

**Austrian Exhibition-ism:
The Year 2005 and Its Commemorations of the
Recent Past in Exhibition Catalogues**

**Teresa Indjein and Bundeskanzleramt Österreich, ed.,
*Österreich 2005: Das Lesebuch zum Jubiläumsjahr
mit Programmübersicht* (St. Pölten-Salzburg: Residenz
Verlag, 2004)**

***Das Neue Österreich: Die Ausstellung zum
Staatsvertragsjubiläum 1955/2005* (Vienna: Österreichische
Galerie Belvedere, 2005)**

**Stefan Karner and Gottfried Stangler with Peter Fritz and
Walter M. Iber, eds., “Österreich ist frei!” *Der
Österreichische Staatsvertrag 1955: Beitragsband zur
Ausstellung auf Schloss Schallaburg 2005* (Horn: Verlag
Berger, 2005)**

**Hans Petschar, *Die junge Republik: Alltagsbilder aus
Österreich 1945-1955* (Vienna: Ueberreuter, 2005)**

**Susanne Breuss and Vienna Museum, ed., *Die Sinalco
Eoche: Essen, Trinken, Konsumieren nach 1945* (Vienna:
Czernin Verlag, 2005)**

**Helmut Lackner and the Technisches Museum Vienna, ed.,
Österreich Baut Auf/Rebuilding Austria (Vienna:
Technisches Museum, 2005)**

**Werner Koroschitz and Lisa Rettl, eds., “*Heiss umfehdet,
wild umstritten...*”: *Geschichtsmymthen in Rot-Weiss-Rot*
(Klagenfurt/Celovec: Drava, 2005)**

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Introduction: A Surfeit of Memory?

The year 2005 produced a memory blitz in Austria of unprecedented proportions. The major commemorations celebrated were the fiftieth anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty and the end of the four-power occupation, the sixtieth anniversary of the end of World War II and the reestablishment of an independent republic, and the tenth anniversary of the Austrian accession to the European Union. A cornucopia of additional anniversaries were thrown into the hopper of the big year of commemorations: Bertha von Suttner's Peace Nobel Prize 100 years ago, the Allied liberation sixty years ago, the establishment of the Austrian Army, the reopening of the State Opera and the national theater (the *Burgtheater*), and the beginning of Austrian state television, as well as the conclusion of the Austrian neutrality law and membership in the United Nations fifty years ago, and the less "round" anniversary of the beginning of Austrian soldiers serving in UN missions forty-five years ago. In the age-old tradition of Josephinian state paternalism, the federal chancellery gave marching orders to make 2005 not only a memory year (*Gedenkjahr*), but also a year of thoughtful reflection (*Gedankenjahr*). The many historical exhibits were also designed to impart a deeper historical knowledge in a citizenry often innocent of the knowledge of basic facts.¹ The State Secretary for the Arts and Media, Franz Morak in the State Chancellery, set up a separate planning bureau to coordinate this festival of commemorations and exhibits and launched the website <www.oesterreich.2005.at>. Austrian museums in the capital, Vienna, went into a frenzied national competition of who could design the fanciest and most popular anniversary exhibit. The interest of the citizenry in the provincial capitals weakened the further one got away from Vienna. Clearly, the echoes from the past of the liberation, occupation, and "liberation from the liberators" were much stronger in Vienna and Eastern Austria, where the Soviets had been occupiers.

The year 2005 was a good one for historians; this one included. They were involved in designing the many exhibits; writing essays for catalogues, magazines, and newspapers; jet-setting about the world, participating in symposia and conferences; giving lectures and keynotes; and being present in the media. Without a doubt, they were in the forefront of producing and defining the national historical memory, sometimes even acting as water boys (and girls) and *Handlanger* to politicians who wanted to impress their versions of historical memory onto an unsuspecting public. The politicians defined the often partisan versions of the past in commemorations as acts of state such as the ceremonies in the National Parliament on 14 January and the signing of the State Treaty in the historic *Marmorsaal* of the Belvedere Palace on 15 May. Clearly, most of the political class and the Austrian population

(including former Nazis) were more comfortable celebrating the “liberation from the occupiers”—independence and freedom gained in 1955—rather than the liberation from the Nazis in 1945.² Historians had to remind the ever-opportunistic politicians that 1945 was the more significant “liberation event” for the Austrian people than 1955. The year 2005 produced an even larger avalanche of publications, TV documentaries,³ commemorations, and “events” than the fiftieth anniversary of the 1938 Anschluss had in 1988. Nevertheless, the recognition of 1988 as a “memory year” may well be the more important turning point in Austrian postwar historical memory culture.⁴

I was in Vienna in March, May, and June of 2005 and in Innsbruck in July/August of the year for openings and conferences and so made a point of seeing all the major exhibitions, some twice. I presumably was counted multiple times among the 1.25 million visitors (in a population of 8 million) that crowded into these shows.⁵ At the Schallaburg in Lower Austria on a Sunday morning, I stood in line for half an hour and got pushed by steady throngs of visitors through the exhibit to see the original copy of the Austrian State Treaty, which had been shipped from its permanent home in Moscow. In all the other exhibits I visited in Vienna on weekdays, the crowds were solid and steady, such as at the major Belvedere show, where tens of thousands visited in the course of the summer (and where the original State Treaty was on display, too, for a couple of weeks); they were moderate to light in all the other shows. At some shows, such as the postwar photo exhibit by the National Library in the magnificent *Prunksaal*, I was a lonely and forlorn visitor. A small exhibit in Innsbruck’s *Zeughaus* on the occupation years in the Tyrol was so anemic that it seems to have been a perfunctory exercise of participating in the national carnival of commemorations rather than a labor of love such as the innovative shows on economic reconstruction and the Marshall Plan at the Technical Museum, everyday life and food culture at the *Wien Museum*, and the pictorial iconography of the postwar decade in the photo exhibit at the National Library. It appears that many Austrians tired quickly of the Austrian commemorative circus, especially in the provinces where the spectacles in Vienna seemed to have been observed with some puzzlement.

