

Trudy Gold | Interwar Vienna

- Well, good evening, everyone, and now of course we are turning to "Turn-of-the-Century Vienna." Now please don't forget that once Vienna was the centre of one of the largest empires in the world, the Hapsburg Empire. At the end of the... at the end of the war, the Hapsburg Empire dismembered, new states emerge, Czech, Slovakia, Hungary, and I'll be looking at the interwar Jewish communities in each of them as we go along, and Vienna, which was once the centre of a huge empire, becomes the centre of a completely truncated country.

It is the fifth biggest city in the world, but it's the centre of a country of 6 1/2 million people, a complete imbalance, and of course, what it's going to lead to is incredible friction. Robert Wistrich talked about the Janus face of Vienna. Vienna was a city that by 1922, was the third largest Jewish city in Europe. It follows Warsaw and Budapest.

Out of a city of 2 million, there are over 200,000 Jews and that 2 million in the seat capital, is very different to the 4 1/2 million outside the capital, you're going to see almost a split country with Vienna, very much the centre of modernism, liberalism, all sorts of incredibly exciting ideas, whereas the countryside, it's very conservative, it's very Catholic, and it hankers for the military glory of Franz Joseph's Empire. Now, the Jewish population of Vienna, we've already touched this when we looked at Turn-of-the-Century Vienna, it's dazzling.

Slides are displayed throughout the lecture.

You could actually make the case that the Turn-of-the-Century Vienna was the cradle of any modern movement that really changed the world and the Jewish population, it was particularly acute. We've already looked at Jews working in the German language, they are totally disproportionately represented in Vienna, even more so than in Germany. And it depends what you look at, whether you're looking at commerce, banking, anything entrepreneurial, 50% of the doctors and the lawyers of Vienna were Jewish, but not just capitalism, the best known theorists of social democracy, I mean, Dr. Victor Adler, and if we could see his picture, please, Judy, that is Dr. Victor Adler, and between the wars, he was the main leader of social democracy in Vienna, and this is what he said, and this is going to be important, "Vienna achieved one of the most spectacular cultural triumphs of Western history.

An unexampled moral and intellectual rise in the condition of a highly industrialised working class. It withstood the degrading efforts of grave economic dislocations and achieved a level never before reached by the masses of the people in any industrialised society." Vienna began to be known as Red Vienna and what you're going to see is this incredible effort on the part of intellectuals, most of whom are Jewish, to create, as it were, the perfect society for the working classes. Now, of course, the backdrop to this, those who were suffering as a result of the modern world, they didn't necessarily like the Jewish input.

Now, the point about the Jewish input is that there was such a strange response to the nascent

antisemitism of Vienna, if you remember those of you who were with me when I talked about Turn-of-the-Century Vienna, it was really the cradle of Hitler's ideas. Remember, Hitler was in Vienna from 1907 to 1913, he picked up most of his ideas in Vienna, those very strange racial theories, and of course, the mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger, was actually on an antisemitic ticket for 10 years. So basically, this incredibly exciting city, which was the city of Marla before the First World War, of course, still the city of Freud, the city of Klimt, the Secession school, the home of Theodore Herzl, who before he died in 1904, he... if you just think all the great intellectuals, Trotsky was there for six years, so was Stalin, Lennon went, it was, if you think of any of the great cafes, Cafe Demel, Cafe Central, Cafe Sacher, people couldn't afford to heat their rooms, so they went to the cafes and every aspect of life was discussed.

And it's interesting, there's terrible soul agony amongst Viennese Jews, it's almost like so many of them have lost their religiosity, so many of them are intellect... are sort of, they're trying to walk the world, but at the same time, they want to be part of, they want to be part of the homeland. Austria, at the end of the First World War, you can imagine this truncated country, what is left is the German rump of the Habsburg Empire. They asked, they were anxious, they asked at the Treaty of Versailles, for Angelus with Germany, what they suggested was there should be a president who would spend six months in Vienna, six months in Berlin.

Of course, it was turned down, but the point is, it's important to know that this was part German nationalism, the defeated Habsburg Army. But what is the result of all of this is the Jews are feeling more and more marginalised and the responses are incredibly extreme. For example, there was a young man called Otto Weininger. He was a disciple of Freud, an absolutely brilliant young man, he was also a homosexual and he came from a very bourgeois Jewish family, he couldn't cope with it, and he hated his Jewishness because he so much wanted to be part of the world of the Arian, and he actually, he converts and he commits suicide when he's 21 years old because as he said, he realised he would never be seen as anything but a Jew.

In fact, there were thousands of conversions, between 1870 and 1929, there were 28,000 conversions. There were Jews looking, there were Jews who were trying so hard to assimilate, they really believed that they could be part of it. Now, one of the issues, of course, a very interesting play is written by a man called Hugo Bettauer. Hugo Bettauer, he was a Jew, he was the son of a stockbroker, he attended the same gymnasium as Karl Kraus. Karl Kraus of course, who had the most important Viennese satirist magazine called Die Fackel.

But the sharp edge of everything, in 1890, he converts to Lutheranism, in fact, if you don't mind, Judy, can we see the face of Victor Adler and then of, if you could switch to Hugo Bettauer, I'm working without pictures, so I hope you can see the pictures now. So Bettauer, a very handsome man, as I said, he converted to Lutheranism, he joined the Kaiserjager, Imperial Mountain Infantry. He wanted that world and he was a volunteer for a year and this could be one of the reasons he converted, because Jews just didn't make it very well in the Army, they could never reach officer class, and this man is incredibly clever.

He's also very alienated because he's in trouble with his superiors, he then moves to Zurich, and at age 24, he inherits a huge amount of money from his father, this is often the passage, the first generation arrive in the capital, the second generation make an awful lot of money, the third generation have the luxury of going into the liberal arts. He marries the love of his life, a girl called Olga Steiner, who also has converted, and when his mother dies, they go on ship to America, on the ship, he somehow loses all his fortune, gambles it away.

