German acculturated Jews as bridge builders.

Socialism in Red Vienna (1919 – 1934)

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Abstract

The first free elections in May 1919 marked the beginning of an internationally respected reform project. 'Red Vienna' aimed at a profound, lasting improvement in the living conditions of the population and especially of the workers. The leadership of the Social Democratic Workers' Party consisted largely of atheist bourgeois individuals of Jewish heritage. If we talk about During the era of 'Red Vienna', about 9.1 per cent persons of Jewish faith lived in Vienna. This was a very heterogeneous group, all social classes and professions, different beliefs and political views.

This work raises the question of the self-image and the image of others and to what extent, or if at all, Jewish and socialist doctrine can complement each other when their bearers actively oppose their socialization.

When we talk about the pioneers of the welfare state today, they are often forgotten or robbed of their identity. What remains of Red Vienna are the municipal buildings. Yet it is precisely the intellectual interdisciplinary theories for a better society that are the basis for community building. This work endeavours to take a more intimate look at 'Red Vienna' and the self-chosen identities of its protagonists.

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1 Introduction

"Once we are no more, these stones will speak for us."[1]

These were the words of Vienna's mayor Karl Seitz (1869–1950) at the opening

in 1930 of the most famous municipal building in 'Red Vienna, the 'Karl-Marx-Hof'. He

was quite right. The socialist communal policy of 'Red Vienna' shaped not only society,

but especially the cityscape of Vienna until today. The most important initiators of the

unique experiment of 'Red Vienna' had their roots in Judaism. In the Austrian Social

Democratic Workers' Party, the Jewish bourgeoisie and left-wing intelligentsia joined

forces with the radicalised working class in the hope of a new beginning. The vision was

of an egalitarian society beyond class struggle, scarcity and exclusion.

Since the theory-forming leading stratum of the Social Democratic Party as well

as the theoreticians of Austromarxism consisted predominantly of persons of Jewish

descent, the thesis arose that socialisation in the Jewish milieu had an influence on the

doctrine of the socialism of 'Red Vienna'. In the course of the research and a closer

analysis of the individual protagonists, however, the realisation emerged that Jewish

identity is not only dependent on socialisation but in particular a construct of self-

perception and the perception of others. In the context of being Jewish, prejudices that

have been handed down for centuries and thus an artificially polemical attribution of

identity play an important role. This paper addresses the discourse of the diversity of

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[1] „Wenn wir einst nicht mehr sind, werden diese Steine für uns sprechen." English translation mine unless otherwise noted;Karl Seitz, Opening Karl-Marx-Hof, October12, 1930;Andrea Nussbaum, ",Kleiner roter Ziegelstein, baut die neue Welt': Zur Baugeschichte des Karl-Marx-Hof," in *Karl-Marx-Hof Versailles der Arbeiter: Wien und seine Höfe*, ed. Gerald Kriechbaum and Genoveva Kriechbaum (Wien: Holzhausen, 2007), 53.

Jewishness in the context of the multi-layered experiment of 'Red Vienna' to create a holistic social democratic society for the future.

For this purpose, the historical basis for an equal society will be examined in more detail. Beginning with the intellectual and social reform movements awakening in Europe and the beginnings of social upheaval in the revolutions of the 18th and 19th centuries. Continuing with the emergence of a capitalist society in the context of industrialization.

The disintegration of familiar hierarchies and the need for new social structures called for new theoretical approaches. These can be seen, among other things, in the formation of organised mass parties. The end of the monarchy meant a social and individual reorientation and, in the case of Austria, the formation of a separate identity. The breaking up of traditional norms created the possibility for a self-chosen positioning in the social strata. The progressive emancipation of Jews, women and workers and the accompanying right to co-determination shaped the social democratic 'Red Vienna' in particular. On the basis of the various areas of activity of the Social Democratic Party and its milieu, this work looks at important protagonists for the creation of a holistic new society. In 'Red Vienna' 'Jewish influence' on modern culture is understood as social and cultural effects and not so much as religion or ethnicity, this lies in the principles of Austromarxism. 'Red Vienna' is synonymous with society's awakening to modernity. Some of the most important protagonists of the Social Democratic Workers' Party came from a bourgeois Jewish milieu. But due to their political self-image they had no special ties to Judaism. The contemporary anti-Jewish propaganda of the opposing parties, which mostly referred to already existing anti-Jewish stereotypes in the recurring context

of social upheavals, makes it necessary to analyse 'Red Vienna' with reference to a Jewish perspective.

The question arises whether Jewish and socialist ideals overlap or complement each other.

The Jewish population was represented as a minority in all social strata. It can be assumed that this population group had a special need to consolidate its position in the society of the first Austrian Republic after the First World War; they therefore seized the opportunity to participate in the social and political reorganisation of Austria. It can be assumed that the Jewish minority knew each other and exchanged ideas above all in the German-acculturated intelligentsia. This network extended locally in Vienna but can be understood as international and 'anational' according to the forward-looking ideals. In this way, the various intellectual fields influenced each other and benefited from different approaches and solutions to problems. The Jewish community in Vienna was united by the anti-Semitism they faced. Even if the acculturated Jewish intelligentsia represented neither religious nor ethnic Judaism, there was still a supranational bond and sense of responsibility. This enabled a network across social classes and fields of interest and made the Jewish intelligentsia bridging figures. Social hierarchies and segregated fields of work could thus be broken down and networked, which helped to promote the 'utopia of justice' in 'Red Vienna'.

To analyse the connections and interdependencies between individual persons of the Jewish socialist intelligentsia and social spheres in 'Red Vienna' a historical discourse analysis, as well as an iconographic analysis and iconological interpretation

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according to Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) and the ideas of constructivism according to Paul Watzlawick (1921–2007) will be used. The primary sources are composed of newspaper articles, primarily from the socialist democratic 'Arbeiter Zeitung' and christian social 'Reichspost' as well as a variety of essays and ego documents. Concerning the oeuvre of Míhaly Biro's were three social democratic election posters, as well as a print engraving concerning the events in his native Hungary analysed.

2 Paving the way for social change

The intellectual movements of the Enlightenment in the 18th and 19th centuries paved the way for Jewish emancipation in Europe. The end of the monarchical divine right of kings through the French Revolution in 1789 and the subsequent 'French period' with the French occupation of large parts of Western Europe under Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) is significant for the social transformation in this era. One of the slogans of the French revolutionary movement was 'Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité', which expressed the ideals of the revolution and promoted rational thinking and a secularisation of society. In contrast to the demands of the English Revolution (1688) and American Revolution (1776) for freedom for all churches and faiths, the French Revolution restricted religions. Jews were to renounce both their faith[2] and the idea of a common Jewish people as the price for civil equality. In 1791, France was the first European country to emancipate the Jewish community through the 'Assemblée constituante'. In return for legal equality, Napoleon demanded that the Jewish tradition to be subordinated to the humanist norms and goals of France. The organisation and incorporation of Jewry in France was

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[2] or at least many of its essential rites

considered difficult. As described by the Minister of Culture Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis (1746–1807) in a report, Judaism had to be regarded as a nation or people and less as a creed "Mais les Juifs forment bien moins une religion qu'un peuple"[3], since they lived among all nations and did not mix with them.[4] The politician Stanislas de Clermont-Tonnerre (1747 – 1792) gave this idea another formulation that has become classic: "Il ne peut y avoir une nation dans une nation". Therefore, one had to dissolve the Jews as a group and incorporate them as individuals: "Il faut tout refuser aux juifs, comme nation, il faut tout leur accorder comme individus".[5]

In the Habsburg Monarchy, Jewish equality began under the regency of Joseph II (1741–1790) and his reform policies inspired by the ideas of the Enlightenment.[6] The 'Pillersdorf Constitution' of 1848 brought the Jewish community in Austria the beginnings of equality regarding civil rights and religious freedom, which were, however, repeatedly subjected to restrictions in the following years. It was not until the December Constitution of 1867 that the Jews were granted unrestricted equal rights throughout the Habsburg Monarchy. Due to the faster establishment of equal rights in cities and the opportunities for work and education there, 'Jewish migration' from the crown lands to Vienna followed.[7]

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[3] Jean-Ètienne-Marie Portalis, *Discours et rapports du citoyen Portalis, Conseiller d'Etat, sur l'organisation des cultes* (Nancy: J. R. Vigneulle, 1802), https://books.google.at/books?id=OTl-kg2ncq0C, 55.

[4] David Sorkin, *Jewish Emancipation: A History Across Five Centuries* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019), 214ff.

[5] Kurt Stillschweig, "Die Judenemanzipation im Licht des französischen Nationsbegriffs," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 81, no. 6 (1937): 468, http://www.jstor.org/stable/23113477.

[6] Brigitte Mazohl, "Tod Karls VI. bis zum Wiener Kongress (1740-1815)," in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. Thomas Winkelbauer, 3rd ed., revised, 290–358 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018), 305f.

[7] Sebastian Voigt, "Erforderliche Reaktionen. Moritz Lazarus' Erwiderung auf Heinrich von Treitschkes Unsere Aussichten (1879) und Bernard Lazares Auseinandersetzung mit Édouard Drumonts La France Juive (1886)," in *Antisemitismus im 19.*

Jews began to participate in all areas of public life, especially in universities. The educational tradition corresponds to the 'Haskalah' movement and in principle, education in the Jewish sense is a religious duty. Through active participation, they were able to assert their right to a say in the majority society.

2.1 Revolution as the basic tendency of the era

Since the French Revolution (1789), Europe has had a perspective of what a revolution can do. Revolutions lead to upheavals of existing orders and continuities and replace existing leaderships. In this context, revolutions cannot be regarded as a singular event. They are the expression of a basic social tendency of an era, the 'modern age'. The Austrian Empire's foreign minister Klemens Wenzel Lothar von Metternich (1773 – 1859) saw one of the greatest evils of revolutionary behaviour in free press and in secret societies (gangrène de la société). According to him they were organized across borders and influenced society with conspiracy theories. Both revolution and counter-revolution thus took on an international character.[8]

The revolutionary movements of 1848 in the European countries, however, were based primarily on the confluence of political tensions between the institution and the authorities and the social awareness of the untenable conditions. In the Habsburg Monarchy, the revolution can be understood, among other things, as a reaction to the suppression of democracy, freedom of the press, freedom of opinion and freedom of

Jahrhundert aus internationaler Perspektive: Nineteenth century anti-semitism in international perspective, ed. Mareike König et al., 335–54, Schriften aus der Max Weber Stiftung (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), 340f.

[8] Theodor Schieder, *Staatensystem als Vormacht der Welt: 1848 - 1918*, 2nd ed., Propyläen Geschichte Europas 5 (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1998), 12.

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assembly under the Metternich system. Likewise, the economic, social and political changes in the course of the Industrial Revolution as well as the striving for national self-determination can be cited as reasons for the civil war-like conditions. Increasingly, citizens of the Mosaic faith also emerged as self-determined political actors.[9]

The objective conditions of a revolution also include the existence of social strata that perceives the political and social order as a burden. Here the contradiction between prevailing political, social norms and social reality plays a role. These includes those groups that enjoy increasing economic prosperity but cannot enjoy political rights. The Jewish community can be mentioned here as an example. Revolutionary impulses often emanate from these oppressed strata. The prevailing discontent is translated by so-called 'spiritual revivalists' into the will to change. These shape the slogans and dogmas for the 'struggle'. The intellectual vanguard of the revolution exposes the objective contradictions in the state and social systems and creates an awareness of them.[10]

Other factors for revolution were a European intelligentsia and an international emigration whose representatives were mostly identical. Writers such as Karl Marx and Heinrich Heine were active nationwide through their exile activities and contributed to the dissemination of international living conditions through their critical texts. The

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[9] Ulrich Wyrwa, "Zur Entstehung des Antisemitismus im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ursache und Erscheinungsformen einer wahnhaften Weltanschauung," in *Antisemitismus im 19. Jahrhundert aus internationaler Perspektive: Nineteenth century anti-semitism in international perspective*, ed. Mareike König et al., 13–38, Schriften aus der Max Weber Stiftung (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), 25f&36.

[10] Schieder, *Staatensystem als Vormacht der Welt*, 13.

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European revolutions were marked by the struggle for liberal constitutions, human rights and popular sovereignty, as well as the secular struggle for nation and nationality.[11]

The two decades before the outbreak of the First World War are characterised in most European states by internal tensions, crises and conflicts between the constitutional bodies, the social classes, between state and church, the parliaments and the governments, the army and the civilian state bodies.[12]

2.2 Bourgeois Democracy and Socialist Revolution

In the preparation for the modern state, traditional leaderships were challenged in crises through popular sovereignty and democratisation. The claim of national minorities to self-determination also grew out of democratic thinking. The greatest crisis, however, was triggered by the attack of socialist parties and movements on the bourgeois state. The socialist workers' party saw itself as an international movement but were national in their tactical approach.

The 'fathers' of socialist theories were not workers. Henri de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), Charles Fourier (1772–1837), Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels came from an aristocratic and bourgeois background. Without the intellectual help of bourgeois ideologists, the working class would hardly have found an interpretation of its role in world history. Marx justifies in the 'Communist Manifesto' (1848) as follows:[13]

"At times, finally, when the class struggle approaches a decision, the process of dissolution within the ruling class, within the whole of the old society, assumes such a violent, such a glaring character that a small section of the ruling class breaks away from

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[11] Ibid., 20.
[12] Ibid., 179.
[13] Ibid., 203f.

it and joins the revolutionary class, the class which carries the future in its hands. Therefore, just as in the past a part of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, now a part of the bourgeoisie is going over to the proletariat, and especially a part of the bourgeois ideologues who have worked their way up to the theoretical understanding of the whole historical movement." [14]

After the revolutionary movements in 1848/49[15] followed by the incorporation of 34 suburbs to the city of Vienna through the 'Provisional Municipal Code' in 1850, Vienna started to become a modern mass society. In 1857 the former area of the city fortification (bastion fortification & glacis) was opened for new development. Due to the necessary procurement of materials for the magnificent buildings of the 'Ringstrasse', there was the need for an increased number of workers in the residential city. People from primarily Bohemia and Moravia came to Vienna during the 'Ringstrasse' construction.[16]

In December 1867, the legal equality of Jews in Austria and Hungary was established in the State Basic Act, which also defined that 'the freedom of academic research is a fundamental civic right'. In the short period between 1867 and 1914, the Jewish population in the residential city increased rapidly. Jews from all parts of the Habsburg Monarchy flocked to Vienna because of the hoped-for economic and cultural opportunities for advancement.[17]

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[14] "In Zeiten endlich wo der Klassenkampf sich der Entscheidung nähert, nimmt der Auflösungsprozeß innerhalb der herrschenden Klasse, innerhalb der ganzen alten Gesellschaft, einen so heftigen, so grellen Charakter an, daß ein kleiner Theil der herrschende Klasse sich von ihr lossagt und sich der revolutionären Klasse anschließt, der Klasse, welche die Zukunft in ihren Händen trägt. Wie daher früher ein Theil des Adels zur Bourgeoisie überging, so geht jetzt ein Theil der Bourgeoisie zum Proletariat über, und namentlich ein Theil der Bourgeois-Ideologen, welche zum theoretischen Verständniß der ganzen geschichtlichen Bewegung sich hinaufgearbeitet haben.";Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2010), 30.