Then there were the theatrical “25 PEACES,” designed to evoke World War II and the difficult beginnings of the Second Republic in a “jocular” fashion (Schüssel), connecting a broader public with the past which otherwise might ignore it.⁶ Americans like to *reenact* significant events of their past such as battles of the Revolutionary War and the Civil War in order to make a personal connection with the heroism of those historical turning points, to keep history “alive,” and to promote a participatory patriotism. These “25 PEACES” designed by event

managers hoped to reconnect Austrians with some of the most difficult events of the wartime and postwar eras and to encourage them to count their blessings for a peaceful history since then.⁷ A World War II night of bombing was staged in the inner city of Vienna with sirens and the chilly sounds of B-24 bombers dropping their payloads. The huge equestrian statues on the *Heldenplatz* were walled in as they had been during the war when they needed protection against bombs. Gardens were planted on the *Heldenplatz* as they had been in 1945/46 as a reminder of the years of postwar starvation. In a similar vein, cows were once again grazing in the Belvedere Gardens. Instead of chilly reminders of *temps perdu*, the “PEACES” produced a fierce debate over millions of Euros being wasted by these peddlers of Viennese theatricality, bathos, and historical nostalgia. Passing through the *Heldenplatz*, I witnessed willy-nilly tomatoes and green beans being grown and archdukes and princes high on their houses made invisible by fake brick walls. In the Belvedere Gardens, I spotted the somewhat disoriented cows that must have seen better times on their Alpine pastures. Even though I was in Vienna in March, I could not get myself to listen to the terrors of bombs falling over the *Gauhausptstadt*. Reading G.W. Seebald and Jörg Friedrich will do for me to relive the bombing nights.⁸

Exhibition-ism: A Carnival of Exhibit Catalogues

The impressions one gathers from the pictures, documents, and artifacts at an exhibit are fleeting and transitory. A catalogue documenting and contextualizing an exhibit, on the other hand, casts the intentions of the designers into a more permanent mold and leaves a record for more intense study. One can read the texts pregnant with meaning and linger over the pictures and designs in such documentations. Konrad Paul Liessmann is correct in arguing that the usually highly-selective historical exhibitions “serve the interests and perspectives of the present by presenting and giving meaning to the past, especially in the context of producing group specific strategies of identification.”⁹ Austrians seem to love to put on historical exhibitions. The nine Austrian federal states usually have “state exhibits” (*Landesausstellungen*) almost every summer, competing with one another for viewers. Particularly the *Land* Lower Austria spares no expense to put on mega-shows such as the Austrian millennium show in 1996 or previous exhibits on the “Age of Emperor Francis Joseph.” These shows are good for maintaining a vast assortment of castles and cultural sites in the “heart of Austria,” they are good for local tourism and provide a rich return on initial investments over time, and they build local identity, as Liessmann suggests, and define patriotism as a sense of pride in one’s

regional and national past. In 2005, the concatenation of dozens of *Zeitgeschichte* exhibits dealing with Austria's post-World War II recent and immediate pasts was unusual and multiplied such opportunities. They presented multiple venues in which to give meaning to the past, to engage in the (frequently partisan) politics of history, to re-forge local and national identities, and to re-inject citizens with a sense of specific local and/or national pride and patriotism.

The exhibits referred to here were on display either in some of Vienna's principal state museums or in regional museums. It is crucial to remember the function of museums in the creation of national and/or regional identities in such a memory year.¹⁰ Experts remind us that "museums are powerful sites of cultural transmission and public education [...] the state museum is an important site not only for the exhibition of objects, but also for the exhibition of national beliefs; it is a place where the 'imagined community' of the nation becomes visible."¹¹ Objects become part of "our" history when they are displayed in a museum. Museums are special places for the "construction of a public sense of the past."¹² Museums also provide "one of the principal means by which people can gain access to the past and a special historic legitimacy is conferred upon events and objects when they are included in museums."¹³ More importantly, when objects become part of museum exhibits, they "cease to be just part of history and instead have the potential to become a part of our shared, national, *heritage*" (emphasis in the original).¹⁴ The distinction is that "history" represents the past, while "heritage" takes aspects of the past and inscribes them "as especially significant in the collective history of a group of people, be it class, region or nation"; heritage is closely linked "with our need for a sense of the past, a sense of continuity, belonging and identity."¹⁵ These museum exhibits and the catalogues that document them are both "sites of memory" designed to build and to firm up Austrian identity in the 2005 *Gedenkjahr*.

I selected one national reader and six catalogues from the most important exhibits to test these propositions and to give the reader a sense of whether the *Gedankenjahr* indeed produced a more complex rethinking and reinvention of the recent past and Austrian historical memory culture. All these catalogues are lavishly illustrated; *Das neue Österreich* even includes gorgeous color pictures of the exhibit's paintings. To carry them across the Atlantic produced a minor effort (the U.S. Transportation Security Administration even left a conspicuous "Notice of Baggage Inspection" in *Österreich ist frei*, informing me that the anonymous snooping inspectors did not consider it terrorists' literature—the homeland is secure). Put on a neat pile onto my scales, together these catalogues at 24 pounds seem weighty.