And in America, he stays in America for five years where his son is born, tragically, that son is later going to be murdered in Auschwitz, he then goes to Berlin, he makes a name for himself as a journalist, he's a sharp-edged journalist, he's a satirist and he exposes many of the problems. And he worked on a cabaret called Eleven Executioners, he goes to Hamburg, becomes the director of a specialist publication, I'm giving you the world of a nomad, I'm giving you the world of a man who moved around a bit, he antis living with the pen, he's incredibly smart and he's becoming very much an outsider character, becomes a very important writer and he writes five novels a year, quite often the genre of crime, but with a social message, you've got to remember, Vienna like Berlin, it's the dark side of the moon, what is selling in the capitals?

Just think about it. You have lived through the worst war that beyond Dante's Inferno and what is left, this is the underlying careless, what... Do you remember what Karl Kraus said? The experimental station on the way to the end of the world, in many ways, you can say this about interwar Vienna and interwar Germany. And of course, that kind of world is hated so much by the countryside. Now he writes a play, a book called "City Without Jews." It's a satire and what it's the story of, it's the story of how the Jews are so important in society that they become so very, very hated. And in the end, the Christian Social Party so manipulates it that they all have to leave. So this book is written in 1924.

So they have to leave the city and the great irony at the end of the book, because Vienna can't cope without its Jewish entrepreneurs, it's artists, they're all invited back. Now, you can imagine the tragedy of that. Even at this stage, he has hope and he believes the Jews will be invited back. Now remember, this is a man who has converted. He understands that converting does nothing to Jewish identity because the outside world does not see you as anything but a Jew. He also writes for a paper, it's called He and She, and he's got a lot of money now and he finances it, and it's about lifestyle and it's about eroticism.

He's divorced, lots of women and another wife, he becomes a hugely successful writer, and in fact, one of his books, he writes the screenplay, it's called "Joyless Street" and it's Pabst and it brings Greta Garbo to the screen for the first time. Now, on the 10th of March, 1925, he is shot. He is shot by a young man who... he dies on the 26th of March, he is shot by a young man who was associated with the outlawed Nazi Party. What happened to the that man, he was sent to a psychiatric clinic, released after 18 months, his name was Otto Rothstock and he claimed, this was his defence in court, save European culture from the menace of degeneration. And in 1977, I mean, he lived a long life, he became a hero of the Nazis, he boasted of Bettauer's

extermination, he said this man was completely evil.

I'm now going to turn to Stefan Zweig, who is really one of my favourite writers, I've recommended him to you, a fascinating man, his book, "The World of Yesterday," if you haven't had the opportunity to read it, may I please recommend it, is really one of the great books of the 20th century. And this is what he said. This is Vienna, he's living in Vienna, "Our generation has gradually learned that the great art of living without security, we are prepared for anything. There is a mysterious pleasure in retaining one's reason and spiritual independence, particularly in a period when confusion and madness are rampant." And then he said, "I would like to live forgotten in a forgotten place somewhere and never open a newspaper."

And this is another thing he wrote in that wonderful book, "Life in Old Austria has always been mistaken as the expression of vivacious, fun-loving people but it was a mask behind which people were hiding their hopelessness and despair and insecurity and abandonment. The true Austrian philosophy of fatalism because it's a weak country, or rather an artificial construct of an empire in... of a country unsound in its set up." And in 1926, he wrote, "I am part of a beaten generation, fed up with hatred, purged against terror, attacked by stupidity, our spirit distracted by the senseless fireworks of many games, how can we create something complete based on peace, when our powers are obsessed with externals?"

So there are many Jewish responses to this very, very strange world." As I said, some tried conversion, assimilation, can you, alienation. Some turned to the left and some of course turned to Zionism because never forget, Vienna is really the cradle of modernism, every kind of modernism, but it's also the cradle of Nazism and ironically, of Zionism, that it was out of Vienna, that came both Herzl and Max Nothmann. Anyway, the polarisation. Now what happens in Vienna is you're going to see total polarisation. I also ought to mention that Vienna was called Wasserkopf, bighead, too big to be the capital of a very small, little country.

But there were optimistic signs because the government, there's two... I'm going to talk about the city council and the government and there is a liberal constitution that's drafted by a man called Hans Kelsen, if we could see Hans Kelsen, I'm trying to screen share, I don't know if I can, no. Anyway, Hans Kelsen, he dictated the Constitution, he was a very interesting man, he was a legal and political philosopher, he actually left for Germany in 1930, we're going to see how unstable Vienna's going to become, but was forced to leave his university because of Nazism in 1933, he leaves for America.

He was undoubtedly, and I'm quoting now, the legal jurist of his time and he was a close friend of Freud for a while and he was behind much of the legal theory at the Nuremberg trials. He had baptised, he'd baptised as a Roman Catholic in 1905, and he'd married a Jewish girl, Margarete Bondi in 1912, she had also converted, so the point is, many of these figures, they are not Jewish in our sense of the word in terms of them having really any religious affiliation, and they are throwing away their culture. Now, what is certainly true, the bulk of enfranchised jury was attracted by the Social Democratic Movement, one of the problems, Vienna was now called Red

Vienna. And I don't have to tell you, just how much the Jews were associated with communism, you know that already.

But in Vienna, Victor Adler, he was the daddy of it all and what happens is, on the town council, the City Council of Vienna, it's going to be dominated by the left and not just the left, but the Jewish left. Now these people see themselves as internationalists, but they're going to be seen by the people in the countryside and also the right-wing in Vienna, as Jews. So I'm going to talk about what they tried to do. The left has a huge majority in Vienna, but the right rules in the lower Austrian countryside and this is very important. Over the weeks when I've been talking about the Nazi Party and I've talked about Austrians who joined the Nazi Party, it was illegal in Austria right up until the '30s.

And the most of the people who joined the Nazi Party were not people from Vienna, many of them go to the University of Vienna, but they're born in the countryside, the conservative countryside. So what you have is in the council, you have a very, very strong Jewish element and they are going to try and reform Vienna. They want to make it a great place for the working classes. So if we could have a picture of Julius Tandler, please, I hope it's on screen, he was born in Moravia, the usual story gymnasium in Vienna, becomes a professor of anatomy at the university and becomes dean of the Medical Faculty, and three weeks after the treaty of Versailles and Austria...

- [Judy] Trudy?

- Yes.

- [Judy] We don't have an image of Julius Tandler, remember, we didn't have his images...