[15] As a reaction to the suppression of democracy, freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of assembly under Metternich's system.

[16] Brigitte Mazohl, "Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918," in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. Thomas Winkelbauer, 3rd ed., revised, 391–476 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018), 448–52.

[17] Ulrich Wyrwa, "Zur Entstehung des Antisemitismus im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ursache und Erscheinungsformen einer wahnhaften Weltanschauung," in *Antisemitismus im 19. Jahrhundert aus internationaler Perspektive*, 13–38.

Through migration the capital of the Habsburg Empire grew and developed a rich and diverse Jewish community. Between 1910 and 1934, Vienna had around two million inhabitants, of whom about 175,000 were assigned to Judaism. That was about 9.1 percent of the population of Vienna. According to the data of the Austrian census in March 1934 concerning the share of Jews in the professional or economic life of Vienna, the Jewish quota of the city represented about two thirds of all professions that ensured a bourgeois[18] existence. Likewise, the Jewish share counted 51.6% of all doctors, 85.5% of all lawyers, 75% of all banks and 96.5% of all advertising agencies. [19]

The German writer Arnold Zweig (1887–1968) reflected on the social affiliation of the Jew in the text 'Bilanz der deutschen Judenschaft' published in 1934. According to him, the Jew was a proletarian and remained so even if he had a privileged position in society, since these privileges could be revoked at any time.[20]

"The Jews are proletarians. They are proletarians, despite their luxury, their ten-room apartments, their university education, and their intellectual professions. The essence of proletarian existence is also symptomatic of their lives: they have no way of securing their present or their future, because they possess neither political guarantees, the right to participate in political decision, nor do they possess the instruments of production."[21]

The intellectual leadership of the Social Democratic Party came mostly from the Jewish assimilated or acculturated bourgeois families, but also saw the need to show solidarity with the proletariat. A lot of them already lived in second or third generation in

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[18] furniture trade, shoe and textile industry, meat trade, wine trade, electrical stores

[19] Results of the Austrian census of March 22, 1934. Prepared by the Federal Statistical Office. Österreichische Staatsdruckerei, Vienna 1935.

[20] Istvan Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals: A Political History of the Weltbühne and Its Circle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), https://archive.org/details/weimargermanysle0000deak/page/28/mode/2up?q=left+wing+intellectuals+did+not+simply, 28f.

[21] Arnold Zweig, *Bilanz der deutschen Judenheit: Ein Versuch* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1934), 280.

the metropole. For them, Jewish traditions or religion was only a remnant of their ancestors. According to the theories of Karl Marx, the socialist party of 'Red Vienna' rejected all religion. It is not surprising that its members mostly left the Jewish religious community due to their secular and liberal upbringing and socialist ideals. They no longer considered themselves Jewish, at least not by self-definition.

"Religious suffering is, at one and the same time, the expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people."[22]

In the rejection of religion, however, the cultural difference within the Jewish community in Vienna also becomes apparent. For the creation of a 'New Society', a 'New Human', the assumed outdated traditions of religion had to be overcome. For social democracy, Judaism was a problem in that they saw it primarily as a religion. Identity, however, is not only self-attribution, but also attribution from outside. Through anti-Semitic attacks, the assimilated social democrats were made constantly aware of their Jewish origins.[23]

Tensions between the different Jewish groupings were also felt within the Jewish community. Assimilated Jews in particular frequently perceived so-called Eastern Jews from Galicia as a threat. The Galician Jews, especially those from the segregated shtetl, corresponded to the anti-Semitic distorted image or at least came very close to it. The 'Viennese' perceived the appearance and behaviour of the 'Galicians' as an embarrassment and separated themselves from them. They feared that the Christian

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[22] Karl Marx, "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction,",
https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm (accessed June 15, 2021).
[23] Gerhard Milchram, "Sozialdemokratie und Antisemitismus," in *Das Rote Wien 1919-1934: Ideen, Debatten, Praxis*, ed. Werner M. Schwarz, Georg Spitaler and Elke Wikidal, 70–3 (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019), 71.

majority population could not distinguish between modern 'German Jews' and backward 'Polish Jews'. At the same time, they feared for their own assimilation and that the presence of the 'Galicians' would further fuel anti-Semitism.[24]

"The extraordinary Jewish participation in German culture is to be explained by the peculiarities of Central European Jewish intellectual tradition and by the Jews' historic exclusion from the more "respectable" professions as the civil service, the army, the judiciary, or university teaching."[25]

The anti-Semitism of the Christian Social Party and its organs was used specifically against the Social Democrats. Red Vienna was also denigrated as a "Jewish creation", the Workers' Party was insulted as the "Jewish Party", but also as the "Jewish Protection Party" and thus devalued in the political discourse. "Jewish" was a swear word, and one was not squeamish about using it. The rhetoric was mainly used to attack the party as the strongest opposition. The rhetoric was mainly used to attack the party as the strongest opposition. Antisemitism was used as a political weapon, as it had been with Karl Lueger.

Manès Sperber (1905 – 1984), who came from Eastern European Hasidic Jewry and was a student and collaborator of Alfred Adler until 1932, wrote in his work 'God's water carriers' (1974) about the attraction of Vienna for people from the Jewish Shtetl in Galicia.

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[24] Ibid.
[25] Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*, 29.

"The monosyllabic name of the capital and residence city had a sound that was always inspiring in that farthest, most distant corner of the monarchy. Not only to the nine-year-old boy was Vienna splendour and magnificence [...] And many of my peers dreamed that they would one day be at home in the imperial city [...]."[26]

The East Galician author Joseph Roth (1894–1939), born in Brody, not far from Sperber's birthplace Zablotow, places the First World War, the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and thus of the East Jewish Shtetl at the centre of his narrative work. He focuses his particular attention on Eastern Jewry and not on the general cosmopolitanism of the educated and assimilated Jews in the West, whom he sees as the negative side of Eastern Jewry. 'Juden auf Wanderschaft' (1927) is an essay against the assimilation of Eastern Jews who have made their way to the West and are therefore about to lose their identity and adopt all the vices of the Western bourgeoisie, especially those of the liberal Jewish one.

"The Eastern Jews are dependent on the support of the bourgeois welfare organisations. One is inclined to value Jewish charity more highly than it deserves. [...] the Eastern Jew is often treated no better by his fellow-believers or even by his countrymen than by Christians. [...] there is no more difficult fate than that of a foreign Eastern Jew in Vienna."[27]

Sperber describes the phenomenon of the shtetl in his memoirs as a small 'Civitas Dei'[28]. In the early 1970s he gave a series of lectures on Joseph Roth. In them he speaks in more detail about the symbolic image 'Civitas Dei', with which he sets out the

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[26] "Der einsilbige Name der Haupt- und Residenzstadt hatte in jenem äußersten, fernsten Winkel der Monarchie einen Klang von stets begeisternder Wirkung. Nicht nur dem neun-jährigen Knaben war Wien Glanz und Pracht […] Und viele meinesgleichen träumten davon, daß sie später einmal in der Kaiserstadt zu Hause sein […] würden.";Manès Sperber, *Die Wasserträger Gottes: All das Vergangene*, 2nd ed. (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979), 90.

[27] "Die Ostjuden sind auf die Unterstützung durch die bürgerlichen Wohlfahrtsorganisationen angewiesen. Man ist geneigt, die jüdische Barmherzigkeit höher einzuschätzen, als die verdient. […] wird der Ostjude von seinen Glaubensgenossen und sogar von seinen Landsleuten oft nicht besser behandelt als von Christen. […] es gibt kein schwereres Los als eines fremden Ostjuden in Wien.";Joseph Roth, *Juden auf Wanderschaft* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1985), 40.

[28] 'The City of God': According to the Christian philosophy 'De civitate Dei contra paganos' (early 5th century CE) by Augustine of Hippo.

characteristics of the ideal-typical shtetl as a de facto autonomous and self-governing

Jewish entity.[29]

"This was a very peculiar community. They had many things that could have made them a civitas dei, of course in a sense other than the Augustinian sense. For centuries they were religiously closed communities. The faith radiated into the smallest movement of everyday life, its commandments were so decisive that even a doubt could seem like a renegation. In this shtetl, Yiddish had developed, a Germanic language, mainly dominated by Rhine-German elements, interspersed with Hebrew and Slavic words, parts of sentences, compounds of words."[30]

3 The First Republic. Perceived and actual class affiliation

Vienna as a metropolis was tailored for an empire of 50 million people. With the

end of the war and the monarchy in late autumn 1918, the former imperial capital and

residence of the Habsburgs had become the capital of a small state. The huge

administrative apparatus of the Danube monarchy had to be painstakingly dismantled.

In the Republic, the capital appeared to many Austrians, especially in the periphery, as

a 'water head'[31]. This reflected the disproportionate concentration of the population in

the federal capital compared to the federal states. The new Austria was left with only

about 15% of the former national territory and of the original 51 million, about six million

inhabitants remained in the heartland.[32]

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[29] Mirjana Stančić, *Manès Sperber: Leben und Werk* 63 (Frankfurt am Main, Basel: Stroemfeld, 2003), 25.

[30] Es war dies eine ganz eigenartige Gemeinschaft. Sie hatten manches, was sie zu einer civitas dei hätte machen können, natürlich in einem anderen als dem Augustinischen Sinne. Durch Jahrhunderte waren das aufs religiös engste geschlossene Gemeinschaften. Bis in die kleinste Regung des alltäglichen Lebens strahlte der Glauben aus, waren seine Gebote bestimmend und zwar so, daß auch ein Zweifel schon wie eine Renegation erscheinen konnte. In diesem Schtetl hatte sich also das Jiddische entwickelt, eine germanische Sprache, hauptsächlich von rheinisch-deutschen Elementen beherrscht, mit hebräischen und slawischen Worten, Satzteilen, Satzverbindungen, Wortverbindungen durchsetzt."; Estate Manès Sperber, Portfolio 144 (ÖLA), Joseph Roth Lecture Series, 8.

[31] Colloquial term for a city that, as a capital, is too large for the surrounding countryside.

[32] Gerald Kriechbaum and Genoveva Kriechbaum, eds., *Karl-Marx-Hof Versailles der Arbeiter: Wien und seine Höfe* (Wien: Holzhausen, 2007), 13.

On September 10th 1919, State Chancellor Karl Renner (1870–1950)[33] signed the State Treaty of St. Germain. Here the new borders of the Republic of Austria were established. The Allies soon saw that the country's economic situation was in urgent need of support, which was provided in the form of loans. As a result, the small state with its completely new economic conditions fell into debt and were dependent from the allies from the very beginning. Domestically, there was soon a break in the coalition (existing from October 30th 1918 to October 22nd 1920) between the Christian Socialists (CS) and the Social Democrats (SDAP), which led to the departure of the Social Democratic members of the government. From then on, this party remained in constant opposition for the duration of the existence of the parliament in the First Republic of Austria. The First Republic was basically limited to three parties: the Christian Socialists, the Social Democrats and the German Nationalists (merged into the National Socialist German Workers' Party at the beginning of the 1930s). As in the monarchy, the period between 1918 and 1938 was characterised by the fact that in the cities and industrial towns the majority of the inhabitants were Social Democrats, while the rural population turned more to the Christian Socialists.[34]

On February 16th 1919, the first election was held in the Republic of German-Austria (1918–1919) in which women were also entitled to vote for the first time. The Constituent National Assembly was elected and the Social Democrats emerged as the strongest faction with 40.77%, ahead of the Christian Socialists with 35.93%. The

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[33] Karl Renner was one of the few non-Jewish members of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party.

[34] Oliver Rathkolb, "Erste Republik: Austrofaschismus, Nationalsozialismus (1918-1945)," in *Geschichte Österreichs*, ed. Thomas Winkelbauer, 3rd ed., revised, 477–526 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018), 477–79.

coalition government passed the Habsburg Law, a whole series of exemplary social laws and, as a final measure, the new constitution. It also had to ratify the Saint-Germain Peace Treaty.[35]

The collapse of the monarchy, the establishment of a democratic republic and the consequences of the First World War fundamentally changed the conditions for Jewish participation in the Austrian parliament. The German Imperial Councillors elected in 1911 formed the Provisional National Assembly of 1918/19, in which fewer Jewish deputies were represented, as factions in which they were more strongly represented no longer took part in the parliamentary life of the new state or took part to a lesser extent.

In the Constituent National Assembly of 1919/20, the proportion of deputies of Jewish descent was nevertheless relatively high due to the increases among the Social Democratic mandataries. This trend continued throughout the First Republic. Changes in the occupational structure and growing impoverishment led many Jewish voters to the Social Democratic Labour Party (SDAP). It also offered Jews almost the only opportunity for a political career, as all other parliamentary forces were more or less anti-Semitic. In the First Republic, almost all members of the National Council of Jewish origin were Social Democrats, such as Otto Bauer (1881–1938), Robert Danneberg (1885–1942) and Julius Deutsch (1884–1968). The introduction of women's passive suffrage also enabled two female parliamentarians of Jewish origin to enter the National Council. Therese Schlesinger (née Eckstein, 1863– 1940) represented the SDAP and Hildegard

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[35] Ibid., 479.

Burjan (née Freund, 1883 – 1933), who had converted to Catholicism, represented the Christian Social Party. Burjan and the non-attached Robert Stricker (1979–1944), who managed to enter parliament as a representative of National Jewry, were the only non-Social Democrats among the First Republic member of parliament.