The reader *Österreich 2005* is an official publication by the “Grand Central Station” of memory year coordination, the Federal Press Agency in the Federal Chancellery. Published in the fall of 2004, it provided a complete survey of all the exhibits, symposia, and events launched in the memory year 2005 for enthusiasts of history and the Austrian memory cult. But it is more than a guide. It is also a primer of brainy texts, dreamy poems, and evocative photographs celebrating postwar Austria and its intellectual, artistic, economic, and social achievement. In half a dozen chapters, some of the country’s best and brightest present shrewd, thoughtful, and quirky essays, interspersed with more pedestrian texts by the chancellor and some of his favorite (ex)ministers (and/or their speechwriters).¹⁶ The axes of reflection are a mile wide and an inch deep: “Memory & Renewal,” “Crisis & Creativity,” “Peace & Integration,” “Work & Inspiration,” “Harmony & Irony,” “*Heimat* & Europe.” There is the quirky novelist “Franzobel” who thrives on both the ironic and less sublime in the Austrian character, its mistrust of the Enlightenment and reason and its indulgence in a culture of feelings. Franzobel loves to point out the contradictory traits of Austrians, “Try to imagine a country, where no one is serious, which is not to say that people don’t wish to be taken seriously.” He gleefully pooh-poohs their determined underachievement at home and overachievement abroad, “All higher aspirations are pointless here. You can’t get anywhere in Austria. On the one hand, the dictum holds true that one can’t be special, on the other hand, one lives up to the rule: to shut up is sufficient praise. This results in Austrians who want to get somewhere must either die or go abroad, where they almost always succeed” (pp. 258f).

Then there is the smart essayist Karl-Markus Gauss, son of Balkan German DP’s, and his discovery of Austria. He reflects critically on the false patriotism of postwar Austria, where former Nazis turned teachers retained their German nationalism but dutifully pressed their government dictated love of country (*staatsoffizielle Heimatliebe*) on their charges in the classroom: It is true, “Austria” was an excuse, a magical code for those who had betrayed it prodigiously before but put it up on a pedestal after 1945. It was a powerful tool to free them of the constrictions [of the past] and expiate their guilt. The pervasive Austria-nization (*Verösterreichung*) of every day life nestled in a state that was presenting Austria as an innocent victim of the Third Reich so successfully that not only foreign politicians swallowed it hook, line, and sinker but also those natives that had eagerly participated in it. It was this savvy state opportunism that later made it exceedingly difficult for me and many others to design a critical image of Austria [...] (pp. 299f).

This *Lesebuch* presents a smorgasbord of impressions, which makes for an unusually reflective primer. There is Franz Bauer's wise plea for the acceptance of the existing multicultural society in Austria rather than fighting it endlessly in Carinthia with the eternal row over dual-language German/Slovene place name signs, "The two different writs on the *Ortstafeln* signify the existence of two languages, two cultures. They signal multiplicity. Only simple-minded people can't live with this" (p. 151). In addition, the insights of the gifted essayist and philosopher Konrad Paul Liessmann trace a continuity between Pope Paul VI's 1971 dictum of Austria being an "island of the blessed" and the ancient feudal myth of "*felix Austria*": "Others may arm themselves to the teeth with nuclear weapons, but you happy Austria continue your role as an island and bridge between the hostile blocs" (pp. 63f). An excerpt from Ingeborg Bachmann's war diary betrays an unusual sensibility. A young British occupation soldier turns out to be a Viennese Jew who managed to save his life on a *Kindertransport* to England before the war. She dates him in order to engage him in discussions of Arthur Schnitzler and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Her Carinthian neighbors look askance at her for "going out with a Jew" (p. 47). Ernst Jandl is represented with a whimsical four-word poem and Peter Turrini with a longer one about guardian angels. Of course, to demonstrate tolerant magnanimity, such an official reader cannot do without Thomas Bernhard, Austria's favorite *Nestbeschmutzer*. Yet the book's charm lies in the outstanding selection of photography: gorgeous Austrian landscapes, Jedermann-type people, and curious motives are interspersed with the texts. Images of the proud traditional cheese-makers and "*Biobauer*" in the Alpine region appear next to one of the Americanized youth who sports "Kylie, Britney, Christina, Pamela, Pink" on his t-shirt.

The reader also has to suffer through the trite texts of the chancellor and some of his ministers. Wolfgang Schüssel cannot help but deliver his usual denunciations of the Kreisky era, "Austria was more than reconstructed. Austrians created a comfortable prosperity for themselves, but not without the blemish of growing state deficits. Joining the EU ten years ago Austria was forced to consolidate" (p. 55), presumably all single-handedly under Schüssel's aegis. The book starts with a brilliant text by Friedrich Heer, one of Austria's greatest postwar intellectuals. In the year 1955, he calls on the political parties and cliques to cease with the poisoning of the political arena through their perennial backbiting (p. 22). The juxtaposition of the street-fighting Schüssel and the high-minded Heer produces an inherent tension. Minister of Education, Science, and Culture Elisabeth Gehrler waxes less eloquently about change in the globalizing educational arena and arrives at the knock-out insight, "Education and science both have to create the

conditions for mastering the challenges of our time and strengthening people's confidence in new accomplishments" (p. 181). But then, this is an official reader coming out of the federal ministry, and the reader has to live with these jarring variances in the quality of the texts.¹⁷ Imagine the White House one day issuing an anniversary-year reader with texts by President Bush and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld juxtaposed with the writings of, say, Joyce Carol Oates, Toni Morrison, Gore Vidal, and e.e. cummings, along with the photography of Ansel Adams and Robert Maplethorpe. Get the idea? Yet they, too, in Whitmanesque fashion would encompass all that is America as this reader tries to represent Austria. The best one can say of this reader, then, is that it presents Austria's multiple identities in a highbrow fashion.