- Oh, sorry, okay, sorry, I'll just... Of course, I'll just tell you about it. He actually became more and more the target of antisemitism, and with the rise of Austrofascism, which I'm going to talk about later, he was forced to leave, he finished up in China actually, and then in 1936, remember he's a brilliant doctor and reformer, he was invited to Moscow to advise on reform. He was a communist, he dies there. So what I'm going to do is to talk, can we have Hugo Breitner on the screen? I think you've got his picture, haven't you?

Because so Tandler, Breitner, Breitner is going to talk about the taxes, and so let me give you a background to what they were up to. Despite the inflation, this left-wing Jewish council decides to freeze rents at 1914 level, so private house projects become unprofitable, they wanted to create affordable housing. And between 1925 and 1933, now this is unheard of, I want you to consider the kind of projects that we talk about today and go back 100 years to a city that's been completely ravaged as the centre of an empire. They build 60,000 new flats and they're designed very carefully, they're designed... Now, if you think about the great architecture that was brought to London and to America and later to Israel, I'm talking Bauhaus, I'm talking Art Deco, I'm talking about the great movements, they built these marvellous flats and they were all

surrounded by green spaces.

Mendelson designed, lose, they're incredibly important and the tenants were chosen on a ranking system, where if you were handicapped or if you were a widow with children, you got extra points and public money was to cover the building costs. And the workers' flats, only 4% of your income was your rent, whereas in private buildings, it was 30%. If a tenant was ill or unemployed, payments could be postponed. This is way before the welfare state in England, parents received a clothing package for each baby, I'm quoting now, this is actually from Tandler, "No child in Vienna should be wrapped in newspaper."

He was responsible for opening, remember, he's a doctor, he's a professor of medicine, kindergarten children's spas, women must be allowed to work, medical services are free of charge, vacation grounds are set up, public bars, sports facilities to enhance fitness and wellbeing. This is social democracy we are going to create for the working classes and the art, the literature, it's all about creating the workers' paradise. Now, as a response to all of this, this is another comment from Tandler, "What we spend on youth we will save on prisons, what we spend on the care of pregnant women and babies, we will save in hospitals for mental illness." Remember, mental illness has always been, was always one of the real problems of Vienna.

We talked about it when I talked about Turn-of-the-Century Vienna, think about Freud, think about when he started, he was looking at hysteria and what they do is they triple the expenditure on social services, TB, for example, dropped by 50%. There were to be affordable tariffs for gas and electricity and for refuse collection, all run by the council. Now, where did the money come from? Well, a man called Hugo Breitner, he wasn't a Jew, he was an interesting man, he came from a poor background, very smart, he was a clerk, and in 1918 he took over, he gave up his job in a bank to take over the city's finances at the request of the Socialist administration and he's going to be in charge until 1932.

How on earth did he manage to raise the money? Well, they imposed taxes on luxuries, horse riding, large private cars, servants in private houses, hotel rooms, what they did is they squeezed the rich so that the poor could live better lives. Now, the atmosphere was becoming tougher and tougher between the kind of competing forces in Vienna because this is against the backdrop of recession. Now, this is an article from a Catholic National Newspaper. I can never pronounce German properly, I'm sure someone will be able to tell me how to do it properly, and I'm quoting, "The disastrous influence of Judaism can be seen now and the Jewish Circle was certainly not tired of praising the greatest of thinkers." They're talking about Bettauer.

Now, who are the Jewish Circle? In Vienna, there was a very interesting circle of young intellectuals, they were called the Vienna Circle. And in it were people that you will... those of you who live in England will certainly know, of Karl Popper. Karl Popper had an incredible impact. Now it's fascinating, isn't it? Can people change the course of history? Well, Karl Popper, one of the Vienna Circle, when Austrofascism takes over, they get out. In fact, Karl Popper got out earlier, he went to New Zealand and he finished up at LSE, and at LSE he had a

student called George Soros. His great thing was the Open Society.

A young man called Ludwig Stein was also part of that circle and this is what the Catholic Newspaper is saying about them. "The Jewish circle was certainly not tired of praising the greatest of thinkers. We understand that very well for the Jew is born a meta precision. In philosophy, he loves logicist, mathematics, formalism and positivism, the very ideas which have been united so completely. We would however, like to remind everyone," now this is important, "That we are Christians, living in a Christian German state. And it is we who should decide which philosophy is good and suitable," the Jews should be allowed their Jewish philosophy in their own Jewish cultural institute.

But in the chair of philosophy, in the Viennese University, in Christian German Austria, there belongs the Christian philosophers. Repeat recently it has been respectfully explained that a peaceful solution of the Jewish question in Austria is also in the interest of the Jews for otherwise a violent solution is unavoidable. Hopefully the terrible murder will serve to bring about a truly satisfactory solution to the Jewish question." Now, Catholic, you've got a polarisation at the university. Catholic faculty members are demanding the uniting of religion and science. Remember the Scopes Trial? Professors, who is their number one hate? Freud, and this is an extraordinary pamphlet that was put out by the university.

"In the final analysis, psychoanalysis, the judgement of which cannot be left to romantics like Svig and Thomas Mann, is nothing more than pornography in scientific garb. Science and philosophy has a duty to the Volk to counter this monstrous era, which like every era contains some points, distorted grains of truth." You see, the Catholic Church is fighting a rear-guard action. In 1933, Pacelli, who later became Pius XII, became the papal nuncio for Foreign Affairs. The Catholic Church is fighting communism, that is their biggest fear. They're fighting modernism and they see this all as Jewish and look, if in the real assessment, the bulk of Vietnamese Jews were bourgeois but you have this group, either they're socialists or they're intellectuals on the edge, and they're pushing Vienna forward.

Now, the Psychoanalytic Movement, also very important to Vienna, there were 50 members and because albeit three of them were born Jewish, they were all forced to flee the country. Now, I can go on and on and on, I mean, let's look at the cultural exodus. In literature you have Robert Muzzy, Elias Canetti, Joseph Roth, brilliant writers, Stefan Zweig, in music, Schoenberg, Arnold Goldberg, Crenic, the Vienna School of Art was exiled and revived at the Moberg in London, Gombrich, there wouldn't be art history as a discipline in the West without the work of Gombrich, Fritz Sauckel, Hans... I mean, I can go on and on and on and on.