3.1 Modern organised mass parties

Before the First World War, a 'politics of the masses' emerged in Vienna, in which political liberalism came to an end. Examples of modern mass parties were the unification of the various social democratic groups by Victor Adler (1852 – 1918) into the 'Social Democratic Workers' Party' of Austria (SDAP) and the 'Christian Social Party' (CS) founded in 1893 by Karl Lueger as a representation of the Christian Viennese petty bourgeoisie. With the end of First World War, the collapse of the monarchy and the accompanying introduction of 'universal suffrage' in 1919, the modern organized mass party of the Social Democrats, especially in Vienna, focused on the unresolved political messages of pre-war liberalism.[36]

The Lueger era (1897 – 1910), despite its openly anti-Semitic policies, 'paved the way' for the social democratic municipal policies of 'Red Vienna'. Lueger's economic policy, the municipalisation of utilities and social policy (health care, care for the poor & public welfare) were for the first time considered the responsibility of the municipality. Until the Lueger era, the focus was on the individual with his private capital and the principle 'everyone must help himself'. Vienna under Karl Lueger was thus a European pioneer in terms of its municipal policy programme. At this point it must be noted that

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[36] Lutz Musner, Der Geschmack von Wien : Kultur Und Habitus Einer Stadt (Frankfurt am Main: Campus-Verlag, 2009), 11f.

under his leadership Karl Lueger and the CS clearly positioned themselves against the SDAP and Lueger's anti-Semitic demagogy created the social basis for National Socialism in Austria.[37]

Anyone who wants to understand the political climate of the First Republic must consider the initial situation in 1918. The two major parties, CS and SDAP, were never able to work together in their almost exactly two-year coalition. The political climate between the two parties had been steadily deteriorating since 1920. Both parties had armed associations that were repeatedly involved in conflicts with each other. [38]

3.2 Red Vienna – Socialism and Austro-Marxism

"The left-wing intellectuals did not simply 'happen to be mostly Jews' as some pious historiography would have us believe, but Jews created the left-wing intellectual movement in Germany."[39]

This a quote by historian István Deák (1926) and refers to the Weimar Republic. However, its content can also be applied to 'Red Vienna'. Jewish participation in social democratic politics is due to the realisation that purely business, artistic or scientific careers and participation in Austrian culture would not lead to either general or Jewish social equality. The only possibility for social change was in real political participation. [40]

The key event to understanding the nature of the Austrian Social Democratic Party is the Hainfeld Party Congress (1888). Two factors have since been decisive for

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[37] Hans Hautmann and Rudolf Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919-1934* (Wien: Schönbrunn-Verlag, 1980), 18f.

[38] Kurt Paupié, *Handbuch der österreichischen Pressegeschichte: 1884 - 1959,* 2 vols. Vol.1 (Wien: Braumüller, 1960), 38.

[39] Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*, 29.

[40] Ibid., 29.

them: the leadership of the party was taken over by intellectuals (doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc.) and the postulate of party unity, which had not only been formulated but was also consistently fulfilled. The intellectual party leadership represented the left wing of the party. They were the real creators of Austro-Marxism (November 2nd 1926, Linzer Parteiprogramm). Their radicalism was the most effective means against a disintegration of the party. While the communists remained insignificant in Austria, the Social Democratic Party became the by far most radical socialist party in Europe. They were guided by realpolitik and doctrinaire considerations, which, however, made cooperation difficult in terms of state policy. Furthermore, the 'Anschluss thought' influenced the attitude of the Austrian Social Democratic Party. This led them repeatedly (e.g. the question of reorganisation in 1922) to take the view that Austria was not viable. In November 1918, Otto Bauer was appointed head of the Foreign Office (Foreign Minister) by Viktor Adler. However, he resigned from this post as early as July 1919, as his policy of annexing Austria to Germany had failed with the peace treaty of Saint-Germain. The social democratic organisational achievements in Vienna, the only province in which they had a majority, proved that they were willing and able to work constructively where real political conditions corresponded with their ideological tendencies. [41]

The party was the pillar of the social democratic milieu. It served as a kind of 'counter-church'. The clubs were in the party headquarters or workers' homes, in which social relations were concentrated. In today's research, the SDAP is seen as strictly democratic and as an intermediate form of reformism and Bolshevism. The Russian

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[41] Paupié, *Handbuch der österreichischen Pressegeschichte*, 35f.

October Revolution increased the importance of the left wing, as it was now also given the task of preventing the Austrian workers from defecting to the Bolsheviks.[42]

Austro-Marxism is a school of Marxism that emerged in Vienna at the turn of the century, whose best-known representatives were Otto Bauer, Max Adler, Rudolf Hilferding (1877 – 1941), Friedrich Adler (1879 – 1960), Gustav Eckstein (1875 – 1916) and Karl Renner. As convinced Marxists, they tried to apply Marxist theories to the monarchy, which was torn apart by nationality conflicts, and to find a balance between the social-democratic Second International and the communist Third International.[43]

Austro-Marxism is thus one of the theories of transformation and society between orthodox Marxism (or Leninism), which Max Adler claimed for himself, and the radical left (e.g. Rosa Luxemburg) on the one hand and revisionism on the other. Otto Bauer tried to overcome the split in the workers' movement with his so-called 'integral socialism', to further develop Marxism within social democracy and to make it applicable to day-to-day politics. [44]

The 'Linzer Programm' of the SDAP, adopted in 1926, is considered one of the most important documents of Austro-Marxism. Otto Bauer explained it, among other things, in this way:

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[42] Ernst Hanisch and Herwig Wolfram, eds., *1890 - 1990: Der lange Schatten des Staates; österreichische Gesellschaftsgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert,* Österreichische Geschichte (Wien: Ueberreuter, 2005), 81.

[43] Vrääth Öhner, "Austromarxismus," in *Das Rote Wien: Schlüsseltexte der Zweiten Wiener Moderne 1919–1934*, ed. Rob McFarland, Georg Spitaler and Ingo Zechner, 143–5 (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020).

[44] Ibid.

"Where the workers are divided, one workers' party embodies the sober realpolitik of the day, the other the revolutionary will to the ultimate goal. Only where the split is avoided, only there do sober realpolitik and revolutionary enthusiasm remain united in one spirit. The synthesis of both - that is the Linzer Programm, that is, if one wants to call it that, "Austromarxism".".[45]

On the one hand, Austro-Marxism thus supported the reformism of the social democrats within the democratic institutions fought for by the labour movement but criticised their limitation to a strategy of mere reforms. The reforms, according to the Austro-Marxists, must ultimately aim at overcoming the capitalist system. The prerequisite for the hegemony of the socialist movement and thus for a democratic conquest of power was above all political-cultural enlightenment.[46]

Only after the workers' party had come to power through the means of democracy was the 'social revolution' to be implemented. The Austro-Marxists did not develop a dogmatic creed, but a new social theory. People were to be slowly changed through socialist consciousness-raising and in this way a 'New Human' was to be created.[47]

Austro-Marxism decisively rejected the Soviet Union's claim to be the embodiment of a generally valid model of transformation and society, especially

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[45] "*Wo die Arbeiterschaft gespalten ist, dort verkörpert die eine Arbeiterpartei die nüchterne Realpolitik des Tages, die andre [sic!] den revolutionären Willen zum letzten Ziel. Nur wo die Spaltung vermieden wird, nur dort bleiben nüchterne Realpolitik und revolutionärer Enthusiasmus in* einem *Geist vereint. Die Synthese beider – das ist das Linzer Programm, das ist, wenn man es so nennen will, der "Austromarxismus".";Arbeiter Zeitung, "*"Austromarxismus",", November 3, 1927, 1–2, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=aze&datum=19271103&seite=1&zoom=33 (accessed June 15, 2021).

[46] Alessandro Barberi, "Das Linzer Programm (1926): Ausbau der Republik, Wirtschaftspolitik, Sozialpolitik, Frauenfrage, Bevölkerungspolitik, Schulwesen, Religion, Kirche und Kulturpolitik,", https://rotbewegt.at/epoche/einst-jetzt/artikel/das-linzer-programm-1926 (accessed June 14, 2021).

[47] *"Im Jahre 1911 trat ich der sozialdemoraktischen Partei bei, ohne daß ich bis zum Ende des Weltkrieges irgendeine aktive politische Tätigkeit entfaltet oder einen Führer persönlich gekannt hätt."* Wolfgang Maderthaner, "Das Kommunale Experiment: Die "Veralltäglichung" der Utopie?," in *Das Rote Wien 1919-1934: Ideen, Debatten, Praxis*, ed. Werner M. Schwarz, Georg Spitaler und Elke Wikidal, 24–9 (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019), 24f.

because of the CPSU's (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) undemocratic methods in building socialism.

The most important theoretical organ for Austro-Marxists was the "Marx-Studien" edited by Max Adler and Rudolf Hilferding. The term is applied today not only to Austro-Marxist theories but also to the Austro-Marxist policies of Austrian social democracy in the (e.g.) housing policy or the educational reforms in 'Red Vienna'.

3.3 Black Vienna – The conservative and radical right

The Christian Socialists did not form a modern, thoroughly organised, powerful mass party. In the individual groupings of the young Austrian Republic, they combined different characters. The CS tried to unite both clerical and monarchist restorationist tendencies with elements inclined towards socialism and the 'Anschluss' idea. The reason for the transformation into party-political plurality is probably to be found in the changed state-legal situation. Two important factors that had determined the party's attitude until the end of the war were destroyed: the liberals as powerful enemy and the conservatives as most powerful support. This vacuum now had to be filled by the Christian Social Party. It had to be a state-preserving party in the sense of the republic and at the same time preserve traditions. The party was also to represent the economy, from industry to small businesses, and agriculture, from large landowners to small farmers. It also wanted to represent the bourgeoisie and fulfil social tasks in the service of the working class. Of importance to the CS were the formally non-political Catholic

associations, which nevertheless exercised influence in the sense of strict Catholic clerical direction.[48]

In April 1919, the 'Reichspost' published a newspaper article from the mayor's office of the municipality of Krems concerning a meeting at which peasant councillors were allegedly elected in deviation from the agenda, at which apparently only 'social democrats' were present. The following quote shows both the attempted positioning of the CS and the anti-Semitic influence of Karl Lueger.

"Do not tolerate Jewish newspapers in your home, All misfortune comes from the Jews and from the Social Democrats misled by the Jews. If the salvation of German Austria does not come from the peasants, then we are lost."[49]

4 The Utopia of Red Vienna

The cultural contributions of the Jewish community are disproportionate to their share in the population of Vienna. Their participation in left-wing intellectual activities is proportionally even less, and if one speaks of politically left-wing, Jewish by origin and female, then they were even more a minority.[50]

In the period from 1920 to 1934, social democracy found itself in opposition to the conservative government in federal politics and created its political counter-model in 'Red Vienna'. The communal experiment of 'Red Vienna' attempted to transform the working class as a collective into self-confident, emancipated and educated individuals.

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[48] Paupié, *Handbuch der österreichischen Pressegeschichte*, 34f.

[49] "Duldet keine jüdischen Zeitungen in eurem Heim, Alles Unglück kommt von den Juden und von den Juden irregeführten Sozialdemokraten. Wenn die Rettung von Deutschösterreich nicht von den Bauern ausgeht, dann sind wir verloren."*Reichspost, "*Die Wahl der Bauernräte: Landwirte, auf der Hut!,", April 3, 1919, 4, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=rpt&datum=19190403&seite=4&zoom=33&query=%22Alles%2BUngl%C3%BCck%2Bkommt%2Bvon%2Bden%2BJuden%22&ref=anno-search (accessed June 15, 2021).

[50] Deak, *Weimar Germany's Left-Wing Intellectuals*, 28.

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This concept, as the concretisation of a cultural utopia of Austro-Marxism, experienced an astonishingly adequate implementation in municipal politics in interwar Vienna. The leaders of social democracy at the time were responsible for this. They saw themselves as the 'avant-garde', favoured by origin and fate, whose task was to bring the condition of all social classes to the same level.[51]

Although 'Red Vienna' is characterised by political personalities, it was mainly through and with the commune that it was able to survive. The 'brilliant achievement of the interwar social democrats' would not have been viable without the overall apparatus of associations, welfare institutions, educational centres and journalists.

"How much this world owed to the Jewish social democrats becomes clear not least from the fact that the young Zionists of that time derisively called the VSM, the Association of Socialist Middle School Students, the VS-Semites. What was meant was: a lot of (assimilated) Jews"[52]

4.1 Spreading the word – The image of the enemy and the Red Giant

With the elections to the National Assembly in 1919, political image posters became for the first time omnipresent in public spaces. The Bohemian artist Theo Matejko (1893 – 1946), already known for his film posters, was active in the 1919 elections both for the poster design of the CS and for the SDAP. For the latter he designed a poster that set the tone for Social Democratic posters and the use of enemy

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[51] Lilli Bauer et al., "Was ist das Rote Wien?," in *Das Rote Wien 1919-1934: Ideen, Debatten, Praxis*, ed. Werner M. Schwarz, Georg Spitaler and Elke Wikidal, 18–23 (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019).

[52] *"Wie viel diese Welt den jüdischen Sozialdemokraten verdankte, wird nicht zuletzt dadurch deutlich, dass die jungen Zionisten jener Zeit den VSM, den Verband Sozialistischer Mittelschüler, spöttisch die VS-Semiten nannten. Gemeint war: lauter (assimilierte) Juden."* Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi, "Sozialdemokratie ohne Juden," *DER STANDARD*, October 24, 2019, https://www.derstandard.de/story/2000110237666/sozialdemokratie-ohne-juden (accessed June 13, 2021).

images in them. The poster (Figure 1) shows the Austrian imperial crown on a heap of

dead bodies. On top of the crown sits the triad consisting of a (rom.-cath) priest, an

imperial and royal (k.u.k.) officer and a capitalist. The latter has slightly anti-Semitic

features.

Figure 1: Election advertisement for the Constituent National Assembly on 16.2.1919. Vote Social Democratic!, Theo Matejko & SDAP, 1919. ÖNB, picture archive and graphic collection.

In the weekly magazine 'Das interessante Blatt' (1882 – 1944), which was mostly

devoted to tabloid reporting, the following was written about the new political poster art

in Vienna:

„A good time for the poster artists. There is some truth to be found in the political thoughts of the images. It will be time for collectors to make a collection of the election posters, because they will disappear after the election." [53]

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[53] "Eine schöne Zeit für die Plakatkünstler. In den politischen Gedanken der Bilder ist manche Wahrheit zu finden. Es wird für Sammler hohe Zeit sein, eine Sammlung der Wahlplakate anzulegen, da sie nach der Wahl verschwinden werden";*Das interessante Blatt, "*Die Zunft im Dienste der Wahlbewegung,", February 20, 1919, 9, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=dib&datum=19190220&seite=9&zoom=33&query=%22Das%22%2B%22interessante%22%2B%22Blatt%22%2B%2220.%22%2B%22Februar%22%2B%221919%22&ref=anno-search (accessed June 15, 2021).

The year 1919 brought many innovations for Austria, which had become 'small', and the 'water head' Vienna. In February of that year, for the first time in Austria's history, women and men elected the Constituent National Assembly to parliament in a 'free and equal vote'. In May 1919, the first municipal elections were held in Vienna. These political upheavals brought a new sphere of activity for the 'commercial artist'. They were still a one-person advertising agency and were responsible for both the text and the image of the poster. However, the parties already possessed guiding principles that they wanted to convey to the population. The SDAP, for example, had the social democratic educational guiding principle 'Knowledge is power' and thus put on the political educational poster.[54]

Due to the new sphere of activity for the 'commercial artist' the job became very extensive. They were responsible for the planning, the creative implementation of the ideas, as well as for the printing and its execution. There was hardly any division of labor as we know it from todays advertising agencies. Only a few of the large studios, such as those of Joseph Binder (1898 – 1972), Hans Neumann (1888 – 1960) or Ernst Deutsch-Dryden (1887 – 1938), employed staff to whom they could have delegated individual tasks.[55]

Some of the artists could identify themselves with the ideologies of a party or at least with the political direction. Among those was the graphic artist, illustrator and caricaturist Mihály Bíró (né Weinberger, 1886 – 1948). He left his mark on interwar

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[54] Christian Maryška, ""Ho-Ruck nach Links!" oder Der Mehrwert der Bilder: Plakate, Flugblätter und Handzettel im Roten Wien," in *Das Rote Wien 1919-1934: Ideen, Debatten, Praxis*, ed. Werner M. Schwarz, Georg Spitaler and Elke Wikidal, 316–23 (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2019), 317f.
[55] Ibid., 320f.

election advertising in Austria, as his illustrations had a particularly strong narrative power. In 1932, Bíró wrote an article on the political poster as art and how the artist should behave in this context.