A record half million people saw the exhibits in the Belvedere Palace and at the Schallaburg in rural Lower Austria. Presumably, they were commercial successes. The politics of history in the contentious genesis of the Belvedere show *Das Neue Österreich* is a classic case study of the partisan politics of history in Austria and surely will find a patient Ph.D. student (like Heidemarie Uhl in her 1988 book) to analyze the details of the Viennese community of envy (*Neidgenossenschaft*)—a baroque tale of sinister intrigue and petty backbiting *Wadlbeisserei*, as well as grandstanding one-upmanship.¹⁸ In the end, a vast bipartisan ÖVP/SPÖ team of "black" and "red" historians produced an appealing exhibit in the tradition of consensual history financed with both public and private monies. The counterpoint in the provinces was that conservative "black" Lower Austria hired the enterprising Stefan Karner and his team of young historians at the *Boltzmann Institut für Kriegsfolgenforschung* in Graz to design the Schallaburg exhibit. Chancellor Schüssel, the current resident in the *Hofburg*, in the age-old tradition of Emperor Maximilian I, has anointed Karner as his favorite *Haus- und Hof* historian.¹⁹

The creative conceptualization of the Belvedere exhibit by a team of architects and designers was quite brilliant exhibition-ism. The choice of Prince Eugene's baroque Belvedere Palace as one of *the* national sites of memory where the Austrian State Treaty was signed on 15 May 1955 with huge acclaim by the Viennese population was a natural. Its *genius loci* provided a dignified context for the parallel three-tracked exhibit throughout the marbled rooms of the upper floor of the palace. The designers devoted one track on the outer walls to traditional historical artifacts, original sources, and objects. On the opposite inner walls, an "art track"—*Kunstspur*—displayed respective works of art by Austria's leading painters and sculptors associated with the times and themes of the historical objects. The central track in between—the patriotic red-

white-red *Fahnenspur* of the Austrian flag—tied the show together with a flag running (mostly) on the ceilings of the rooms and with audiovisual exhibits. The three tracks offered different perspectives and associations on a given historical period and, thus, offered multiple readings of history (*Das Neue Österreich*, pp. 345), the art track being the most tenuous yet perceptive. Thus in the World War II room, private photos of an Austrian soldier on the Eastern front and an original guillotine used by the Nazis in the Vienna regional court to execute 1,200 “criminals” were juxtaposed with paintings by Oskar Kokoschka and Gustav Klimt’s famous “aryanized” portrait *Adele Bloch Bauer I*, now returned to its rightful owner in the United States. In this room, the Austrian flag came down to the floor—quasi-trampled by the Nazis and their Austrian admirers in 1938—and vanished during the war only to rise again out of the ashes of the war to proudly fly high again in the postwar rooms.

Obviously, the catalogue cannot do justice to the rich feast of visual imagery in the three exhibit tracks. But it provides a complete documentation of all the exhibit’s historical artifacts with brief descriptions, along with complete color reproductions of the art displayed. The running commentary by Tobias Natter and his team of art historians on the paintings provides a brief survey of twentieth century Austrian art history and may well be the most evocative and original contribution in this exhibit catalogue, along with Natter’s essay on 1955 and Austrian postwar art (pp. 181ff). The most substantive chapters with new information even for the specialist are Verena Traeger’s artful “Biography of One Day” in Vienna—15 May 1955—the day of the signing of the State Treaty (pp. 150ff) and her keen analysis of the arcane commissioning of the official painting of this event (pp. 167ff). Her microhistory of 15 May is a masterpiece devoted to the arcana and significance of diplomatic protocol, which is fitting in a show on a key international treaty. It begins with the cleaning of the rooms (documented from the original invoices); the ordering of flowers (“pale red hortensia”), carpets, and ink pens for the signing ceremony; the number of journalists admitted and unobtrusively placed in preparation for the 11 a.m. arrival of the delegations for the signing ceremony. After the foreign ministers put their signatures on the complex treaty (only completed the day before), they went out on the balcony to show it to tens of thousands of cheering people assembled in the gardens of the park. After a quick bite to eat, they had a 1:15 p.m. reception and “*dejeuner*” in the *Hofburg* offices of President Körner. The entire Austrian government and the French and British Foreign Ministers gathered at St. Stephen’s Cathedral at 5 p.m. for a festive *Te Deum*. Understandably, Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov was a no-show, but where was the staunch Presbyterian Secre-

tary of State John F. Dulles? At 7 p.m. the Austrian government and elites, along with the foreign delegations and 1,300 invited guests in formal attire and fancy evening gowns (who among Vienna's rich, glamorous, and mighty was *not* invited?) gathered at the Imperial Habsburg Summer Palace Schönbrunn for a lavish state dinner. A dinner of *Caneton a la Nivernaise* was served with lots of *Dürnstein Riesling Spätlese* and *Burgenländer Blaufränkischer* (but what in the world is "Sauce Bagration"?). What a day for the Vienna caterers! The party went without a glitch (*ohne Zwischenfall*) until one in the morning; only Dulles, who left town that night, left Schönbrunn at 10 p.m., but not without a rousing rendition of the "Star Spangled Banner" on behalf of the American secretary of state. Molotov obviously enjoyed the lavish celebrations and left the capitalist city two days later.

Compared with Traeger's excessive details, the rest of the catalogue's chapters are quite tame and recount the well-known. They briefly outline the course of Austrian history from World War I to the present in a largely consensual fashion. The chapters from the First to the Second Republic, and from the Cold War to Austrian accession to the European Union, along with the drama of the ups and downs of Austrian identity formation (from "*Ent-*" to "*Verösterreichung*") are common fare. Austria's remarkable postwar economic trajectory from poverty to prosperity and the inventiveness of Austrian *Erfinder* is nicely represented, too. It is annoying that the South Tyrol problem is not included in the general foreign policy chapters on the Cold War; it receives a separate chapter (pp. 325). This is a piece of stubborn Austrian territorial revisionism—in one of Europe's best-resolved ethnic minority conflicts²⁰—that will not go away. Think of it—the Federal Republic of Germany producing such a catalogue with the "lost provinces" of Eastern Prussia and Silesia added in as part of the national master narrative! These essays together, then, produce a consensual master narrative of Austrian history that most historians can embrace and with which most of the public can identify.²¹

Only the World War II chapter represents a jarring and bolder statement, as Austrian perpetrator history is now fully included in the master narrative, as are the sordid tales of persecution and exile. No longer are Austrians portrayed as Adolf Hitler's hapless victims, as they were only twenty years ago; now they figure as chief culprits in launching the Holocaust. Predictably, there were voices from the right who felt the focus on Austrian Nazis was excessive. But the official version of Austrian postwar history is prepared now to include what the German Holocaust survivor Ralph Giordano calls the burden of "second guilt": no longer denying their first burden of guilt, their support of Hitler, as they had done for the first two postwar generations.²² In the

postwar trajectory of Austrian historical memory, this marks a significant breakthrough.