If you think about architecture, I've already mentioned it. Think of Gordon Street in Tel Aviv, think of Bellhouse, and if you visit the South Coast of England, just have a look at some of those extraordinary buildings, the Bexhill Pavilion. So the point I'm making is that you have an issue where you've got in Vienna, a centre of incredible artistic excellence, but at the same time, you have all the forces of activism at work too and then the rise of the rights. Now, politics become

increasingly polarised and by 1927, there's violence between extremists, which led to the death of the child of a war veteran in a village in the Burgenland and it led to demonstrations in Vienna. 89 people died, 1,000 wounded. Fire set, including at the Palace of Justice, firemen were prevented from extinguishing the blaze, the right is also beginning to march in Vienna, led by the university students.

And of course then in 1929, when Wall Street crashes, you now have the appalling impact, just as in Germany, look, remember Vienna and Berlin were capitals of the losing side. They suffered unbelievably, money had been put in both centres, but now after the Wall Street crash, the Americans pulled their money out. Out of a population, by 1933 of 7 million people, 600,000 were unemployed. And remember, I've been talking about the city council, not the Parliament, in the Parliament, one of the most important parties was the Christian Socialist Party, led by a man called Engelbert Dollfuss. Can we have his picture, please? Thank you, Judy.

Now, he is very right-wing and he is a Catholic. And I'm going to give you a bit of his background and then talk about what happens to him, he came from a poor peasant family in lower Austria, he went to elementary school where the parish priests realised they had a real clever boy on their hands, so they financed his education, he thought that he wanted to be a priest, he was a very, very pious Catholic, very conservative, he enrolled at the University of Vienna to study theology, but switches to law, and he earned his giving lessons, he became a member of the Students' Social Union, dedicated to charitable work amongst the workers, he had a social conscience.

And after the war, he was employed by the Lower Austrian Peasants Political Association, you see, there's a huge difference between the workers in the city, who in the main are left, and the workers in the countryside, who in the main are right. And what Dollfuss wants to do is help them recover from the war and also to shield them from Marxism. Remember to him, he's a very staunch Catholic, the Marxists are the enemy of the church. He studies further in Berlin and he very much dislikes the liberal socialist professors and works with the Catholic movement, he returns to Vienna as the secretary of the law, Austrian Peasant Union, he was very much into agrarian policy. Now, one of the problems, many of the grain dealers were Jewish, which led to more and more antisemitism.

He's very much seen as the leader of Austrian peasantry and 1st of October, 1930, he's appointed President of the Federal Railways, he's very able. May the 10th, 1931, he's only 39 and he's offered the Chancellorship by Miklas, also a member of the Christian Socialist Party, the Christian Socialist Party is in power, it's a right-wing Christian group, bearing in mind it's very different from what's going on in Vienna itself. And to decide whether he should be chancellor, he actually went to his favourite church to pray all night before he could decide and he's sworn in as the head of a coalition with the Christian Socialist Party, the Landbund, which is a right-wing coalition, and also the Heimatblock, which was a paramilitary ultranationalist block.

So you see the dissonance, you have the Parliament, which is very, very right-wing. March '33,

he is no Democrat and he stages a Selbstauflösung and he takes over the state. Now, when he takes over the state, this is Austrofascism, he disbands most of the vehicles of any kind of democracy but he's anti-Nazi, he doesn't want any union with Germany. He believes that the Nazis are a threat, he is an Austrian patriot. He sees the Nazis as un-Christian, he wants a Catholic Austria and what he does is in September, 1933, he merges his party with all the other conservative groups, including the Heimablock.

But then on the 25th of July, he is found, he is actually shot by Austrian Nazis. But I should have re-mentioned that back in 1933, when Hitler comes to power in Germany, there's huge unrest. There's total carnage in the city, there's infighting now between the right and the left and Dollfuss sent into action the paramilitaries to actually take control of the worker section of Vienna. And it was actually sub... it was under terrible bombardment, and men, women and children were slain, after days of carnage, the left collapses and this is when Dollfuss, before he dies, a few months before he dies, he resins all this kind of left-wing ideology, he resins it all. He's going back to the paternalistic state.

Now, as I said, he loathes the Nazi nihilism and he's determined not to allow Austria to be incorporated, but then he is shot. And it's also true that there were a lot of Nazis now in Austria, these are characters that are there, although it's still illegal, the number of Austrians joining the Nazi Party is growing. In the end, something like, many of the inner circle were Austrian, it's not just Hitler, it's also Eichmann, it's Karlton Brunner, many of the high ranking Nazis, something like a third were of Austrian birth. So it's an interesting situation that all the hatred that had boiled up in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna, that continues into Into-War Vienna, is going to explode again into these horrible years. Now after his assassination, the new chancellor, Kurt Schuschnigg, can we see him, please?

He finds it almost impossible to curtail Nazi sales in Austria, and of course, Hitler is doing brilliantly. Hitler takes the Sudetenland, he's pushing, he's pushing and pushing, and the allies are not stopping him. It's obvious that Hitler could have been stopped from inside Germany before '33, after '33, he could have stopped, he'd be stopped by the allies. Look, when he marched into the Sudetenland, the Army had orders if there's any trouble, pull back, but they didn't because who wanted another war?

So the chancellor, Schuschnigg is making public pronouncements, he guarantees Jews their constitutional rights, but he surcharges them at every level, under Schuschnigg, Jews are being ousted from business, from public hospitals, teaching welfare organisations, it's Austrofascism now, there is no liberalism in the state. But this doesn't please Hitler because Hitler wants Austria, he wants to go home, I want to be very careful about this, when we talk about the Angelus and how the Austrians played a blinder at the end of the war, they put themselves out to be the first victims of Nazism.

I'm going to show you pictures soon, which I think will disabuse that, but what is absolutely true at this stage of the game, is that Schuschnigg does not want Angelus. He wants Catholic,

Austria, fascist, yes, he's far more likely to... he's more allied to Mussolini's kind of fascism than to Hitler's Nazism, which he sees as un-Christian but he is summoned to Berchtesgaden by Hitler, he's brow-beaten and he's told over, there are already Nazis in the Austrian parliament, it's no longer illegal, and he's told to hand over all his cabinet posts to Nazis, he returns to Austria, he's completely humiliated by Hitler, he decides to remain firm, but he had to appoint Arthur Seyss-Inquart, can we see his picture, please?