„The artist who draws agitational posters must have grown out of this mass with soul and body, must fully understand its desires and attitudes, and must have grown with it. These posters, which have an effect on the masses, must produce art, and at the same time they must be drawn as simply and clearly as possible and adapted to the psychology of the masses. "[56]

For the National Council elections in 1920 Bíró designed six posters[57] for the SDAP. He was one of the most influential commercial artists of 'Red Vienna', in the context of the poster campaigns of the Social Democratic Workers' Party. The poster served to publicly propagate ideas and thus the utopian vision of 'Red Vienna', of a more socially just society.

Bíró can be considered as the founder of political poster art. According to the prominent trade journal 'Gebrauchsgrafik', he designed "the most sensational and powerful political posters ever made". In 1912, Bíró designed a poster for the Hungarian Social Democratic Party's daily newspaper 'Népszava' (People's Voice). The front page featured a muscular 'Red Giant' banging a hammer against the oppression of the ruling reaction. This red man, as a symbol of workforce, became part of Biró's standard

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[56] "Der Künstler, der agitatorische Plakate zeichnet, muß aus dieser Masse herausgewachsen sein mit Seele und Leib, muß ihre Wünsche und Gesinnungen vollkommen verstehen und mit ihr verwachsen sein. Diese auf die Masse wirkenden Plakate sollen Kunst fertigbringen, dabei müssen sie so einfach und so deutlich wie möglich gezeichnet und der Psychologie der Masse angepaßt sein.";Michael Biró, "„Kunst" oder politische Plakate," *Gebrauchgrafik*, July 1932, 64-68, https://www.austrianposters.at/2019/04/27/mihaly-biro-kunst-oder-politische-plakate/ (accessed June 15, 2021).

[57] In this chapter, three of them are discussed on the basis of their significance.

repertoire and was later adapted by other graphic artists (Ex: Theodor Slama, 1890 –

1973).[58]

His family was of Jewish descent. In 1895 they magyarized their name from

Weinberger to Bíró.[59] Between 1904 and 1918 he studied at the 'Iparművészeti Iskola'

(School of Arts and Crafts) in Budapest, and during this period he also spent time in

Berlin and Munich, among other places. Bíró fled in November 1919 as socialist and

Jew from the dictatorship of Miklós Horthy (1868 – 1957) from Hungary to Vienna.[60] In

1920 he worked as an illustrator for numerous newspapers, including the 'Arbeiter

Zeitung'. In the same year, the SDAP entrusted him with the poster design for the

election campaign for the National Council elections. He designed six subjects, one of

them with reference to Christian iconography (Figure 2), which caused an uproar,

especially among the CS Party. The 'Reichspost' published an article on the subject and

commented as follows:[61]

*"How bad must the electoral prospects of the Social Democrats be if they display such
a tasteless poster as the one that misuses the figure of Christ to elect their candidates!"[62]*

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[58] Bernhard Denscher, "Der rote Riese: Zur Bildsprache in den Plakaten von Mihály Biró,",
https://www.austrianposters.at/2010/09/08/der-rote-riese-zur-bildsprache-in-den-plakaten-von-mihaly-biro/ (accessed
June 15, 2021).

[59] Kathrin Pokorny-Nagel, "Mihály Biró: Biografie," in *Mihály Biró: Pathos in Rot*, ed. Peter Noever, 10–29, MAK studies 19
(Nürnberg: Verlag für moderne Kunst, 2010), 10.

[60] Ibid., 18.

[61] Ibid., 20.

[62] "Wie schlecht muß es mit den Wahlaussichten der Sozialdemokraten stehen, wenn sie ein so geschmackloses Plakat wie
jenes, das die Gestalt Christi mißbraucht zur Wahl ihrer Kandidaten affichieren!";*Reichspost, "*Das neue sozialistische
Wahlplakat,"*, September 30, 1920, 4f, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-
content/anno?aid=rpt&datum=19200930&seite=4&zoom=33&query=%22Reichspost%22&ref=anno-search (accessed
June 15, 2021).

Figure 2: Election advertisement for the Austrian legislative election on 17.10.1920. I didn't mean Christianity to be like this, Mihály Bíró & SDAP, 1920. Institute of Military Geography.

With his design, Bíró alludes to the separation of clericalism and Christianity and thus also shows the discrepancy between these two concepts. He thus adds the figure of the peasant to the trio created by Matejko. 'Cardinal and peasant' (clergy and peasantry) symbolise the foundations of the Christian Social Party.

The hammer-wielding worker was originally not a class-struggle symbol, but a symbol of industry. The incarnation of 19th century progress optimism in the form of the god Vulcan/ Hephaestus of ancient mythology. Mihály Biró's dynamic design thus turned the familiar, generally comprehensible illustration of labour into a militant, revolutionary signal, and he did it in such an effective way that the poster became the signet of social democracy for decades. The 'Red Giant' stands as a symbol of the wholeness of the proletariat. [63]

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[63] Hildegard Kretschmer, Lexikon Der Symbole Und Attribute in Der Kunst (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2016), 31, 51, 130, 176, 375.

Bíró was one of those graphic artists who saw their moral duty in drawing attention to the grievances of the population through their artistic work. In Austria he used the 'proletarian hero' he had created again in political posters in favour of the SDAP.

Figure 3: Election advertisement for the Austrian legislative election on 17.10.1920. Against the united front of capitalism - The united front of working people, Vote Social Democratic, Mihály Bíró & SDAP, 1920. Stadt- und Landesbibliothek Wien.

In one of the posters for the 1920 election, the 'Red Giant' is depicted bare-chested and dressed in the professional attire of the blacksmith, holding a hammer ready to strike at his enemies (Figure 3). The proletarian hero, his gaze turned to the left toward his political opponents, appears oversized because of his prominent position in the

foreground. His political enemies, represented by stereotypical figures such as the clergyman, the officer, the capitalist, the landlord and the peasant, appear inferior and helpless due to their position in the background. The Austrian parliament in the background and analogously the democracy could also - so the interpretation of the opposing parties - be endangered by the physical attack of the giant. This (false) assumption encourages the political enemies to see in the policy and ideology of the Social Democratic Workers' Party an indication of the destructive intention of democratic values. The significant red coloration of the proletarian giant additionally stands out clearly against the rest of the colour values used due to its proportions.
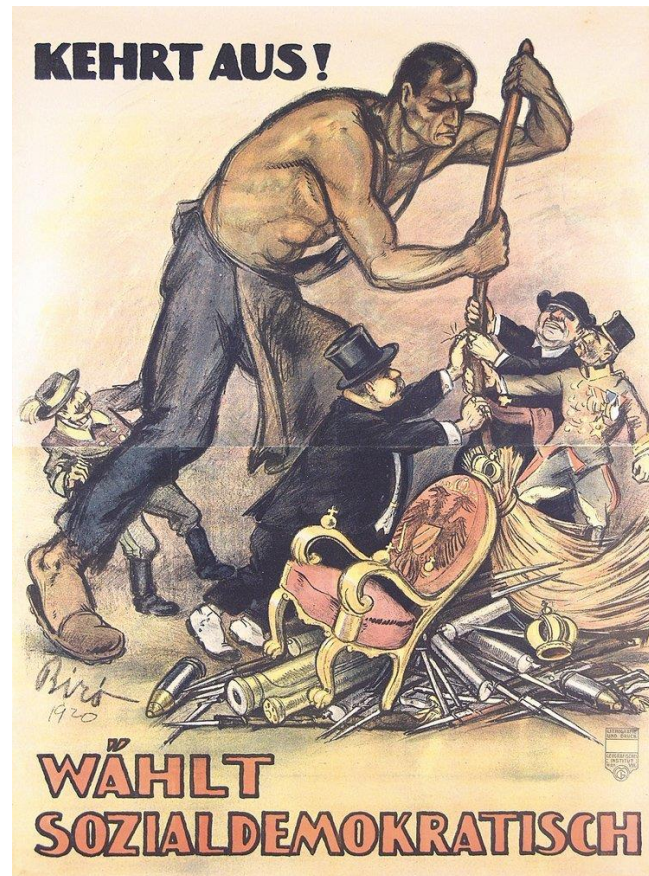
Figure 4: Election advertisement for the Austrian legislative election on 17.10.1920. Clean Sweep! - Vote Social Democratic, Mihály Bíró & SDAP, 1920. ÖNB, picture archive and graphic collection.

In the prominently titled poster 'Clean Sweep', Bíró uses a broom as means of social reorganization (Figure 4). The working-class hero, athletically idealized, once again stands against the representative of the military, church, upper middle class and landed gentry. The symbols of their power (throne, weapons and crown) are swept away by the proletarian, the symbol auf Austrian Social Democracy. On this poster, too, the "Red Giant" towers over the opponents of socialism depicted in miniature. They try in vain to prevent him from reforming by holding on to the broomstick. This makes it clear to the viewer that the working-class proletarian or social democrat cannot be distracted in his activities by his political opponents. The gesture of sweeping mutates - in political iconography - from an everyday action to a symbolic meaning in a social context. The broom becomes a cleaning instrument of political image propaganda. The activity of sweeping is supposed to free a political order that has gone off the rails from grievances.

The urbanist utopias as well as the ideology for a 'new society' of 'Red Vienna' are mostly represented by the attributes of the 'Red Giant'. Be it the hammer or the broom at the beginning of the propaganda of 'Red Vienna', as a symbol of unstoppable change or the actual and future urban design processes that find stylized echo in the posters of the artist. In his poster art, that art which has been open to the public sphere since its creation, Bíró exercises a political responsibility towards the people and their own political and socio-cultural ideals.

Figure 5: Tableau 9 of the Horty Portfolio. "Look at that jewish father of yours!", Mihály Bíró, 1920 National

Museum Budapest.

Míhaly Bíró's approach to his Jewish identity and personal political commitment is evident in the figure of the Jewish 'white-bearded old man'[64] in the 'Horty Portfolio' (1920). It contains 20 colour lithographs documenting the horrors of the 'White Terror' that befell communists and Jews under Horty's regime. The basis for these depictions of the 'White Terror' was a detailed investigative report by the English parliamentarian Josiah C. Wedgewood (1872 – 1943), as well as private reports and other official dossiers. Biró often followed these reports graphically in every detail but took the liberty of projecting the head of state several times into the series in the sense of an indictment. The figure of the old Jew is included several times by Bíró in his pictorial cycle. He is mostly mutilated by soldiers and depicted in a Christian iconographic context (Figure 5).[65]

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[64] Explicitly marked in tableau number 9 of the Horthy portfolio: "Look at that jewish father of yours!"
[65] Michael Diers, "Die Horty-Mappe von Mihály Bíró," in *Mihály Biró: Pathos in Rot*, ed. Peter Noever, 30–48, MAK studies 19 (Nürnberg: Verlag für moderne Kunst, 2010), 42.

4.2 Financing Red Vienna – Hugo Breitern's tax policy

Education policy, health and social policy, and housing policy were central to the building of a new society. These structural transformations were financed by the tax system of Hugo Breitner (1873–1946), the city's finance councillor. Breitner created the conditions for 'Red Vienna' with his state tax system introduced in 1923. The 'taxes on luxuries and special expenses'[66] and the 'taxes on land and rent'[67] were probably the most controversial of Breitner's taxes. Their focus was on taxation according to the ability to pay, with a stronger claim on the residents of expensive properties with luxurious living expenses and thus on the clientele of the Christian Social Party. In particular, the housing tax, as an 'earmarked tax', was used entirely for the construction of the municipal buildings of 'Red Vienna'.[68] The cultural scientist Lutz Musner discusses the design and planning of the housing situation in 'Red Vienna' as follows:

"Not emergency dwellings [...] but those to which the municipality can point when it is a question of how a house and a flat should look, built from the point of view of housing reform [...] not individual building sites are envisaged, but building blocks are to be built [...] no atrium may be built, the building blocks must be divided in such a way that spacious lawns open up between them, that provision is made for children's playgrounds and that each flat has sufficient and ample light, air and sun [...] there should be bathing facilities in each flat with supply and drainage [...] each flat should have its own toilet, each flat should have a hot water boiler and a hot water pipe [...] the flats [...] should consist of at least two rooms with a kitchen-living room to the extent of one room and a second room."[69]

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[66] levy on pleasure, levy on domestic staff, levy on foodstuffs and luxury foods, etc.

[67] tax on the increase in value, tax on housing construction, etc.

[68] Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919-1934*, 41–50.

[69] „[...] Nicht Notstandwohnungen [...] sondern solche, auf welche die Gemeinde hinweisen kann, wenn es sich darum handelt, wie ein Haus und eine Wohnung ausschauen sollen, die vom Standpunkte der Wohnungsreform gebaut sind [...] werden nicht einzelne Baustellen ins Auge gefaßt, sondern es sollen Baublöcke verbaut werden [...] darf kein Lichthof gebaut werden, die Baublöcke müssen so eingeteilt werden, daß sich weiträumige Rasenplätze zwischen ihnen eröffnen, daß für Kinderspielplätze Vorsorge getroffen wir und daß jede Wohnung genügend und reichlich Licht, Luft und Sonne hat [...] soll in jeder Wohnung Badegelegenheit mit Zu- und Abflußgelegenheit sein [...] Jede Wohnung soll ihr eigenes Klosett, jede Wohnung soll einen Warmwasserkocher und eine Warmwasserleitung haben [...] Die Wohnungen [...] sollen aus

Through progressive income taxes and luxury taxes (ex.: horses, cars and champagne), Breitner became the object of anti-social democratic propaganda. The social democratic tax policy under Breitner was also called 'tax Bolshevism' and 'tax sadism'. He himself was called a 'tax vampire'. Certain comparisons can here be drawn with the anti-Semitism that was already widespread in Austria.[70]

Breitner was born in a Jewish family from Ofen (Buda). They moved to Vienna before his birth.[71] After graduating from the commercial academy in 1894, he began working for the 'Central European Länderbank' in the same year. In 1901 he married his work colleague Marie Eigl, whose father worked for the editor-in-chief of the 'Neue Freie Presse' Moritz Benedikt (1849–1920). As she was from Christian and he was Mosaic faith, they opted for the civil marriage that had been possible since 1867. For this type of marriage both partners had to be without religious affiliation.[72]

In 1906 Breitner became involved in a trade union for Austrian bank officials, the 'Reichsverein der Bank- und Sparkassenbeamten Österreichs', of which he was vice-president until 1911. Despite his trade union activities, he had a distinguished career in the 'Länderbank'. In 1910 he became an authorised signatory, in 1914 a manager and in 1917 a director. [73]

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mindestens zwei Zimmern mit einer Wohnküche im Umfang eines Zimmers und einem zweiten Zimmer bestehen."Lutz Musner, *Der Geschmack von Wien: Kultur und Habitus einer Stadt,* Interdisziplinäre Stadtforschung 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2009), http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN=837575, 11f.