The attractive culmination of Austrian exhibitionism comes in the final room (and pages of the catalogue) devoted to “*Über Österreich*” (this can be read as “About Austria” or “Super Austria”). Katarina Schmidl’s ironic sculpture of a shapely female rear end, made from red-white-red drinking straws and aptly entitled “a nice piece of Austria” (*Ein schönes Stück Österreich*), hopefully did not unhinge too many American visitors. It was juxtaposed with quotations from famous Austrians: “One dies in Vienna, but one never ages there” (Charles de Montesquieu); “Austria is a labyrinth that everybody is familiar with” (Helmut Qualtinger); “Everybody likes his country. Me too. I only don’t like the state” (Thomas Bernhard); “Once at home I am a stranger” (Theodor Kramer) (pp. 341ff). Go figure.

Plate 1: Katharina Schmidl (b. 1973), *Ein schönes Stück Österreich* (2002)



Source: Image 13.1 in *Das Neue Österreich*, p. 343; reprinted with the permission of the artist.

The exhibit in the Schallaburg and its catalogue, *Österreich ist frei*, lacks such playful irony and represents straightforward traditional history. The layout of the medieval castle offered few opportunities for imaginative museum design and was quite plain compared to the spectacular “retraceable past” (“*begehbare Geschichte*,” p. 345) in the Belvedere. *Vis-à-vis* the expansive layout of the Belvedere halls, the galleries were narrow, almost producing pangs of claustrophobia. One did not quite feel free. *Österreich ist frei* provides no documentation of the artifacts, but brief essays by specialists on the postwar occupation decade. They amount to an encyclopedia of sorts for these years. Allied postwar planning during the war is covered, as is the liberation of Austria by Allied armies and the difficult beginnings of the Second Republic.²³ All four occupation powers and their Austrian policies are represented as are domestic politics, including controversial issues such as de-Nazification and restitution. Given the interests of Karner and his Graz team of historians in World War II prisoners of war and their return after the war, the essays on Soviet POW treatment are particularly informative (Austrian POWs in Western captivity are predictably missing). Social and economic history is extensively treated, including sensitive topics such as *Russenkinder* and the Communist strike of 1950. The chapter on culture is surprisingly strong with essays on literature, film, theater and the arts, and sports (obviously, in the field of arts there is no comparison with the Belvedere exhibit). The entire final third of the catalogue covers the history of the State Treaty negotiations and its final culmination in 1945.²⁴ Individual essays are dedicated to the chief architects of the State Treaty, the one on the American architects such as Dulles being particularly uninformative. Ernst Bruckmüller’s two-page essay on Austrian national identity (p. 397) is trite compared with his treatment of the same topic in *Das neue Österreich* (pp. 241-54). Clearly, some in the tribe of historians ran out of steam writing their way through the demands of the *Gedankenjahr*. To sum up, in an archeology of postwar Austrian history, the Schallaburg show would represent the surface layer of traditional political, diplomatic, and economic history, while the Belvedere show also provides a deeper layer of Austrian subtle mentalities through its playful art track.

Even deeper layers of everyday life and an Austrian iconography, as well as an ethnography of sorts, are uncovered in the next two shows/catalogues under review. *Die junge Republik* and *Die Sinalco-epoche* offer a rich fare and provide the most substantive scholarly contributions among 2005 memory year exhibit catalogues. They both cover the postwar decade—the *Sinalcoepoche* reaching into the 1960s—the trajectory from shocking poverty to rich plenty. Hans Petschar is the director of the photographic archives in the Austrian

National Library, located in the vast *Hofburg* palaces in the center of Vienna.²⁵ For his visually stunning *Die junge Republik* exhibit, exhaustively documented in the catalogue, Petschar selected the photographs from an embarrassment of riches of some 10,000 negatives. This constitutes the entire archives of the United States Information Service (USIS) branch of the U.S. occupation government, employing some forty Austrian photographers in the postwar decade. These negatives were handed over by the U.S. Embassy to the National Library in 1977. Petschar begins each of his nine chapters with brief introductions, providing the reader with both pointers on the motives and iconic images and the photographers and their stylistic tools. Yoichi R. Okamoto, who joined the U.S. Army as a photographer in 1942 and came to Austria as High Commissioner Mark Clark's personal press photographer, became the head of the USIS in 1948. He trained some forty young Austrian photographers, thus giving a head start to some of Austria's most talented photographers of the postwar period (p. 300). Okamoto, who in the 1960s became President Lyndon Johnson's personal photographer, thus may be seen as the *spiritus rector* of sorts of this intriguing exhibit. The lush catalogue with its often stark pictures deservedly was a bestseller in the summer of 2005.