As Minister of Public Security, which means he controlled the police. He was a longtime Austrian Nazi and he wanted... who wanted Angelus. Now on the 20th of February, 1938, there is a key speech of Hitler broadcast on Austrian radio. The German Reich is no longer willing to tolerate the suppression of millions of Germans across the border. Can we... Schuschnigg resigns on March the 11th, he was arrested and spent much of his time in concentration camps, Sachsenhausen and Dachau, he survives the war, he was liberated by the Americans, he eventually went to America where he became an academic, and he died in 1977. So on the 12th of March, 1938, Hitler orders the troops in camp and appointed chancellor at midnight. And that afternoon, can we see the pictures, please, of the Angelus?

Hitler across the border, and Judy's made a lovely, well, lovely is a wrong word, she's made a very interesting compilation for you, I want you to look at the joy on the people's faces. 90% of the population of Vienna were on the streets to greet Adolf Hitler. And he crossed the border at his birthplace Braunau with a 4,000 strong body bodyguard, and he received a rapturous reception when he went to Linz, remember Linz was the city he loved, and Linz is going to be the future capital of his great artistic right. Remember Hitler thought of himself as an intellectual, as an artist, and he wanted to create the right that would last for 1,000 years, I've said this to you many times, this is not about politics, this is about religion.

The Nazi Creed is a religious creed, and he's going to create an entity that's going to last for 1,000 years, Linz will be the capital, the capital of art, but what kind of art? What is acceptable to Germany? What kind of music, what kind of literature? We've discussed this and I know that both David and Patrick will be discussing this with you in other sessions. The oldest, and this is what he said, when he enters Vienna and there's a scene of him on his balcony, and by the way, who was standing by him on the balcony, you can't quite see her in the picture, I'm sure, but an English woman, unity Mitford. 200,000 crowd greeted him, and this is what he screamed at them. "The oldest eastern province of the German people shall become the newest Bastion of the German Reich. I announce to German history now the entry of my homeland into the German Reich.

The SS immediately remember Himmler's private bodyguard army, which is now taken out of the essay, it is now that terrible force that was running the Gestapo, the camps, one of the most evil men in history, so who's going to be arrested? The social Democrats, the communists, the political dissenters and the Jews. Within a week, 70,000 people were taken prisoner, a disused railway station in Northeast Vienna was taken over, made into a camp, the plebiscite, the people then had a plebiscite ratifying the Angelus, the Nazis claiming 99.7 ratification.

Jews and Roma were not allowed to vote. Now this is extraordinary. It's going to take the Nazis six months to Nazify Austria. It took them five years to Nazify Germany, of course, the scenes in Vienna were absolutely horrific and I'm sure many of you have seen the documentaries or read the books, the crowd went mad, it's not just what the Nazis did, it's what they enabled. It's like they... we said this many times, it's the reversal of the 10 Commandments.

Jews managed... old men and women made to scrub the streets with toothbrushes, beards being taken off, total humiliation, many, many suicides and Goebbels writes in his diary, "At least the right people are committing suicide now." And Eichmann, of course, sets up an immigration bureau in Vienna to facilitate Jewish immigration. The Jews were fleeced of their goods, their money, by the end of '41 out of the population, 130,000 Jews did manage to escape to survive, some in England, some in America, some in Palestine, but 65,000 of them lost their lives. And ironically, Eichmann set up the immigration bureau in one of the Rothchild mansions.

This is, again, everything has a purpose. So that is what happened, that incredible civilization, what can I say, an extraordinary civilization that created some of the major thinkers that changed the modern world and it comes to this terrible, terrible end. It didn't have to go that way, but it did go that way and of course, this makes us really think about the redefining of Jewish history. It's tragic because people often say to me, "Well, why didn't they see it coming?" Who would've seen it coming? Remember what Nathan Goldmann said? You needed to have the soul of a poet. When Freud was investigated by the Gestapo, they actually took Freud into custody and even then he said, he had to write a piece of paper saying he hadn't been harmed, and he said, "I can hardly recommend the Gestapo to everybody."

But of course, Freud, he was famous, he was international, and at this stage of the game, because for Hitler, it is the evil game, Jews are not yet to all be murdered. Who knows what went on in that twisted mind? But at the moment, they can get out and with Princess Marie Bonaparte and Ernest Jones, Freud of course comes to London, first to Elsworthy and then he finishes up in Maresfield Gardens, where he is visited by many of the great figures of British society, I'm talking about the intellectual figures and it's fascinating, he was dying of throat cancer, Chaim Weizmann came to see him and his son, Martin, he didn't know what went on because it was a private meeting but Martin wrote that when Weizmann left, his father was very, very happy. What did the great old man say to the other great old man?

What was the destiny of the Jewish people? I mean, in 1939, 1940, what on earth is Jewish destiny? And I still think the case is open, what does it mean? We still, in many ways, live on the edge of various societies. Yes, you have Israel, which completely changes everything, you have America, what about the rest of our communities? Numerically, how viable are they? Anyway, I want to stop now and on Thursday, I'm going to be continuing, I'm going to look after, of course, after the Angelus, let's remember, it's not an invasion, after the Angelus, after Hitler went home, the ratcheting up of prejudice and antisemitism and antisemitic edicts in Germany and Austria, and remember, all this is reported in the press.

It becomes so intense that in the end, James Pete McDonald persuades Roosevelt to convene an international conference at Evian. So on Thursday I'm going to look at Evian, but please remember, take a piece of paper, write Evian backwards and you get naive. So next week I'm going to talk about the... On Thursday I'm going to talk about the Evian Conference, what I'm trying to do in our history slots, is to look at interwar jury from... I will cover some of the countries, and William Tyler is going to be looking at foreign policy, British foreign policy, French foreign policy, so we're trying to put it all together for you.

Q&A and Comments:

Q: "A Jewish President Bruno Kreisky by 1970..."