[70] Hautmann and Hautmann, *Die Gemeindebauten des Roten Wien 1919-1934*, 128.

[71] Wolfgang Fritz, *Der Kopf des Asiaten Breitner: Politik und Ökonomie im Roten Wien; Hugo Breitner, Leben und Werk* (Wien: Löcker, 2000), 19.

[72] Ibid., 40.

[73] Ibid., 53&74.

According to his own statements, Breiter joined the Social Democratic Party in 1911: "In 1911 I joined the Social Democratic Party without having any active political activity or knowing a leader personally until the end of the World War." [74]

In 1919, he was elected to the municipal council and subsequently to the office of councillor for finance. No other Social Democrat was attacked as fiercely as Hugo Breitner. During an election campaign speech at Heldenplatz, the Christian Social leader of the 'Heimwehr' (a right-wing para-military organization) and Austrian Minister of the Interior Ernst Rüdiger Starhemberg (1899–1956) said the following to Breitner:

"I will give the Viennese a good recipe for the election campaign: they should fight the election battle under the sign of Breitner. Only when this Asian's head rolls in the sand will victory be ours." [75]

Here the word 'Asian' was a clear allusion to Breitner's 'Jewish origin'. The Christian-social and German-national anti-Semites regarded Jews, according to their propaganda, as 'alien', 'harmful' elements coming from the Orient. Breitner was a political figure who aroused eminent emotions. As his name is highly associated with the reform efforts 'Red Vienna', he was also regarded as the financial architect of it. For some, he was the planner of a financial strategy that redistributed from the top to the bottom, levying taxes on domestic servants, fur coats and champagne in order to finance municipal housing and other social reforms. For others, he was a politician who, in the

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[74] *"Im Jahre 1911 trat ich der sozialdemoraktischen Partei bei, ohne daß ich bis zum Ende des Weltkrieges irgendeine aktive politische Tätigkeit entfaltet oder einen Führer persönlich gekannt hätt." ibid.*, 78.
[75] "Den Wienern werde ich ein gutes Rezept fuer den Wahlkampf geben: Sie sollen die Wahlschlacht im Zeichen Breitners fuehren. Nur wenn der Kopf dieses Asiaten in den Sand rollt, wird der Sieg unser sein." ibid., 13.

face of an already economically 'battered' citizenry, once again turned the tax screw in

a sustained manner and was therefore called a 'tax sadist'.[76]

In 1927 Breitner was convicted by the Reichspost for buying a villa in Lower

Austria in 1919 and using it privately.

"[...] registered in the land register on 10 April 1919 as property for Hugo Breitner. It is not evident from the land register that this house and property has been socialised since then. However, it is not located in red Vienna, but in reactionary Lower Austria." [77]

4.3 'The new human' and the education programme

The jurist, politician and social philosopher Max Adler (1873–1937) originated

from a Jewish-Austrian petty-bourgeois family. He was decisively involved in the

theorisation of Austro-Marxism, especially public education. In this regard, he published

the work 'New People'[78] in 1924.

Max Adler's educational reform efforts with his social democratic project of the

'New Human' created a variety of public institutions and private initiatives. The ideas of

psychoanalysis by Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and individual psychology by Alfred

Adler (1870–1937) served as prerequisites for these new pedagogical concepts.[79]

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[76] Ibid., 312ff.

[77] "[…] Am 10. April 1919 als Eigentum für Hugo Breitner grundbüchlich einverleibt. Es ist aus dem Grundbuch nicht ersichtlich, daß dieser Haus- und Grundbesitz seither sozialisiert worden wäre. Er liegt allerdings auch nicht im roten Wien, sondern im reaktionären Niederösterreich.";*Reichspost, "*Der Erzfeind des privaten Haus- und Grundstückbesitzes als Villenbesitzer,", January 16, 1927, 6, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=rpt&datum=19270116&seite=6&zoom=33&query=%22Hugo%2BBreitner%22&ref=anno-search (accessed June 14, 2021).

[78] Max Adler, *Neue Menschen: Gedanken über sozialistsche Erziehung* (Wittenberg: Herrosé&Ziemsen, 1924), https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/view/bsb11128587?page=1.

[79] Based on the philosophies and theories of the Young Hegelians: a.o. Friedrich Engels, Ludwig Feuerbach, Ferdinand Lassalle, Karl Marx, Max Stirner.

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Max Adler was a philosopher who tried to find a religious meaning in the materialist conception of history. Adler's special position in the context of Marxist ideologies is primarily based on his attempt to create a synthesis between Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Marxism. His basic idea here is that the causality that prevails in nature is transformed into purposefulness in consciousness. Adler believed that history moves towards socialism by necessity. A world without consciousness could be stated in words, but it could never be thought. Therefore, materialism was based on a mental illusion. For Adler, spirit and consciousness were constants and preconditions of reality that could not be ignored or circumvented.[80]

Max Adler's main interest was the relationship between socialism and individualism, whereby he devoted himself to the writings of Max Stirner and Karl Marx. These were part of the Left-Hegelian movement, with Stirner's writing 'The Ego and Its Own'[81], for example, being intensely criticised by Marx in 'The German Ideology' in the chapter 'Sankt Max'. Max Adler saw Stirner's theories as a 'psychological counterpart' to Marx. Adler was also concerned with the position of intellectuals in socialism. In 1910 he published the work 'Socialism and the Intellectuals', which was heavily criticised by Marxist theorists, but also contributed to the self-image or identification of Austro-Marxist intellectuals.[82]

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[80] Adler, *Neue Menschen*.
[81] Max Stirner, *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1845), https://archive.org/details/dereinzigeundsei00stir/page/n3/mode/2up?view=theater.
[82] Alfred Pfabigan, "Das Konzept des austromarxistischen Intellektuellen," */ Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, no. 3 (1990).

From 1923 onwards, Adler began elaborating on his educational concept, which had the education of the so-called 'new human' as its central object. The concept was based on his fundamental philosophical and scientific views, whereby he emphasised the importance of Johann Gottlieb Fichte's (1762–1814) educational thought for a socialist understanding of education. Max Adler's influence is due to his function as an educator and mentor of socialist cultural and educational policy. His message was that socialism was and wanted to be more than a mere reform movement. In Adler's 1924 published book 'New People' one sentence show the unparalleled idealistic pathos.

"Wherever the interest of the momentary improvement of living conditions has become the leading and decisive point of view for the proletarian, the spirit of socialism no longer has a place."[83]

Max Adler was not satisfied with the reform perspective of the improvement of living conditions. He envisioned, drawing on biblical imagery, the 'new human' who would be qualitatively different from the people of the past because they had a 'noble' goal in mind and assumed that the course of history was on their side. The 'new human' could therefore only be the consequence of a new social order. Without him, however, no new order could have been created. The educational pathos and the enlightened optimism of Austro-Marxism moved within this dialectic. Such hopes seemed particularly realistic in 'Red Vienna' with its welfare and housing policy.

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[83] "Überall dort nämlich, wo das Interesse der augenblicklichen Verbesserung der Lebensverhätnisse zum führenden und entscheidenden Gesichtspunkt für den Proletariar geworden ist, hat der Geist des Sozialismus keine Stätte mehr";Adler, *Neue Menschen*, 57.

"This is then socialist education: a youth which no longer has socialist thoughts and feelings merely as a political demand or at best as a moral ideal, but which can no longer think and feel in any other way than socialist." [84]

With Adler's emphasis on the ideal values in socialism, he emphatically pointed to its actual goals. These went beyond material liberation, into the elevation from spiritual atrophy into an ennoblement of human substance. The consciousness of the working class must be educated so that the cultural limitations of capitalism are experienced even more painfully than its economic misery.[85]

According to Adler, education must be based on the transmission of insights from the natural and social sciences, with social insights coinciding with those of socialism as sociology. The political class struggle should not be carried into the school, but a truly scientifically oriented education of the youth was only possible under socialism. Therefore, Adler was a defender and promoter of social democratic educational organisations such as the Parents' Association of the Children's Friends (Elternvereinigung der Kinderfreunde) in Austria. Education should be entrusted to trained socialist educators who have acquired social science and socialist attitudes. The educator occupies a special position, because the worker does not learn from life, but from books. Thus, in 1925, in connection with the Viennese school reform, the 'Pedagogical Institute of the City of Vienna'[86] was founded, which offered for the first-

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[84] "Das ist dann sozialistische Erziehung: eine Jugend, welche die sozialistischen Gedanken und Gefühlswelten nicht mehr bloß als politische Forderung oder bestenfalls als sittliches Ideal vor Augen hat, sondern die gar nicht anders mehr denken und fühlen kann als sozialistisch.";ibid., 79.

[85] Ibid., 25.

[86] In addition to Max Adler, Alfred Adler (individual psychologist), Charlotte Bühler (developmental psychologist), Karl Bühler (psychologist & linguist), Wilhelm Jerusalem (educationalist, philosopher and sociologist), Hans Kelsen (jurist, legal and political philosopher) taught there. All were of Jewish descent.

time university-based teacher training courses.[87] Education gives the oppressed class a consciousness of solidarity by uniting them under a common purpose. The oppressed class steps out of its bondage and seeks to change the social order in free action. Once a class has come to its "being-for-itself", it represents the interests of all humanity and can be truly free. Because freedom in principle sets itself only solvable tasks, the theoretical aspect of the ideal thereby becomes a practical one and thus the theoretical ideals are transformed into necessary social motivations of the proletariat. Through the self-consciousness of the working class and its solidarity, it is provided with both the strength and the means to realise those ideals.

"We must therefore educate children not for today's world of wage labour and individual interest, but for the future world of common labour and solidarity. [...] For the injustices and contradictions of the capitalist world are incomprehensible to the minds of children of all classes, including the propertied classes." [88]

4.4 Fighting for equality – The women's movement around Käthe Leichter

Besides propaganda and financing of the ideologies of 'Red Vienna', as well as the formation and cultivation of a 'new human' for future socialism. In particular, the new generation of academic women were pioneers for the further socio-cultural development in the politics of 'Red Vienna'. Especially for politically left-oriented women who were Jewish by outside definition, a well-organised network and communication through all social classes was important. Marianne Katharina Leichter (née Pick, 1895 – 1942) and

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[87] Renate Göllner, "Hauptstadt des Kindes und des Antisemitismus: Die pädagogische Reformbestrebung und der steinige Weg zum Neuen Menschen," in *Wien, Stadt der Juden: Die Welt der Tante Jolesch*, ed. Joachim Riedl, 129–46 (Wien: Zsolnay, 2004), 131.

[88] "Wir müssen also Kinder erziehen nicht für die heutige Welt der Lohnarbeit und des Individualinteresses, sondern für die künftige der Gemeinarbeit und Solidarität. […] Denn die Ungerechtigkeiten und Widersprüche der kapitalistischen Welt sind dem Kindergemüt aller Klassen, auch der besitzenden, unverständlich.";Adler, *Neue Menschen*, 77.

Elisabeth Schilder (1904 – 1983) were pioneers in this respect. The nine years older Leichter was Schilders' mentor and a pioneer in the socialist women's movement's struggle for equal rights. It was Leichter who did not accept the exclusion from studying law based on gender and who paved the way for women to follow through with her persistence, like Elisabeth Schilder. Both women were by self-definition 'assimilated'. Leichter renounced from the Jewish Religious Community in 1923, Schilder in 1928.

Käthe Leichter was at the centre of the intellectual and political development of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, the trade union, the Chamber of Labour and especially the women's movement. The results of her scientific studies were ground-breaking for many socio-political reforms of 'Red Vienna'.[89]

According to Leichter's memoirs, written during her imprisonment by the Gestapo[90] in 1938, it can be assumed that Leichter was aware of the explicitly Jewish milieu to which she belonged. Leichter tried to distinguish herself as a person from the Jewish intelligentsia and to gain a foothold in all communities. As early as 1923, Leichter elaborates on the fact that the monarchy no longer offered any further improvements for the living conditions of young Jews. She refers predominantly to a bourgeois Jewish youth movement that seized its opportunities in science and politics through the founding of the First Republic.[91]

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[89] Herbert Steiner, ed., *Käthe Leichter: Leben, Werk und Sterben einer österreichischen Sozialdemokratin*, reissued (Wien: Ibera & Molden, 1997), 7.

[90] Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)

[91] Eleonore Lappin, "Jüdische Lebenserinnerungen. Rekonstruktionen von jüdischer Kindheit und Jugend im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Wien und die jüdische Erfahrung 1900-1938: Akkulturation - Antisemitismus - Zionismus*, ed. Frank Stern and Barabara Eichinger, 17–38 (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2009), 24.

"They, the future lawyers, doctors and professors, felt with far more instinct than their fathers that they stood between the classes, that they did not really belong anywhere, that they were an alarmingly revolutionary social element for the rulers of industry and commerce, but a social element viewed with suspicion by the workers."[92]

Käthe Leichter herself came from an assimilated liberal Jewish family which had adapted to the traditions and norms of the predominantly Christian population. Her father came from a northern Bohemia industrial family which had a conservative orthodox religious background. The paternal grandfather was strictly religious and the observance of the kashruth (Jewish dietary laws) was enforced for him. In her memoirs, Käthe describes herself as "devoutly pious"[93] until the age of 15, although this can also be interpreted as rebellion against her liberal 'assimilated' parents.

In her memoirs, Leichter also frequently mentions the differences between the Jewish bourgeoisie and 'the others' with regard to her school experience. According to her own statement, she already "assimilated herself outwardly"[94] in her appearance during her school years.

"I was the only one in the class who was at home in both such different groups. I had the atmosphere of the cultural, well-off parental home of those days in common with the Jewish schoolgirls. […] here I naturally found the friends who accompanied me through my school years and through life, here I shared the intellectual development of the two groups."[95]

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[92] „Sie, die künftigen Anwälte, Ärzte und Professoren, fühlten mit weit mehr Instinkt als ihre Väter, dass sie zwischen den Klassen ständen, nirgends recht zugehörig, dass sie für die Beherrscher von Industrie und Handel ein bedenklich revolutionäres, für die Arbeiterschaft aber ein misstrauisch betrachtetes, gesellschaftliches Element waren.";Käthe Leichter, "Lebenserinnerungen," in *Käthe Leichter: Leben, Werk und Sterben einer österreichischen Sozialdemokratin*, ed. Herbert Steiner, reissued, 229–381 (Wien: Ibera & Molden, 1997), 331.

[93] Ibid., 240.

[94] Ibid., 308.