Petschar's visually rich photographic essay represents the entire trajectory of Austrian life from the stark days at the end of the war to the giddy excitement in Vienna on the day of the signing of the Austrian State Treaty. Nothing brings the complex characteristics of Austrian existence, rising like a phoenix out of the ashes of war, to life as do these photos. Petschar uses the original captions of the American USIA photographers, thus offering the viewer subtle insights into U.S. Cold War propaganda as well. There are the bombed out streets of Vienna (looking a bit like parts of New Orleans these days) and the *Trümmerfrauen* and Nazis cleaning up the rubble. Hungarian DP's marching home from Mauthausen KZ and young forlorn Austrian soldiers with despair written all over their faces returning from their POW camps look out from the pages as well. There is the intriguing "Joseph Goldyn Story" (pp. 40-3). The young American flyer lost both of his eyes in a bombing raid against Vienna in November 1944. Seven years later, he returns to Moosbierbaum and gives a winter coat to a seventeen year-old local girl who also lost an eye during that air raid. It may have been genuine, but more than fifty years later, it appears a bit like a staged Cold War melodrama. The USIS photographers obviously eagerly photographed the human side of such moving tales of postwar reconciliation between the victors and the vanquished. The sadness of the desperate poverty and enormous want in 1945 is richly displayed in images of a five year-old boy who collects cigarette butts, pathetic old

women digging for remnants of coal in the rubble, carrying bundles of firewood on their backs into Vienna from surrounding areas, along with the blossoming of brazen black market activity.²⁶

The subtext of the “Americanization” of Austria is writ large in this exhibit catalogue.²⁷ The beginning of U.S. food aid to Austria by way of CARE packages is documented, as well as the rich volume of Marshall Plan aid and the recovery of economic life in both industrial and rural economic life. The USIS photographers obviously had orders to document the export of American popular culture to postwar Austria and its eager reception in the land: cinemas showing Hollywood movies, performances of *Porgy and Bess*, and a young “Lionell Hampton and his 16 Black Bombers” jazzing it up in Vienna’s prestigious *Konzerthaus*, traveling “bookmobiles,” a large Boy Scouts meeting in Bad Ischl, and placid American GIs dancing with eager Austrian women in Vienna’s “Rainbow Club.” In contrast, Soviet soldiers are portrayed among themselves playing chess in their free time in a house that they had “seized” from the Austrians—no Austrian “chocolate girls” for them! U.S. generosity displayed in numerous Marshall Plan projects vital for Austrian economic recovery are juxtaposed with Soviet economic exploitation of their Austrian zone: oil transports leaving Austria, embarrassed Austrian workers in factories taken over by the Soviets, price dumping USIA stores in the Soviet zone, and a picture of a Soviet pack of cigarettes, “looking like an American pack of [popular] Chesterfields” (p. 139). The high drama of long-winded propaganda speeches of the 1952 Communist Peace Congress in Vienna is fittingly captured with an Egyptian delegate napping during the endless speeches of Communist propagandists (p. 211). Modern times were juxtaposed with the harsh life of farmers in the Alpine region. While in the cities the motor scooters arrive and Austrian hairdressers done up like Hollywood starlets gather around bars drinking American cocktails and listening to jazz (p. 219 ff), life remains a grind in the high regions of the hard-working Alpine farmers where nature is merciless (pp. 260-63). Some of these scenes may be lowbrow, but they are engagingly presented.

The final chapter is entitled “*Lebenskünstler*,” named after the 1938 Frank Capra film first shown in Vienna in 1947. It offers a fascinating “ethnographic gaze” (p. 249) from the outside—a visual biographical cross section of Austrian archetypes documented in the USIS photo series “Meet Some Austrians”: carefree kids eating candy in Vienna’s amusement park *Prater*, chimney sweeps, a “coal shoveler” (in its dramatic visual iconography resembling 1930’s Dorothea Lange-style gnarly Great Depression figures), the busy female mayor of Gloggnitz, women on the job (“*Frauen stellen ihren Mann*”), farmers, steel workers, teachers, office workers, window cleaners, and librarians.

These iconic Austrians represent everyday life in the early 1950s and suggest that the country was well on its way towards economic recovery and prosperity. The gaunt and desperate looks on the faces of 1945 survivors were gone. Now they are marked with determination and comfort signaling the advent of what Eric Hobsbawm calls the postwar “golden age.” These iconic visual biographies of the common people suggest a very deep level in our archeology of the postwar era.

The arrival of the “Austrian economic miracle” with its “golden age” of consumerism and widespread prosperity is the topic of *Die Sinalcoepoche*, the exhibit by the City of Vienna Museum on everyday food, drink, and consumer culture after the war (*Sinalco* was the name of a popular Austrian soda pop with instantly recognizable gentle twist bottle-top design). The curators collected an astounding number of posters, cookbooks, food culture items, tableware, kitchen tools, and historical bottles, mostly from private collectors. These objects may well be the best examples for Lucy Noakes’s assertion quoted above that selecting specific artifacts for museum display may lift them from the obscurity of “history” to the public realm of national “heritage.” The trajectory of everyday material culture of consumption addressed in this show (and the catalogue documenting it) again runs from “scarcity to affluence,” as Franz Eder’s thorough essay on consumerism in Vienna from 1945 to 1980 notes (pp. 24ff). The years 1951/52 represented a “turning point” from black market activity and “squirreling away” survivalist rations (*hamstern*) to richly set tables and celebratory food culture, observes Wolfgang Kos in his subtle introduction. In the immediate postwar years, the desire for good food was a symbol of freedom. In a kind of “voluntary reeducation,” observes Kos, by the 1950s the Austrians had eagerly adopted U.S. consumption models. “Americanization” became fashionable as a sign of rationalization and organization of everyday life.²⁸ Clearly, the quasi-“guardian angel” of “*Americanization*”—the adoption and/or rejection of everyday objects from the U.S. way of life—hovers over this exhibit. The housewife became the manager of domesticity. She had to learn new shopping and kitchen techniques on a daily basis. *Trümmerfrauen* transmogrified into *Hausfrauen*. A growing number of exotic import products came to Austria. Oranges from the south and pineapples from Hawaii signaled the arrival of the world at large, eradicating postwar poverty with its provincial ill-humor. A new consumer elite began traveling and bringing back new tastes; “the internationalization of consumption offerings destabilized traditional food customs” (p. 17).