A: Good question, Barrington, he was a very, very strange, a very, very strange man.

Q: "Can you repeat the name of the wonderful book you recommended?"

A: "The World of Yesterday" by Stefan Zweig.

Q: "What happened to the Ephrussi family?"

A: Oh my goodness, brain's gone, find that out for you for next week, I bet there's someone online who would tell us. "Unable to see the pictures on screen," that's from Suzanne.

Q: "Was there no action by the Jewish religious authorities to try and stem the losses of Jews to assimilation and conversion as there is today?"

A: That is a very, very good question, Danny. Look, in Germany, it's fascinating because remember in 1933 they had to come together as an organisation, I really don't think they knew what they were up against. One of the problems of the religiosity, and this is fascinating, when did it all begin? Go back to that statement of Zalman of Liadi. When Napoleon emancipates the Jews and then basically his aim is assimilation, he invades Poland.

One of the leading rabbis in Eastern Europe, Zalman of Liadi, who creates Chabad, he says this, "I would far rather my people be persecuted under the Czars than live in peace under Napoleon, Napoleon will be the end." One of the problems was that many of the great Raabanis went east, you know that. There were many who stayed behind, but certainly in Germany, non-Orthodoxie was the majority religion, they tried in the main, in Austria and in Germany. Yes, of course there were the ultra-Orthodox, but the majority of them tried to be citizens of the countries in which they lived of the Jewish religion. I hope that helps to answer that question, Danny, but it's a very, very important one.

Q: "Was there enough outside money for those who wanted to get out and have a place to go?"

A: What do you mean outside money? Look, to get into this country, you needed sponsorship. Look, the rich were fleeced, don't forget the organisation of property, the internationals did have money outside, but a lot of ordinary folk, they didn't have the money, there were all sorts of relief organisations, the American joints, all sorts in England, in America, please don't forget also, there were all sorts of protest movements against Nazism, amongst the Jewish community. I'm going to do a whole separate session on that.

Q: "What was the power Hitler have over Schuschnigg?"

A: Margaret, well, I would think a huge army, that's the tragedy.

Q: "The name of the book you mentione.,"

A: I said it... not the best book of the 20th century, one of the great books, what is, I would never go that far, it's Stefan Zweig, "World of Yesterday," "World of Yesterday," by Stefan Zweig. Stefan Zweig was an amazing character. He came to London, or actually to Bath and to London, and then he was so terrified that the Nazis would cross the channel, he went to South America and he and his second wife, much younger than him, they tragically committed suicide, I would not be so sure of America. Well, I'm talking about in the war, yeah, now, in the '30s, that's why I want to do a whole session on , there was some who really helped, and there was some who didn't want to put their heads above the parapet, why?

Because there was a huge level of antisemitism in America, in Britain, not to the same level as in Europe, but it was bad. I'd like you, those of you are who you are in American, I'm sure many of you will know of Father Coughlin, you will know of Lindbergh, the American, you will know of , you will know of the Magnet, one of the most powerful men in America, Henry Ford, you will also know that there were figures in the American government, they didn't want a third, they didn't want a Second World War, come on, Jews, we're going to spend a lot of time on them.

Q: Jonathan Harris, "Many Jews converted, was it a simple process?"

A: Yes, all you have to do is you get baptised, it's not like being a Jew. "Did any of the Jews who converted to Christianity come back to Judaism?" I love that question. Well, I can tell you about Schaumburg, Schaumburg, the day the Nazis took power, he went into a synagogue in Paris and reaffirmed his Jewishness.

Q: What book would I recommend about the Auschwitz? Oh, that's a difficult question, Ronnie, let me think.

A: You see, I use lots of different books and lots of different authors, let me think. "Eric Kandel, writer of "The Age of Insight," this is from Benny, "Fantasy echo Vienna," good book, remember this, "Age of Insight."

Q: Peter Rhodes, "Do you agree the Austrians got away with their claim of being victims because the allies didn't want to continue occupying Austria?"

A: I think it's partially true, Peter, partially true, but of course, please don't forget that they were fighting, they were fighting communism. Think what happened to Germany, Germany's divided up and they wanted Austria as a buffer against communism.

Eli, yes, Eli is that Ellie, "Thank you, you've given me "Die Welt von Gestern," which is Stefan Zweig, "The World of Yesterday, thank you." What I said, I shouldn't have said that Vienna School, look, Gombrich, Karl Warberg brought his great collection to London, so we'll talk about that later. Oh, I think he taught at Claremont College in California, Schuschnigg.

Q: David Santon, "Did any of the converted Jewish intellectuals become antisemitic?"

A: That is a very, very good question. Jewish self-hatred, it's a very nasty disease, the term was actually coined by a Jewish intellectual called Lessing, and he was killed by the Nazis in 1933. Look, let me put it this way. When your group is really hated and you don't get any of the benefit of your group, you're not religious, you don't mix with the Jews much and you see it as a huge burden, yes, you can begin to hate, yeah, antisemitic, can you be? I think some of them suffered from Jewish self-hatred, Karl Marx certainly did, yes, I think some of them did, even Karl Kraus had a touch of it.

Yes, the famous Austrian president, Bruno Kreisky, now there are some who said he suffered from Jewish self-hatred. "My father-in-law," this is from Ruth, "Lived in Luckenbach, a Jewish town. How did they react to the situation?" I will have to come back to you on that, I'll look it up.

Q: Now, this is from Barrington Black again, "A good friend who died last year, aged 101," oh lovely, "Was taken to Dachau for three weeks. Called out and released. Money had clearly been paid, he knew not from where, did that go to the local crooks or to the Nazi Party?"

A: Difficult to say, look, there's venality, the Nazi Party was stealing, of course as a party they were stealing, think of the immigration bureaus, but individual Nazis were often bribed. "I worked at the Claims Conference and saw the Austrian archives with their financial sensors. Would I happen to know where these archives are accessible?" I would suggest if you are on the Claims Conference, you need to contact Hannah Lessing in Vienna, she's on IHRA for the Austrians, she's a Jewish woman and she's fabulous and she would give you that information, Ellie, Hannah Lessing.

Q: Now what have we got here? "I seem to recall that the Austrians deny being sympathisers of Hitler, they claim they're invaded, can you shed some clarity?"