[95] "Als einzige aus der Klasse war ich in beiden so verschieden gearteten Gruppen zu Hause. Mit den jüdischen Schülerinnen hatte ich die Atmosphäre des kulturellen, wohlsituierten Elternhauses von damals gemeinsam. […] hier fand ich ganz natürlich die Freundinnen, die mich durch die Schulzeit und durchs Leben begleiteten, hier die gemeinsame intellektuelle Entwicklung.";ibid.

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Whereas outwardly she felt closer to the non-Jewish pupils, both in the High German language and in the simpler style of dress. She emphasizes the childlikeness that the gentile girls were able to retain longer, then the Jewish ones. She benefited in her personal growth from both worlds.

In 1923 Leichter left the Jewish community and defined herself officially 'non-denominational'.[96] She considered herself first and foremost socialist. Through her communicative competence and her empathy for diverse cultural and social classes, she succeeded in building up an impressive 'women's network' and motivated cooperation within this network.

In 1914 she began her studies in political science in Vienna. In 1917 she became a member of the Social Democratic Workers' Party and in 1918 she passed her doctorate examination with distinction under the supervision of Max Weber (1864 – 1920). During her studies she was already in contact with Austrian social democratic intellectuals such as Julius Ofner (1845 – 1924) and Carl Grünberg (1861 – 1940). The latter brought her into contact with the theories of Karl Marx. After graduating, she got a job as a research assistant to Otto Bauer in the Foreign Ministry. In 1925 the Vienna Chamber of Labour decided to create a department for women's work. After controversial discussions she was appointed head of the department. She wrote studies, essays and books on women's issues, especially concerning the working conditions. The results of her scientific studies are ground-breaking for many socio-political reforms

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[96] Eleonore Lappin, "Käthe Leichter: The Making of a Jewish Intellectual, Socialist, and Fighter for the Rights of Working Women," in *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe 1860-2000: Twelve Biographical Essays*, ed. Judith Szapor et al., 227–60 (New York: Lewiston, 2012).

in 'Red Vienna'. She is the first woman to be elected to the works council of the Chamber of Labour.[97]

The Social Democratic Party included many people who originally belonged to the Mosaic faith.[98] Most of them did not consider themselves as Jewish but were socialized in this environment. Leichter also left the religious Jewish community in 1923. Thus, she was officially 'non-denominational', but Jewish by descent according to the 'Nuremberg Racial Law', which came into force in 1935 and applied in Austria after the 'Anschluss' in March 1938. The Leichter family already found themselves in danger after the February 1934 struggles and the Social Democratic Party, which had been banned by the Dollfuß II dictatorship government. They lived in exile in Switzerland for a short time and then returned to Vienna. According to the accounts of Erna Sailer (1908 – 2004), Leichter delayed emigration in 1938 because of her experiences in 1934. She underestimated the increasing anti-Semitism and her role as a Social Democrat and, according to the National Socialist laws, a Jew.[99]

Käthe Leichter was arrested by the Gestapo at the end of May 1938. In a 'pseudo' trial in 1939 she was sentenced to several months in prison. Even before this sentence was completed, Leichter was transferred to the Ravensbrück concentration camp in

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[97] Gabriella Hauch, Karl Fallend and Elisabeth Schilder, *"Aus der Sintflut einige Tauben": Zu Leben und Werk von Elisabeth Schilder,* Schriftenreihe zur Geschichte der Sozialarbeit und Sozialarbeitsforschung Vol. 12 (Wien: Löcker, 2020), 25ff.

[98] For example: Otto Leichter, Otto Bauer, Friedrich Adler, Oscar Pollak, Fritz Brügel, Bruno Kreisky, Marie Jahoda, Therese Schlesinger, Marianne Pollak, Elisabeth Schilder, Marianne Beth, Alina Furtmüller, Helene Bauer, etc.

[99] Heinrich Berger, Gerhard Botz and Edith Saurer, eds., *Otto Leichter. Briefe ohne Antwort: Aufzeichnungen aus dem Pariser Exil für Käthe Leichter 1938-1939* (Wien, Köln, Weimar: Böhlau, 2003), https://library.oapen.org/viewer/web/viewer.html?file=/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/34363/437216.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y, 19.

January 1940, where she was interned in the 'Judenblock'. In 1942 she was murdered

in the Nazi killing centre Bernburg as part of the first part of 'Aktion 14f13'.[100]

Elisabeth Schilder (1904 – 1983) was one of the women whom Käthe Leichter

had paved the way for in academic studies and who survived the Second World War.

Schilder supported the statistical surveys carried out under Leichter's leadership in the

women's department of the Vienna Chamber of Labour concerning the working and

living conditions of women. She also collaborated on the handbook on 'Women's Work

in Austria' (1930) published by Leichter for the Chamber of Labour.[101]

Schilder came from a Jewish-assimilated, middle-class family in Vienna. Her

parents were social democrats. Her father had become a member of the Social

Democratic Workers' Party at a young age. Her mother came from a conservative family

but was committed to women's rights in the social democratic sense. She therefore

recounted her political development as a logical consequence of her socialisation.

Schilder earned two doctorates, graduated from a welfare school and became involved

politically and in psychoanalytical social work based on the teachings of August Aichhorn

(1878 – 1949). She was a young socialist in the 1920s, a left socialist in the 1930s and

emigrant and returnee in the 1940s.[102] In an interview in 1979, she states that her Jewish

origins played no role for her. "I come from a completely assimilated home"[103]

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[100] Jonny Moser, "Ein Bericht über Käthe Leichters Schicksal und Leben im KZ Ravensbrück aus dem Jahre 1940," in *Jahrbuch 2007: Schwerpunkt Namentliche Erfassung von NS-Opfern*, ed. Dokumentationsarchiv des österreichischen Widerstandes, 84–94 (Wien: Literatur Verlag, 2007), https://www.doew.at/cms/download/bfdte/moser_jb_2007.pdf.
[101] Hauch, Fallend and Schilder, *"Aus der Sintflut einige Tauben"* 31.
[102] Ibid., 11.
[103] "Ich stamme aus einem völlig assimilierten Elternhaus.";ibid., 17.

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Elisabeth Schilder thus follows in the tradition of the social democratic intellectuals of 'Red Vienna'. In the context of the interview, however, it must be considered that Elisabeth Schilder also experienced anti-Semitism in the Social Democratic ranks and the Holocaust itself. This sentence basically only describes her parental upbringing and not her contemporary sense of belonging. Regarding anti-Semitism in the Social Democratic Party, she said:

"Anti-Semitism in social democracy [...], maybe it was, but I didn't feel persecuted." [104]

In 1922 Schilder began studying law and political science at the University of Vienna. Leichter had not been able to enrol for this course of study years earlier and filed consequently a complaint with the Constitutional Court to change that.[105]

Until the winter semester of 1928, she noted 'Mosaic' under the heading 'Religion, Rite or Denomination' on her enrolment forms. Shortly afterwards she resigned from the Jewish Religious Community and from then on defined herself as 'non-denominational'. Schilder has been concerned with questions of gender justice all her life.[106] Although the National Socialist construction of her as a 'Jew' unintentionally changed her life, by her own account she did not deal with her being Jewish or assimilated until the end of her life in the context of Bruno Kreisky's (1911-1990) 'Jew complex'. [107]

Throughout the First Republic, the climate at Viennese universities was characterised by the dominance of German nationalist and German Catholic

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[104] "Der Antisemitismus in der Sozialdemokratie […], vielleicht war er, aber ich habe mich nicht verfolgt gefühlt.";ibid.
[105] Ibid., 25.
[106] Ibid., 17.
[107] Ibid., 18.

associations and corporations, whose common ideological denominator was anti-Semitism and the demand for a numerus clausus for Jewish students or their expulsion from the university.[108]

There was some sort of decline in anti-Semitic riots at the University of Vienna from 1924 to around 1926. Nevertheless, violent attacks on Jewish and left-wing students occurred with increasing frequency and severity at the University of Vienna from 1920 onwards.

At the end of May 1925, the murder of a Social Democratic councilor in Mödling by members of right-wing extremist military associations triggered riots at the Viennese universities. The riots lasted several days and the Christian socialist 'Reichspost' and the social democratic 'Arbeiter Zeitung' reported extensively on them. The object of hatred of the German nationalist and Christian social milieu was especially Jewish students. Thus, the Christian-social 'Reichspost' made its misogynist-racist attitude clear.[109]

"Hatless, curly-haired students of non-Aryan type and racially identical female university students with bob heads wear communist and social democratic party badges. These students were joined by many young people, among them Plattenbrüdergestalten, unemployed people and older workers."[110]

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[108] Helge Zoitl, *"Student kommt von Studieren!": Zur Geschichte der sozialdemokratischen Studentenbewegung in Wien*, Materialien zur Arbeiterbewegung 62 (Wien: Europaverlag, 1992), 283ff.

[109] Klaus Taschwer, "Nachrichten von der antisemitischen Kampfzone: Die Universität Wien im Spiegel und unter dem Einfluss der Tageszeitungen, 1920-1933," in *Reichweiten und Außensichten: Die Universität Wien als Schnittstelle wissenschaftlicher Entwicklungen und gesellschaftlicher Umbrüche*, ed. Margarete Grandner and Thomas König, 99–126, 650 Jahre Universität Wien - Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert 3 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2015), 111.

[110] *"Hutlose, kraushaarige Studenten von nichtarischem Typus und rassegleiche Hochschülerinnen mit Bubiköpfen tragen kommunistische und sozialdemokratische Parteiabzeichen. Diesen Studenten gesellten sich als überaus stattliche Verstärkung viele Jugendliche, darunter ausgesprochene Plattenbrüdergestalten, Arbeitslose und auch ältere Arbeiter zu."Reichspost, "*Neuerliche Krawalle vor der Universität: Die kommunistische Hetzte geht weiter. - Zusammenstöße mit der Wache. - Kommunistische Bekenntnis,*" May 30, 1925, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-

In addition to the anti-Semitic attacks by right-wing groups, it remained difficult for women in general to position themselves in the university milieu. Although women had been admitted to almost all fields of study since the founding of the republic, they found it difficult to gain access in everyday mentality. Politically left-wing women of Jewish origin were a minority at the university.[111]

4.5 'The new human' in a new infrastructure – Settlers' Association against

Liberalism and the Christian Social era bequeathed the First Republic a metropolitan infrastructure designed for four million inhabitants. The major projects of the 'Gründerzeit' such as the 'Ringstraße', the extension of the 'Gürtel', the regulation of the Danube, the High-well water pipeline and the Central Cemetery were followed before and after the turn of the century by the municipalisation of gas, electricity and tramways, the 'Stadtbahn'. Six large hospitals, over sixty schools, numerous district offices and bathing establishments were built. Shortly before 1914, the forest and meadow belt were decided upon. Only housing was left to private speculation in the 19th century. What followed was a radical exploitation of the lowest strata of the population. [112]

Until after the end of the First World War, housing was inadequate both in terms of sanitation and in terms of living space per person. Around 22% of the workers had to accommodate lodgers or so-called 'Bettgeher'[113] in order to pay their rent.[114]

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content/anno?aid=rpt&datum=19250530&seite=4&zoom=33&query=%22Hutlose%2C%2Bkraushaarige%2BStudenten%22 &ref=anno-search (accessed June 13, 2021).

[111] Hauch, Fallend and Schilder, *"Aus der Sintflut einige Tauben"* 23.

[112] Helmut Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien: Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919 - 1934*, 3rd ed., Edition Spuren (Wien: Promedia, 2019), 16f.

[113] This means persons who, for a fee, used a bed in another person's rented accommodation only for a few hours' sleep and otherwise had no accommodation.

[114] Weihsmann, *Das Rote Wien*, 19f.

There was no housing policy until 1914. The subsequent war years led to an increasing impoverishment of the proletariat, who were already living in misery. A large part of the men fought at the front, which meant that the family income, due to the 'traditionally' low wages of women, could no longer cover basic needs. In addition, there was a drastic reduction in wages, while rents remained the same. The decreasing rate of housing construction led to an increasing housing shortage, which in turn led to an increase in rents due to the rising demand caused by the population increase. Terminations and housing changes increased drastically.[115]

In December 1916, and thus in the middle of the First World War, a tenant protection ordinance came into force in Budapest, which Vienna followed. This ordinance was intended to prevent terminations and rent increases, with 'personal need, non-payment of rent and violations of house rules' as exceptions. In Vienna the ordinance came into force on February 1st 1917, although the rent offices responsible for it only became active by the end the month. This led to an illegal 'ten thousand-fold increase' during this period. However, a rent increase for families of soldiers and other war service personnel was prohibited if it endangered the family's livelihood. The discrepancy between law and practice remained large. Tenant protection was not a purely Austrian phenomenon; it was introduced in practically all warring countries. However, Austria was one of the few countries in which it was retained after the end of

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[115] Wolfgang Hösl and Gottfried Pirhofer, *Wohnen in Wien 1848 - 1938: Studien zur Konstitution des Massenwohnens,* Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 19 (Wien: Deuticke, 1988), 91.

the war and anchored as a federal law in 1922. Social democratic housing policies meant that rent was now only two to seven percent of the income.[116]

Josef Frank (1885–1967) was one of the few Jewish representatives of the architectural avant-garde. He belonged to the younger generation of architects, but tended towards the settlement movement, or the garden city movement initiated by Ebenezer Howard (1850–1928) in 1898. These ideas are later also found in the architecture of the kibbutz movement and in the Zionist construction of Palestine. Above all, however, the settlement movement was a model of planned urban development as a reaction to the poor housing and living conditions as well as the rising land prices in the growing big cities.[117]

Frank objected to the term 'Volkswohnpalast' for the communal housing or superblocks. He saw in the term an emulation of the bourgeoisie and regretted the inability of social democracy to find its own architectural language. If in the buildings of the 'Ringstrasse' the bourgeoisie imitated the aristocracy, then this mistake should not be repeated on the level of a 'Ringstrasse of the proletariat'. Frank also interfered in the 'vestibule discussion' in the Vienna municipal building. He was of the opinion that the economical floor plans of the municipal housing should not be divided into anteroom, kitchen and living room according to the model of bourgeois forms of living, but that the eat-in kitchen would better suit the workers' way of life. Josef Frank's aesthetic pluralism, in which he advocated the theoretical approach that modern architecture could only be

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[116] Erich Bramhas, *Der Wiener Gemeindebau: Vom Karl Marx-Hof zum Hundertwasserhaus,* Architektur im Zusammenhang (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1987), 16.

[117] Gertrud Pott, *Verkannte Grösse: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Ersten Republik 1918 - 1938* (Wien: Kremayr und Scheriau, 1990), 54.

guaranteed by applying the existing wealth of experience, is still relevant today. Everything that has been tried and tested should be allowed. He thus stood in opposition to the rules of functionalism or the International Style. [118]

At the end of the 'Werkbundsiedlung' exhibition, Otto Neurath (1882-1945) published an article in the 'Arbeiter Zeitung'.