The essays in *The Sinalcoepoche* offer the most unconventional scholarship to those who are looking beyond master narratives covering the well-tread celebratory anniversary history. They are specimen of

social and cultural discourses at its best. Sándor Békési covers the postwar rise and fall of the *Greisler*—the tiny one-room neighborhood grocery store to which one could walk to buy the essentials of life. Whereas a housewife did most of her shopping at the bakery, the butcher's shop, and other small neighborhood stores, the arrival of self-service grocery stores by the 1970s changed basic shopping habits. By the 1990s, most Viennese drove to huge supermarkets, many of them on the periphery of town, just as they are in American cities. People began talking of the *Greisler* in nostalgic terms. In the old city, he had functioned as the next-door distributor of groceries and as a vital local communications hub. For many Viennese overwhelmed by the rapid modernization of postwar life with its escalating anonymity, the *Greisler* became a "site of memory" (p. 41).²⁹ The first supermarket opened in a Vienna suburb in 1970 and quickly became the *chiffre* of American modernity and "consumer democracy." Big self-service grocery stores signaled "the American way of life" (p. 50) and rapidly became the norm in daily Austrian consumerism as well. The culture of friendly clerks asking, "How may I help you?" rapidly vanished. Instead, shoppers were directed through narrow aisles, lured by new products and cheap prices. The "supermarket paradise" ended a Viennese way of life. In a second essay, Küschelm provides a keen analysis of the advent of Austrian classic brand names such as *Thea* margarine, *Meinl* coffee, and *Haas* baking products.

Gabriele Sorgo's shrewd essay is on the archetypical *Hausfrau* who does it all. She manages the household and takes care of her man ("*Alles für ihn*," proclaims a reprinted poster, p. 79). Sorgo shows how bourgeois hierarchies were played out in daily rituals around the dinner table. Preparing the family's food was not only a duty, but also an activity that gave women power in the family setting. In the 1970s, more and more women began taking jobs, but their husbands still wanted them to be *Hausfraus*. Austrian women had a hard time shedding their archetypical postwar roles associated with food and love (p. 85).

Susanne Breuss' two insightful chapters cover the revolutionary arrival of refrigeration in households and other technological advances that made life in the kitchen much easier. Next to cars, TVs, and washing machines, the refrigerator became *the* status symbol for Austrian households. Refrigerators filled with culinary delights signaled "prosperity reaching palpably close" (p. 96). Electrical technology eased life for the modern cooks, "sped up" work processes, and rationalized the kitchen. Mixers and "*presto*" pressure cookers were the "kitchen robots" that saved time and energy for the housewife. The "electrification" of postwar Austria signaled modernization of all aspects of economic life, the private household included (p. 114). Electrical kitchen

gadgets were part and parcel of the Austrian economic miracle. The rationalized “American kitchen” became the fad in Austria as well, even though such kitchens had already been experimented with in the public housing projects of “Red Vienna” during the 1920s. During the initial postwar years, Austrian women contributed more than their share to the reconstruction of economic life. Reproduction and most of their other contributions were not remunerated by society. They needed relief and more freedom to improve their quality of life. The modern electrified kitchen gave it to them.

It may come as a surprise to many that fast food culture had existed in Austria long before McDonald’s and Burger King. Nicole Dietrich’s essay shows that fast food in Vienna was a homegrown tradition. The Viennese tradition of mobile sausage stands goes back to the nineteenth century, when sausage vendors walked the city with contraptions carried on their chests. After the war, an average of 320 *Würststände* spread across the city, giving the inebriated night owls a chance for a late supper on the way home from their favorite bar or the sober early birds a quick breakfast on their way to work. McDonald’s came to Vienna in 1977 and was accepted slowly. It is mainly popular among young people. Similarly, the arrival of the *espresso* challenged the existence of the traditional coffee house. While the coffee house invited customers to linger, to talk, and to take their time reading the daily newspaper, *esspresso*s served their harassed customers in the fast moving urban arena. It is this dictate of time that speeds up postwar life, and these essays present fascinating case studies how Austrians adapted to the “fast life” and “fast food.” On a personal note, many of the artifacts in this exhibit evoked a warm nostalgia, transporting this viewer back to the bygone era of his own youth when *Sinalco*, *Libella*, and *Austro-Cola*, along with *Petz* and *Manner Schnitten*, indeed defined one’s well-being, which is to say that many consumer products were homegrown and that not everything “modern” came from America. In our archeology, the history of every-day life, where a growing number of Austrians participated in prosperity and its changing consumer patterns, is the most familiar layer of the past with which most people can identify. These trivial objects of daily life are part of average Austrian postwar identity and are presented in the most highbrow fashion.

The National Library photo exhibit presented the brilliant U.S. public relations effort in selling the Marshall Plan’s generosity to Austrians to remind them on whose side Washington expected them to be in the Cold War. The Marshall Plan exhibit and its catalogue *Österreich Baut Auf/Rebuilding Austria*, covering the initial phase of postwar Austrian economic reconstruction in the Vienna Technical Museum, recounted the inner workings of the European Recovery Program

(ERP).³⁰ The Technical Museum staff seemed to have been the only exhibitor anticipating that an international audience might want to visit these shows, too, and provided bilingual German/English captions and catalogue texts. (During the Schallaburg exhibit, I personally translated some captions for American visitors.) This show told the story of postwar Austrian economic recovery and the crucial role the Marshall Plan played in it. The postwar economy was in shambles and suffered from serious bottlenecks in raw materials and critical infrastructure. The ERP provided the raw materials and machines, as well as the technical know-how needed to spark a quick recovery of the Austrian economy. It also produced the vital “counterpart funds” that gave the federal government the sorely needed investment funds for the oversized national economy and the many private industries to rebuild and to modernize. The state-sector steel factories, the nationalized hydro-electric industry, and the state railway system were principal recipients of such investment funds. In the private sector, the paper and textile industries, along with tourism and agriculture, were the beneficiaries. All of this was carefully documented in the exhibit. Unusual for the rest of Europe, food aid characterized the early years of the Marshall Plan in Austria. In a brilliant cameo of material history, original 100-pound flour sacks from mills in Minneapolis, St. Louis, and New Orleans, carrying U.S. grain to hungry Austrians, filled an entire wall. One almost could hear empty postwar stomachs growl. U.S. technical help designed to increase productivity and to introduce U.S. management know-how was another focus.