A: Well, this is all part of the not wanting to be... At the end of the war, the West needed allies

and they were prepared to swallow this because they wanted Austria as a buffer against communism. Please don't forget because we live in a post-communist world, look, Stalin played a blinder. He took back the whole of the Zionist Empire, he took back East Germany, remember?

So they needed, and look, countries do we expect a huge standard of morality from our leaders? It's an interesting one, Reid Machiavelli, he said, you don't expect the same standard of morality from a country as you do from a private individual. I would go as far as to say that Germany wasn't really Nazified, you know? De-Nazified, only 10% brought to justice.

Judith Heimann, yep, this is nice, a lovely comment and a sad comment. "My grandfather saw what happened in Germany, but remembered the enlightened rule of Franz Joseph and thought it wouldn't happen in Austria, he was Hugo patriotic and a World War I hero and felt safe," you see, this is part of the tragedy, they were. They'd given so much to Austria, to the Empire. Yes, thank you, Francis, of course it was out of my brain. It's the history and devolves "Hare with the Amber Eyes," thank you so much, Francis.

This is what I love about our class and from John Rome, "There is a wonderfully fruity mansion in Sain-Jean-Cap-Ferrat in the south of France." Of course, "The Hare with the Amber Eyes." and now this is from Sandra, "No money was sent from allied charity organisations after the outbreak of war because it was illegal." Yeah, but yes, it's a very important point, Sandra, up until '39, you could get money out. But once the war broke out, they're not going to... and remember, America's not in the war till 1941.

I mean, for example, Varrinfry managed to get quite a bit of money to help with his areas. "Was there a single area of Vienna where many Jews were living?" Yes, it's the Leopoldstadt. "My family were living in Taborstrasse," I can't answer that one, but I know that Leopoldstadt is where the majority of Jews were living, and I dunno if you remember David Pimmer's presentation a few weeks ago, he talked about that play by Tom Stoppard, "Leopoldstadt," which is a dramatisation of many of the things I'm talking about.

The name of the doctor who left Vienna and passed away in Russia was Julius Tandler, and what an interesting man he must have been. If anyone wants a project, 'cause I'm fascinated by the Jews who went to China. Michael Block, "Kreisky has a brother in Israel, he was the first... he was the first PM to embrace Arafatic PLO." And Michael goes on to say, "Tragically, the whole of my family in Austria were murdered except for one who escaped in a working group," yes. Anonymous, "I heard that Hitler hated Vienna, I always felt he was humiliated by his Viennese experience."

Yes, I totally agree with you, that's why he wanted to make Linz the capital of culture. Remember, he leaves Vienna in 1913, he called it the bubble of the races, he just said that there was the most terrible noise of all the different races. Let me just go back to the questions. , "many Jews come..." Yeah, we've done all of those, I think we're getting there. It's lovely having

a group like you, you all know so much. Where are we up to? Du du du du. Could I say a word about Gustav Mahler? Well, actually we've had a wonderful session on Mahler from Dennis Davis and we got to... I suppose at some stage, we're going to have to repeat it.

"The Hare with the Amber Eyes," yes, thank you, Betty. "Isn't it a fact that this is... isn't it a fact that many in the US government and advisers to the President were Jewish Democrats and turned a blind eye?" Look, in the end when the camps were liberated, you could say, who did enough? Who really did enough? There were 35,000 people honoured by Yad Vashem, it's such a deep, dark question. "Assimilation certainly didn't shape the Jews," no, "I'd recommend the book, "Last Waltz in Vienna,"" thank you for that, Maron, it's a brilliant book.

George Claire, "Last Waltz in Vienna," the last two pages are incredible. "How much did a person leaving in Austria need to pay?" It depended how much money he had. Remember, the Nazis were about spilling. "The Plot Against America," this is from Joan, "Made into a mini-series, which was excellent." I haven't seen it yet, I'm going to. "Trudy, what would've been the greatest influence for migration to the UK at the Turn-of-the-Century?" Oh, that's a difficult one, Tony. It depends what period you are talking about and which group you are talking about. So can you clarify before I can answer that?

Alan Taylor, "Is it not true to say that people were baptised in order to be Christian because that was the only way they could keep or get better work? They didn't, not necessarily stop being Jews in their hearts, if not practitioners." Sure, yeah, a lot of people baptised for pragmatic reasons, never forget that incredible quote of Heinrich Heine, the man who always said it all. Remember what he said? Baptism is the passport to European civilization. Oh, we've got so many questions. How am I going for time, Jude? Judy, are you there?

- [Judy] Oh, I'm here, let's do a few more questions.

- This is from John, "My family born in 1911 into a very Viennese family, involved in business, trading sewing machines until '38, which years would've been good years for the family when they didn't live in fear?" Ooh, I suppose if they lived in Vienna between up until Austrofascism, they probably, you see, Vienna was left-wing now, you see, this is the point, until there was righting on the streets, they still went to the theatre, they still would've gone to the wonderful concerts, they would still have eaten in the wonderful cafes, you've got to be a prophet to look into the future and nothing like this had happened before.

Remember, this is the sophisticated, these are the sophisticated characters. Now, this is from Bernard Bear, "von Neumann from Hungary," I dunno the question on that. I love, Johnny von Neumann is one of my favourite characters. He was a mathematician and let me lighten it a bit. He was a genius, they said he could recite the whole of the Budapest telephone directory by the time he was 10, he had a trick memory, and I'm going to be talking about him when I talk about interwar Hungary.

And basically, the great Bronowski, who wrote "Ascent of Man," if you have children or grandchildren, there is a CD series and there's also the book, "The Ascent of Man," I think it's required reading for every grandparent and grandchild, now, Bronowski is having an argument with the brilliant von Neumann and they both go off-cross. And in the middle of the night, Bronowski realises that von Neumann was right and he was wrong. So he phones Johnny von Neumann in the middle of the night, and von Neumann says, "Please only call me in the middle of the night if I'm wrong, never if I'm right." Betty Lowenstein, "The Ephrussi lost everything and the matriarch committed suicide and her husband died in Pinery in London, their daughter converted to Christianity and married a reverend."