"The Werkbundsiedlung shows the whole problem of the modern micro-apartment. It shows them, but only solves them in a few cases. But it is precisely from this that inspiration can come. For this is still needed in abundance if the landscape-oriented single-family house is to emerge in perfect form for our zone."[119]

4.6 Coffeehouse and cabaret - Where East meets West

Kurt Tucholsky wrote a meaningful sentence in his text 'What to be proud of in Europe' (1932), which described the situation of Jewish identity determination. "I am proud to be a Jews, Were I not proud, I would still be a Jew – then I might as well be proud!"[120]

Literature, art and politics mingled in the coffee houses and the cabarets that sprang from them. They were the places where, in principle, every political, confessional and national sentiment could meet and mix.

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[118] Friedrich Achleitner, "Siedlungshaus und Wohnbauplast: Josef Frank und der Wiener Gemeindebau," in *Wien, Stadt der Juden: Die Welt der Tante Jolesch*, ed. Joachim Riedl, 97–116 (Wien: Zsolnay, 2004), 100.

[119] "Die Werkbundsiedlung zeigt die ganze Problematik der modernen Kleinstwohnung auf. Zeigt sie auf, löst sie aber nur in einigen wenigen Fällen. Gerade daraus aber kann Anregung kommen. Denn dieser bedarf es noch in reichem Maße, wenn das landschaftsnahe Einfamilienhaus für unsere Zone in vollendeter Form entstehen soll.";Otto Neurath, "Ein Schlußwort zur Werkbunsiedlung," *Arbeiter Zeitung*, August 6, 1932, 6, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=aze&datum=19320806&seite=6&zoom=33&query=%22Werkbundsiedlung%22&ref=anno-search (accessed June 16, 2021).

[120] "Ich bin stolz darauf, Jude zu sein. Wenn ich nicht stolz bin, bin ich auch Jude – da bin ich schon lieber gleich stolz!";Kurt Tucholsky and Kaspar Hauser, "Worauf man in Europa stolz ist," *Die Weltbühne*, November 8, 1932, 687.

„But the best academy for everything new remained the coffee house. To understand this, one must know the special significance of this unique Viennese institution. It is actually a type of democratic club open to everyone for the reasonable price of a cup of coffee, where each guest can sit with his cup for hours discussing, writing, playing cards, receiving mail and foremost, perusing newspapers and periodicals."[121]

The writer Stefan Zweig (1881 – 1942) describes in this quote from his posthumously published autobiographical book 'The World of Yesterday' (1942) the importance that the Viennese coffee house had to him before the Second World War. He was part of the literary and artistic movement known as 'Young Vienna' (Jung Wien). The literary circle formed at the end of the 19th century around the writer Hermann Bahr (1863 – 1934) and was known to meet regularly in the coffeehouses of Vienna. The writers' circle had a decisive influence on the literary aesthetics of Viennese modernism. Especially by embracing the contemporary drifts of Literary Impressionism, Symbolism and Aestheticism of the time. After the First World War, several 'Stammtische' formed around various intellectual personalities. However, the various artistic circles also intersected and no longer had a specific name.[122]

The anecdotes about those so called 'Kaffeehausliteraten' (bohemian writers) or simply 'Stammpublikum' (regulars), who were mostly of Jewish origin, shaped and still shape the idea and myth of the 'classic' Viennese coffeehouse culture and its intellectual character. The Viennese coffeehouses of 'Red Vienna', with their complex web of

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[121] "Aber unsere beste Bildungsstätte für alles Neue blieb das Kaffeehaus. Um dies zu verstehen, muß man wissen, daß das Wiener Kaffeehaus eine Institution besonderer Art darstellt, die mit keiner ähnlichen der Welt zu vergleichen ist. Es ist eigentlich eine Art demokratischer, jedem für eine billige Schale Kaffee zugänglicher Klub, wo jeder Gast für diesen kleinen Obolus stundenlang sitzen, diskutieren, schreiben, Karten spielen, seine Post empfangen und vor allem eine unbegrenzte Zahl von Zeitungen und Zeitschriften konsumieren kann.";Stefan Zweig, "Die Welt von Gestern: Erinnerungen eines Europäers,", http://www.literaturdownload.at/pdf/Stefan%20Zweig%20-%20Die%20Welt%20von%20gestern.pdf (accessed June 14, 2021), 23.

[122] Edward Timms, *Dynamik der Kreise, Resonanz der Räume: Die schöpferischen Impulse der Wiener Moderne,* Enzyklopädie des Wiener Wissens 17 (Weitra: Verl. Bibliothek der Provinz Ed. Seidengasse, 2013).

interaction, offered a free-spirited habitat, a sense of belonging, and a space for identification. And as Stefan Zweig wrote, coffeehouses were places of encounters which were "[...], open to everyone for the reasonable price of a cup of coffee [...]".

The problem with the Viennese coffeehouse and the assumption that there is something Jewish about it begins with the fact that there is not just one type of Viennese coffeehouse. The three most representative types of coffeehouses in Vienna are: The luxury café or 'Ringstrassencafé', the café around the corner and the literary café. All three types attracted different social circles; depending on their professional group and interior design preferences, the Viennese met in the coffeehouse of their choice.

The luxury café was built during the construction of the 'Ringstrasse' and like everything else that was built there between 1860 and about 1890, it served the purpose of self-representation. The buildings in the style of historicism are an attempt of the Habsburg Monarchy to demonstrate a long-gone power and for the minority elite of the financially strong Jewish population as part of the emerging bourgeoisie. It was an attempt to establish themselves in the new dynamics of the residential city. For representative reasons and as a manifestation of belonging to the upper bourgeoisie, people from this Jewish social class frequented the 'Ringstrassencafé' in a representative manner.

The 'Café ums Eck' (café around the corner) can by definition not be given the title 'Wiener Kaffeehaus' but it is a café in Vienna. The 'café around the corner' served a pragmatic purpose as a local supply point. A place to warm up, take a short break, or just the so-called 'extended living room'. The latter served the purpose of escaping the

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small communal flats of 'Red Vienna'. As the name suggests, it is the closest coffee house and fulfils the subjective wishes of each individual customer. Not necessarily by its commercial offer, but simply by its existence. It was simply the next retreat, there were neither social hierarchies nor intellectual pretensions.

The 'Literatencafé' were less luxurious then the 'Ringstrassencafés', but thanks to mentions in literature and travelogues more famous. For example, the writer and journalist Ludwig Hirschfeld (1882 – 1942/1945) wrote a travel guide in 1927 that described Vienna in a more intimate light than the usual Baedecker travel guide did. Reading the following quote, one can conclude that in 1927 everything that was 'interesting, original and innovative' was considered as 'Jewish'. If the growing antisemitism had not connoted 'Jewish' negatively, Vienna would have gained a lot in cultural capital.

"...this question is asked here by everyone, without distinction of denomination, by Hakenkreuzlern as well as by Jews: 'Is he a Jew?' All other questions come afterwards... It may be because so many interesting and original minds are Jews... Therefore, I give you the good advice: Don't be too interesting and original during your stay in Vienna, otherwise you will suddenly be called a Jew behind your back..."[123]

'Literatencafés' were coffeehouses that, in addition to the usual newspapers, also provided reference books (Meyers Konversationslexikon) for their guests. And besides the name-giving writers, the buyers of literary creations also gathered there. Publishers and editors had the opportunity to buy the author's texts directly from them. Thus, the

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[123] „…Diese Frage wird hier von allen, ohne Unterschied der Konfession, gestellt, von Hakenkreuzlern wie von Juden: ‚Ist er ein Jud?' Alle andern Fragen kommen nachher… Es mag daran liegen, dass so viele interessante und originelle Köpfe Juden sind… Deshalb gebe ich Ihnen den guten Rat: Seien Sie während Ihres Wiener Aufenthaltes nicht zu interessant und originell, sonst sind Sie hinter Ihrem Rücken plötzlich ein Jud…"Ludwig Hirschfeld et al., *Wien* (Wien: MILENA, 2020), 56f.

'Literatencafé', like all other coffeehouses, was a place for commercial exchange, for business. The fact that Viennese coffeehouses such as Café Griensteidl, Café Herrenhof and Café Central, of all places, became so well-known is because the writers of 'Jung Wien' or 'Wiener Moderne' captured the coffeehouse and their personal experiences and feelings there in their works, and these achieved great fame.

In 1897 the Café Griensteidl, one of the popular literary cafés of the German-speaking acculturated 'Jewish' writers of Viennese modernism, closed. Karl Kraus (1847 – 1936) took this as an opportunity to write the essay 'Demolished Literature'. In a sweeping attack, he attacked the entire literary scene in Vienna.

"Above the many coffee meetings held for the purpose of a final formulation of the term 'artist-man', many a one of these writers did not come to production. Until a definition was agreed upon, no one dared to work, and some had long since made a name for themselves as regulars before they got around to spoiling it with their works. Griensteidl is now the rallying point of people who want to fragment their skills, and one should not be surprised at this barrenness of talent, which sits so close together at a coffee house table that they prevent each other from developing." [124]

Anton Kuh (1890 – 1941) was particularly critical of the developments of the interwar period. One of his regular cafés, which was open day and night, was the Café de L'Europe (1874), which was closed in 1927. In the course of this, he published an article in the 'Prager Tagblatt' criticizing the former residential city of Vienna, also referring to its increasingly xenophobic and antisemitic character.

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[124] "Über den vielen Kaffeehaussitzungen, die zum Zweck einer endgültigen Formulierung des Begriffes »Künstlermensch« abgehalten wurden, sind so manche dieser Schriftsteller nicht zur Production gekommen. Bevor man sich nicht über eine Definition geeinigt hatte, wollte sich keiner an die Arbeit trauen, und manche hatten sich längst als Stammgäste einen Namen gemacht, bevor sie dazu kamen, sich ihn durch ihre Werke zu verscherzen. Griensteidl ist nun einmal der Sammelpunkt von Leuten, die ihre Fähigkeiten zersplittern wollen, und man darf sich über diese Unfruchtbarkeit von Talenten nicht wundern, welche so dicht an einem Kaffeehaustisch beisammen sitzen, dass sie einander gegenseitig an der Entfaltung hindern.";ibid.

"The Café de l'Europe has now been closed. Stefansplatz is once again becoming purely Christian [...] and chastely Bajuvarian - the landmark for Paris and the Balkans is disappearing. Is this not a sign of the future for Vienna, the German-Austrian shrunken ex-capital of a multi-ethnic state united in coffee houses? Is it not symbolic of its regression into a crumbling, bourgeois, labourer-solid small town? The German Vienna, cleansed of Slavic and Magyar components, swings with a bold jerk to the heights of Linz."[125]

Whether the pre-1938 Viennese coffeehouse is a 'Jewish Space' depends on how it is defined. The majority of the members of the 'Wiener Moderne' or 'Jung Wien' were of Jewish descent. This does not mean, however, that they defined themselves as Jewish, but they were considered Jewish by the outside world. What made the Viennese Coffeehouse Culture Jewish is not self-defined but an attribution given to it by outsiders.

In 1922, the writer and literary critic Franz Blei (1971 – 1942) published a text in which he described authors he knew as animals in alphabetical order. In the preface to the first edition of 'The Great Bestiary of Modern Literature', he explains his intention charmingly and slightly mockingly.

"I believe I can say that none of any importance or notoriety has escaped me, and that I have them fairly together in this cage of my bestiary, or animal park, as I prefer to say, for, in view of the extraordinary incompatibility of these animals, I would only dare to confine all these beasts in a single cage if I were interested in their mutual extermination, by which, however, I would presume to fall into God's creative hand, which is quite beyond me."[126]

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[125] "Das Café de l'Europe ist jetzt zugesperrt worden. Der Stefansplatz wird wieder rein-christlich […] und keusch-bajuvarisch – das Wahrzeichen für Paris und Balkan verschwindet. Ist das nicht zukunftsdeutend für Wien, die deutsch-österreichisch eingeschrumpfte Ex-Hauptstadt eines in Kaffeehäusern vereinten Vielvölkerstaats? Ist es nicht symbolisch für seine Rückentwicklung in eine knödelige-biedere, werktätig-solide Kleinstadt? Das deutsche, von slawisch und magyarischen Bestandteilen gesäuberte Wien schwingt sich mit kühnem Ruck auf die Höhe von Linz.";Anton Kuh, "Café de L'Europe," *Prager Tagblatt*, 21.121918, 2.

[126] "Ich glaube sagen zu können, daß mir keines von einiger Wichtigkeit oder Notorität entgangen ist und daß ich sie ziemlich beieinander habe in diesem Käfig meines Bestiariums oder Tierparke, wie ich besser sage, denn in einen einzigen Käfig alle diese Bestiae zu sperren, würde ich bei der außerordentlichen Unverträglichkeit derer Tiere nur dann wagen, wenn mir an ihrer wechselseitigen Ausrottung gelegen wäre, womit ich aber Gott in Seine schaffende Hand zu fallen mir anmaßte, was mir ganz fern.";Franz Blei, *Das große Bestiarium der modernen Literatur: Ein zoologischer Rundgang durch die Welt des Homo scribens* (Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1922), https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/bleifran/bestiar1/bestiar1.html.

Jewish population was without question an active part of the Viennese culture. However, it must also be noted that they were not a uniform mass. There were different social classes, as well as religious characteristics, and different educational backgrounds. In Vienna, not only 'Jews' and 'Gentils' mingled, but also new social currents, a diversity of political views and, for example, newly emerging national identities. In his text, Blei manages to charmingly caricature his contemporaries and thus offers us, albeit with a wink, the opportunity to discover a personal side and the many facets of the literati.

"Bähr Hofmann only looks the part. In reality, he is a Jewish shepherd boy of the old covenant who blows the shawm in the corridors of Zion, with the second Viennese district, Leopoldstadt, listening to him with rapt attention".[127]

Many coffeehouse writers can indeed be described as Jewish, but not directly in the time of 'Red Vienna'. The exile literature shapes our current understanding of well-known Viennese writers of that time, and the horror of the Holocaust made many of them reflect on their own identity.

Sigmund Freud spent a lot of time in the 'Ringstrassencafé' Landtmann, he defined himself as an atheist. His last book 'Moses and Monotheism' (1939) was published in exile in London shortly before his death.

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[127] "Der Bähr Hofmann sieht bloß so aus. Wirklich ist er ein jüdischer Hirtenknabe des alten Bundes, der auf den Fluren von Zion die Schalmei bläst, wobei ihm der zweite Wiener Stadtbezirk, die Leopoldstadt, entzückt zuhört.";ibid.

"To deny a nation the man it praises as the greatest of its sons is not something one will undertake gladly or lightly, especially if one belongs to that nation oneself. But one will not be moved by any example to set aside the truth in favour of supposed national interests, and one may indeed expect a gain for our insight from the clarification of a fact."[128]

Expelled from his home in Vienna, Freud asked himself in the evening of his life the question 'Being Jewish, what is that?' and how can the ethnicity of the Jews be determined if the Jews are not recognised as God's chosen people and do not define themselves as a racial community.

