY

What was said in the historical part has already put into sufficient light the fundamental rôle (both from the point of view of initiative and of conservation) of the Habsburg dynasty in the whole drama. In the given historical constellation the political aspiration of the Habsburgs was strictly determined and this ideal remained almost unchanged for four centuries. However different individualities, in value and in capacity, may have been the possessors of the Habsburg throne and however different their method was in the realization of their aims, their purpose in its fundamental character remained the same from Maximilian I until the passing of the last Habsburg. Every keen observer who was occupied with the problem of the monarchy has felt that there was something rigidly constant in the intellectual and moral structure of the Habsburg dynasty. Under the sway of this predominant impression it became a habit to speak of the monarchy simply as of Habsburg: Habsburg did this or that; that was the will of Habsburg; that was the fate of Habsburg; so was the decision of Vienna, etc. Above the single individual, however tyrannical a despot he may have been, there hovered always the spirit not only of the biological but of the social inheritance: the *Habsburg structure* as a quintessence of all those traditional values which led and directed the dynasty and the supreme military, diplomatic, and bureaucratic organizations combined with it (the Austrian *camarilla*, as it was called by its exacerbated enemies, the Hungarian leaders for independence). These almost constant elements of the Habsburg structure from which all the others can be easily deduced are religious mysticism, Catholicism, militarism, and the universalism of the Habsburg dynasty.

In his religious *mysticism* each Habsburg felt himself connected by a special tie with divinity, as an executor of the divine will. This explains their almost unscrupulous attitude in the midst of historical catastrophes and their proverbial ungratefulness. *Der Dank vom Hause Habsburg* ("the gratitude of the Habsburg family") became a widely spread slogan. They broke their most solemn promises very often and cast away their most loyal and self-sacrificing men as squeezed lemons, if, in so doing, they could somewhat alleviate a transitorily difficult situation. When, for instance under the pressure of revolutionary Vienna, Metternich was dismissed and was compelled to flee, nobody in the whole court asked him where he would go and how he could live. Naturally, in the robust naïveté of their dynastic mys-