Now that to me is a tragic Jewish story on every level. I haven't read it and there's a reason that sounds awful, a Jewish historian not reading these books, I sometimes I have to read so many history books, I sometimes can't cope with it. I'm being very, very honest with you, how many... and I work an awful lot with survivors, many of whom are very, very dear to me and I've got a threshold that I can't go beyond. Now, this is from Hemanimm, "My family came from Dortmund, my father-in-law and his father-in-law were both taken to Sachsenhausen and they later immigrated to Rhodesia in Northern Rhodesia," it's so fascinating the paths of Jewish families out of Europe.

The Austrians are still about to commemorate the Austrian citizens of Jewish faith who were murdered, it's taken them over 80 years. It's interesting, I used to be on IHRA, it was called ITF in those days, and this was the International Taskforce on Holocaust Education Remembrance and they wouldn't let the Austrians in to join until they paid reparations. But what do you mean by reparations? "Taborstasse is in Leopoldstadt." Thank you, Barbara, you see what I mean about this group? "If 70,000 people were arrested at one town, how did they feed them or provide sanitation?" Well, this is the tragedy of it all, they stopped being people in the eyes of the perpetrators. Maybe food was thrown at them, who knows?

I mean, you just, look, you are looking at the collapse of a civilization, I mean that. This is from Ellie, "My aunt and uncle were there when Hitler marched in Vienna and they were the among of those who had to clean the street with toothbrushes. They realised it was bad, but they couldn't get out and they escaped... until they escaped to Budapest ." Yes, again, Barry's recommending the "Last Waltz in Vienna," this is from Eva Clark, "My mother from Prague was skiing in Austria and witnessed the Angelus. She and her friends said, 'Nothing can happen to us with Czech. She survived there in Auschwitz, Freiberg and Mauthausen.'" Thank you for that, Eva. I mean, how on earth do you answer that kind of comment?

Can we expect her to have that sort of foresight? To date, there's a great quote of , he said on the subject of antisemitism, "Before the war, we were sleepwalkers and now we are insomniacs." This is Ellie saying, "Thank you so much for doing this, brings back memories." I'm sorry, but some of those memories, agh. Will I be discussing Lebensborn at some point? Oh yes, of course I will. Lebensborn was another one of those mad Nazi theories, where to create the perfect Reich, they mated SS officers with pure examples of wonderful blonde maidenhood.

Yes, Kurt Lewin wrote a paper on self-hatred amongst Jews, yes, "There's an Ephrussi home in Odessa," I didn't know that. "Judy, do you produce podcasts for past lectures?"

I think these lectures now can be sent up, I'm not saying anything, this is all... Wendy, Judy and I, we're having a meeting soon and we'll be making lots of decisions and what I think I'm going to propose is that probably in January, because some of you have joined the class late, what I'm proposing is that on a Thursday, I will run what I call catch up lectures, where I will give four presentations of the major points of Jewish history, from really the beginning of the 19th century to now. So I know a lot of you know a lot, some of you know some, just to keep us all together as a group. "How do you explain the self-hatred of today? Jews don't learn from history."

Ah, Challer, how do I answer that? How do I answer that? Can you be the pariahs of the world, of the Christian world, of the world of monotheism? I've said this to you many times, tongue in cheek, they don't hate us in China, they don't hate us in Hindu, India, trouble with China is we all assimilated 'cause China was so good to us. How would you explain the self-hatred of Jews today that they don't learn the history of 1930? That is such a big question that honestly, what I would say to a group such as ours, why don't you all kind of think about these issues and write the answers? Write for you what you think.

I personally find Jewish self-hatred, it really, really upsets me to my soul. I understand it, I think, because as I said before, if you don't get the benefits and you see all the problems, we are a very, very strange people, there's no question of it, history has made us have a very unique role. Okay, I'm going to tell, my daughter who is a writer, she writes the food column for the Specky amongst other things, and she was reviewing Kosher restaurant and this is how she started it. She said, "The Jews have given many things to the world, monotheism, communism, psychology and the bomb. Is that a not enough?"

So what I'm saying, and that was Tanya being very glib, but the point is because we are such restless beings and I believe that, maybe somebody, I had a conversation with a very brilliant young man today and he was saying, "What is our motherland but knowledge?" Isn't that the only place we can be safe in? And because we are such outsiders in the 19th and early 20th century, we do push the world forward, it's not that we are cleverer than other people, I don't believe that at all, what I think is that we have this restless gene.

- [Judy] one or two more, Trudy 'cause it's coming on quarter past and we have another talk in 45 minutes.

- "What was the name of the miniseries you mentioned?" No, that was somebody else mentioned it, it's "The Plot Against America." "If we are to read one Hitler biography, which author would you recommend?" Well, actually Dennis recommended, he likes Lawrence Rees. Kershaw is very good, Bullock, they're all good but yeah, it depends, I'd have to know more about what you are interested in because there are hundreds of them. Now this is Maria Erdi, have I seen the brilliant Hungarian movie, "Sunshine"?

Yes, and I've said this to you before, "Sunshine" is one of the movies on Primetime, if you put in the word Jewish films and "Sunshine" is the story of three generations of Hungarian Jews, it's fascinating. This is from Tony, "My grandfather left Vienna, was born there in the '30s, his parents came from Hungary. I was just saying thank you." Thank you, Tony. "What do you think of getting Austrian citizenship?" Junno, it's fascinating. I have a lot of friends who are the grandchildren of German Jews and they're applying for German citizenship, I think it's a family decision. This is from Betty, "The Ephrussi..." Oh, this is Ellie Srausse, if I need any help with translations, I am German, thank you very much, Ellie. I think that's it, I'm afraid.

Oh, this is, oh, I've got to do this one from Rodwin, "Has anyone done research on Jewish self-hatred and the hatred of their mothers?" Sorry about that, and this is Miriam, "Sorry, but Taborstrasse is in old Vienna." Okay, can I leave the geography to you all to argue? Anyway, thank you very much, I love the kind of level of knowledge that you all have, so I will see you on Thursday, and Judy, again, thank you so much for pulling this all together for us, so...

- [Judy] You're welcome, thank you.

- Bye-bye, everyone.

- [Judy] Thank you, everybody, goodnight.