Less profound, but no less important, explorations of Jewish identity and belonging also take place in the cabaret. Cabarets developed out of the coffeehouse. In the beginning they were simple stages in the coffeehouses, but with increasing popularity the cabarets became independent places. „Jewish piety and Jewish wit dwell in the same organ, in the Jewish heart; and there is no way to get there from foreign brains or foreign hearts."[129]

The historian and philosopher Franz Rosenzweig (1886 – 1929), who devoted himself to the search for a community-forming element for Jewish life in the modern age, sums up the core of the Jewish joke as a phenomenon. The Jewish 'wit' is here understood to be those that arise from the community and works best when told by a Jew himself.

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[128] „Einem Volkstum den Mann abzusprechen, den es als den größten unter seinen Söhnen rühmt, ist nichts, was man gern oder leichthin unternehmen wird, zumal wenn man selbst diesem Volke angehört. Aber man wird sich durch kein Beispiel bewegen lassen, die Wahrheit zugunsten vermeintlicher nationaler Interessen zurückzusetzen, und man darf ja auch von der Klärung eines Sachverhalts einen Gewinn für unsere Einsicht erwarten."Sigmund Freud, "Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion,", https://www.projekt-gutenberg.org/freud/moses/moses.html (accessed June 15, 2021).

[129] „Jüdische Frömmigkeit und jüdischer Witz wohnen im gleichen Organ, im jüdischen Herz; und dahin führt kein Weg aus fremden Hirnen oder fremden Herzen."Franz Rosenzweig, *Briefe und Tagebücher,* Franz Rosenzweig Gesammelte Schriften 1 (Dordrecht: Springer, 1979), 501.

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Jewish 'Wit' refers to the ambiguity of the term 'wit'. On the one hand, 'wit' can be understood as a joke and, on the other hand, 'wit' as a synonym for 'cleverness'. This is also mentioned, for example, by Gerhard Bronner (1922–2007) in the preface to the book 'David's Joke Slinger. Jewish Political Cabaret' (1982) by the cabaret artist and author Oscar Teller (1902–1985). He explains the popularity of Jewish humour by saying that before emancipation Jews had nothing left but their 'wit'. In order not to cause envy among his fellow human beings through his cleverness, the only possibility left to the Jew was to package his knowledge in humour to make people listen.[130]

Scientifically, the phenomenon of humour is hardly definable. Jokes and humour are very individual and not only differ from person to person, but also depend on the collective subconscious of socio-cultural communities. The basis for understanding jokes or humour lies in linguistic codes that only communities belonging to the same reality construction understand. If one considers humour as a form of appearance, then 'Jewish wit' as well as the 'Viennese Schmäh' can be defined as ethical forms of humour.

Vienna at the turn of the century and the interwar period is repeatedly described as the culmination of a German-Jewish cultural identity. In his book 'Aunt Jolesch or The Decline of the Occident in Anecdotes', published in 1975, Friedrich Torberg (né Friedrich Ephraim Kantor-Berg, 1908 – 1979) also describes an era of 'oddballs and originals' that was irretrievably lost with National Socialism. With this book, he recalled the flair of the

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[130] Oscar Teller, ed., *Davids Witz-Schleuder: Jüdisch-Politisches Cabaret; 50 Jahre Kleinkunstbühnen in Wien, Berlin, London, New York, Warschau und Tel Aviv*, 2nd ed., Judaica Vol. 14 (Darmstadt: Darmstädter Blätter, 1985), 12f.

Danube monarchy, the successor states and, in excerpts, the emigration from 1938 and the cultural personalities of a time he largely experienced himself.[131]

Friedrich Torberg was one of the last representatives of the classical Viennese coffeehouse culture and one of the few who returned to Vienna from American exile in 1951. He contributed significantly to the 'transfiguration' of the 'epoch' of the coffee houses and cabarets of the interwar period. In Austria, he advanced to become an important public figure and devoted himself to the cultural mediation of pre-war Vienna, especially Jewish culture. [132]

Starting in Paris, the literary cabaret brought a new kind of entertainment culture to Central Europe that made it possible to present artistic works to an audience in an uncomplicated way. Originally, the small stages that already existed in coffeehouses were used for this purpose. In 1901, Felix Salten (né Siegmund Salzmann, 1869 – 1945) implemented the concept of the cabaret stage in the 'Theater an der Wien' in Vienna. The 'Jung-Wiener Theater zum lieben Augustin' had its premiere on November 16th 1901, which received a scathing review in the newspaper 'Neue Freie Presse' on November 24th.[133] Until 1906 it remained the only attempt to establish an independent cabaret stage. With the 'Cabaret Nachtlicht', various stages were now able to establish themselves until the beginning of the First World War and provided the first audience for

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[131] Friedrich Torberg, *Die Tante Jolesch oder der Untergang des Abendlandes in Anekdoten*, 2nd ed (München: LangenMüller, 2015).

[132] Friedrich Torberg, *Kaffeehaus war überall: Briefwechsel mit Käuzen und Originalen*, 2nd ed., Gesammelte Werke in Einzelausgaben Vol. 13 (München: Langen Müller, 2002), 8–14.

[133] *Neue Freie Presse,* "Der Schwarze Samstag,", November 24, 1901, 5, https://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=nfp&datum=19011124&seite=5&zoom=33&query=%22Jung-Wiener%2BTheater%2Bzum%2Blieben%2BAugustin%22&ref=anno-search. (accessed June 15, 2021).

later cabaret greats, namely Fritz Grünbaum (1880 – 1941) and Karl Farkas (1893 – 1971).[134]

Oscar Teller (1902–1985) emphasises the Jewish element of the theatre scene of the time, especially in Viennese cabaret. The circle included among others: the composer Béla Lanszky (1867–1935) and his singer Mela Mars (1880–1919), the satirist and writer Alexander Roda Roda (né Sándor Rosenfeld, 1872–1945), the writer Alfred Polgar (1873–1955) and the versatile cultural worker Egon Friedell (né Egon Friedmann, 1878–1938). While Teller refers to the Jewish origins of many cultural figures, he also emphasises that the literary cabaret itself was not decidedly Jewish. However, he admits that the humour presented has an 'unintentional' Jewish character.[135]

The aforementioned cabaret in the French tradition was contrasted with the 'Jargon Theatre'. In 1910, the 'Max und Moritz' farce stage (Possenbühne) was opened in Vienna.[136] The so-called 'Budapest Orpheum Society' was an artistic community that represented Eastern Jewish humour and mostly spoke 'bad' German with a Yiddish touch. 'Jargon' refers to the German spoken by the Jewish lower class in Vienna and was widely used in cabaret culture. Some terms of the Jargon have been preserved in Viennese to this day ('Haberer', 'Mischpoche')[137]. Due to the lack of clerical Christian influence in Budapest, the city was more progressive compared to Vienna. This also allowed the entertainment industry to develop earlier. The lack of codification and the

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[134] Marcus G. Patka and Alfred Stalzer, "Lachen in der Krise: Kabarett im Wien der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Alle Meschugge? Jüdischer Witz und Humor*, ed. Marcus G. Patka and Alfred Stalzer, 67–72 (Wien: Amalthea, 2013), 67f.

[135] Teller, *Davids Witz-Schleuder*, 18.

[136] Hans Veigl, ed., *Luftmenschen spielen Theater: Jüdisches Kabarett in Wien 1890 - 1938* (Wien: Kremayr und Scheriau, 1992), 61.

[137] Haberer = hebrew: ,chaver', friend / Mischpoche = hebrew: ,mischpachat', family

fact that, as in Hebrew, only the consonants are written, the 'jargons' allowed for individual language creations, which in turn led to creative word jokes. The origin of Jewish humour is often located in the Talmudic thinking of Ashkenazi Eastern Judaism. The abundance of commandments and regulations, according to Maimonides 613, almost demands a humorous approach. Traditional Eastern Jewish humour consists of orally transmitted folkloric jokes and anecdotes. The Yiddish writer Scholem Alejchem (1859 – 1916) helped to disseminate these in writing. For example, the musical 'Anatevka' is based on Alejchem's novel 'Tewje, der Milchiker' (טעוויע דער מילכיקער). The origin of Jewish humour from Eastern Europe is usually explained by the fact that life there was characterised by persecution, poverty and uprooting. Although many of the anecdotes and jokes do indeed revolve around these themes, they usually aim to convey a wisdom of life. In its essence, therefore, Eastern Jewish humour is sad, but its life lessons are mostly humorous in character.[138]

One trait attributed to Jewish humour is that it is 'not funny per se'. This characteristic also comes from Eastern Jewish humour. Laughing even though there is nothing to laugh about is coined with an expression from Alechjem 'lakh aftselokhes'. [139]

The First World War, the Spanish flu (ca. 1918–1920) and the hyperinflation caused by the war brought severe restrictions for the amusement businesses, but also a crisis-related need for diversion. And as positive as the Social Democratic government

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[138] Marcus G. Patka and Alfred Stalzer, eds., *Alle Meschugge? Jüdischer Witz und Humor* (Wien: Amalthea, 2013), 22f&84f.
[139] Ibid.

was for Vienna's socio-political situation, the new tax on entertainment for theatres and cabarets was an immense financial burden for artists.

In 1923 Oscar Teller, Viktor Schlesinger and Fritz Stockler performed for the first time as a literary-political cabaret, combining self-critical debate with Jewish identity. In 1927 they founded 'Das Jüdische-Politische Cabaret', performing 'Heurigen' songs with critical texts of Zionist sentiment, addressing the social and political problems of Jews in Austria and Germany.[140]

Jewish 'wit' or humour is broadly based on four characteristics: it is substantive (It is about something), it tends to be anti-authoritarian (exposes hypocrisy), it has a critical aspect (deals with the conflict between power structure and people) and it mocks everyone (including God). The dialogue character also plays an important role especially in jokes. As the humour of the 'oppressed', self-irony is seen as a weapon to gain emotional distance. By ridiculing one's own weaknesses, one deprives the opponent of the power to use them against one.

Jewish wit or humour cannot be generalised. Since the already humorous anecdotes of the Talmud, jokes and teachings have always adapted to contemporary and social needs. Therefore, it is not constant in that sense. It must be noted that a joke delivered by a Jew, for example, does not necessarily have to be Jewish. Jewish humour can be described as a mental process, as it is mostly concerned with conveying a wisdom of life, or at least entertaining. The entertaining character can also be

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[140] Teller, *Davids Witz-Schleuder*, 19f.

understood as a method of communication with Gentiles. Laughter calms every situation and paves the way for dialogue.

The Jewish humour of the Russian Tsarist Empire was different from that of Berlin and Vienna at the turn of the century. Depending on the geographical location and socio-cultural environment, people had different needs to satisfy through humour.

Especially in the context of Vienna, it is difficult to define whether Jewish humour exists in a supra-temporal and explicit way or whether Jewish humour is always a product of its time and its environment. Viennese 'Schmäh' and 'Jewish humour' certainly influenced each other in the first third of the 20th century. If only because the word 'Schmäh' can in principle be traced back to the languages Rotwelsch/ Yiddish. The heyday of Jewish humour and entertainment can at least be considered in its cabaret development in Berlin and Vienna. What makes a Jewish joke distinct is the desire to preserve memory.

The Yiddish writer Isaac Bashevis Singer (1902–1991) said: "The Jews suffer from every disease except amnesia.". This sentence captures not only the quintessence of Jewish humour but also its general reception.

5 Conclusion

Arthur Schnitzler says in response to the question of a specifically Jewish character:

"Do I believe that there is a specifically Jewish character, apart from certain traits that are imposed on it by its environment? That is a difficult question, and yet I am inclined to answer it in the negative. I do not believe that the Jew is fundamentally different in spirit or that there is any difference between his spiritual type and that of the gentile. The attitude of the world towards him has certain"[141]

The Jews of Europe rarely had a say in their affiliation and identity. The various life stories covered in this work testify to a deep belief in an equal future and in the ideals of social democracy. They had freed themselves from the traditions, rules and constraints of their ancestors and were able to actively contribute to shaping society according to the principles they had chosen. The opportunity to work not only on the building of a political party but also on the shaping of a new society in a holistic sense was both contemporary and still today a unique opportunity. In 'Red Vienna' they found the place not only to spread their doctrine and ideologies verbally but also to implement them in real political terms.

The holistic concept that was built up within the party was based on tolerance, equality and intellectual exchange. This can be seen above all in the fact that virtually all disciplines are interwoven and influence each other. For example, there needs to be

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[141] "Ob ich glaube, dass es einen spezifisch jüdischen Charakter gibt, abgesehen von bestimmten Wesenszügen, die ihm durch seine Umgebung aufgezwungen werden sind? Das ist eine schwierige Frage, und dennoch bin ich geneigt, sie mit Nein zu beantworten. Ich glaube nicht, dass sich der Jude grundlegend in seinem Geist unterscheidet oder dass es einen Unterschied zwischen seinem geistigen Typus und jenem des Nichtjuden gibt. Die Haltung der Welt ihm gegenüber hat gewisse.";First published by J.L. Benevisti: Arthur Schnitzler Foretells Jewish Renaissance. An Exclusive Interview with the eminent Littérateur, in: The American Hebrew, February29 1924, 460-474. Rob McFarland, Georg Spitaler and Ingo Zechner, eds., *Das Rote Wien: Schlüsseltexte der Zweiten Wiener Moderne 1919–1934* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020), 253ff.

a psychologist who thinks about child rearing, or a doctor who communicates what living conditions are necessary for a healthy fit person.

One of the problems of the Social Democratic Party of Red Vienna was certainly its handling of the open political anti-Semitism of the Christian Social Party, which increasingly manifested itself in the majority society and was no longer used merely as a political stylistic device. Their rejection of religious Eastern Jewry, which did not want to submit to the atheistic doctrine of Marxism and was probably outwardly too similar to the anti-Semitic stereotypes, testifies to narrow-mindedness and fear. Fear that the majority society would not distinguish between East and West. In doing so, however, they destroyed their own utopia of equality. Religious freedom and self-determination of identity applied to everyone. Hence also for members of Eastern European Hasidism. The intellectual academic exchange of ideas within the social democratic leadership was appreciated, but a reflective confrontation with the traditions was not sought.

Identity is not a fixed constant, but a lifelong process. This is particularly evident when one looks at the texts and essays of those who had to flee or were expelled by the Jewish attribution from others. Particularly in the case of the coffeehouse literati and cabaret artists, there is an ongoing self-reflection of their identity.

Especially in 'Red Vienna', the intellectual socialist leadership had high expectations of what the 'new man' should be like and there was little room for self-determination in socialist life and, above all, the Socialist Party did not manage to respond to different needs.

Whether there was actually an overlap between Jewish and socialist ideas is difficult to prove, as long as the protagonists do not put it on record themselves it would be pure speculation. Red Vienna' was an experiment and now a utopia that can be heroized for contemporary purposes.

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