Naturally, the ERP sped up the “Americanization” of Austria by providing “food for the mind” as well. The American occupiers and keen Cold War propagandists filled suitcases with books and sent them to the most remote corners of Austria. The only remaining such *Bücherkoffer* was displayed filled with books and fiction on U.S. history and culture. A history in private photos of an unknown Austrian family through the postwar years concluded the exhibit and its catalogue. The well-known Austrian theologian Adolf Holl commented on these photos with a text about the generational unfolding of history and the intersection of individual and national lives. The Marshall Plan, in a way, still is alive and well in Austria. The U.S. government turned over all counterpart funds to the Austrian government in 1962. The *ERP-Fonds* was established to provide low-interest loans to and to fund innovation in Austrian businesses to this day (p. 136). Curators Helmut Lackner and Georg Rigele assembled a remarkable “themed display,” fulfilling their role as “interpreters of the past” who give “credence and legitimization to one particular version of event” that does not usually show up in traditional museum displays.³¹ Key Marshall Plan documents are

appended to the catalogue as is a complete scholarly bibliography of the Marshall Plan in Austria. While most of the exhibit catalogue essays make concessions to popular audiences and feature minimal bibliographies—and most approach their references from an inbred perspective citing no foreign language sources—this extensive Marshall Plan bibliography not only includes all the contemporary literature of the Marshall Plan years (1948-1952), but also includes the vast and relevant foreign language literature to the present. This exhibit finally dispelled the well-liked myth among many Austrian politicians that the country's economic recovery was sparked by the brawny hard work of the Austrian people and did not require foreign help.

The final catalogue under review here addresses more troubled subterranean layers of Austrian historical mythology and postwar mentalities of historical memory. "*Heiss umfahdet, wild umstritten . . .*" is the catalogue of an exhibit in the City Museum of Villach. It is dedicated to postwar political myths, some of which are advocated—and perpetrated, one is tempted to say—with particular fervor in embattled Carinthia. It is fitting that such an exhibit should hold the mirror of historical truths and deceptions up to Carinthians. It is audacious and surprising that such a show should have been produced in "Haider country." The essays in the catalogue are easily the most thought-provoking of the entire *Gedenkjahr* literature. They are iconoclastic and hard-hitting. They challenge the reader by inviting him or her to penetrate into the deeper layers of postwar trauma and historical myth-making and to confront the ugly face of the Carinthian politics of history. Acting as the principal iconoclasts themselves, Lisa Retzl and Werner Koroschitz assembled a younger team of historians. Heidemarie Uhl's essay covers the well-known path of Austrian historical postwar memory and its social functions, so often treaded by her before. Katharina Wegan recounts the myth-making surrounding the Austrian State Treaty during its regular five-year commemorations staged by the federal government since 1965. The State Treaty was canonized as a sacred event in collective postwar Austrian memory culture. In state-directed identity formation by way of an hierarchization of sites of memory, the signing of the State Treaty was given top billing, and the Belvedere Palace became sacred ground for political "pilgrimages" (p. 47). The government chose not the *Heldenplatz*, site of Hitler's *Anschluß* speech, nor the building where the Control Council met on the *Schwarzenbergplatz*. Prince Eugene's Palace had the aura of Austria's heroic age.³² Thomas Albrich summarizes the postwar myth of Austrian victimhood during the war. Peter Pirker touches on contentious issues dealing with *Wehrmacht* deserters and the failure of most Austrian politicians even today to give them credit for

having been the true patriots. No pangs of “second guilt” (“*zweite Schuld*”) surfaced in Carinthia.

Yet by dealing with the barbarities perpetrated by Carinthians during the war and the deceptive local and regional Carinthian memorial culture, Retzl and Koroschitz go the furthest in challenging official histories. In a relentless unmasking of defiant Carinthian public memory culture, Lisa Retzl shows how public memorials in Carinthia from 1947 until today have always insisted on the collective memory of Austrian victimhood. While the true victims of the war (Jews and Slovene resistance fighters, among others) have been excluded from the Carinthian “victims’ collective,” public memory culture has eagerly embraced *Wehrmacht* veterans and “victims of Allied de-Nazification.” There has not been a single monument built for Slovenian anti-Nazi resistance fighters, who fought bravely with the Allies and Tito Communists, that has not been defaced multiple times. In fact, the rightwing nationalist Carinthian *Heimatdienst* has been acting like Ku Klux Klan-type enforcers of public memory culture, regularly defacing Slovenian monuments. Everybody knows who brazenly defaced the monuments, but no one has ever landed in jail. The *Heimatdienst* has doggedly intimidated Slovenian attempts to gain the ethnic equality promised in Article 7 of the State Treaty. Continued Carinthian refusal to live up to the international law of the treaty amounts to a persistent violation of the State Treaty; the governments in Vienna and the former occupation powers have been tolerating this breach, maybe the loudest silence ringing through this memory year. These young historians in a myth-shattering catalogue demonstrate what the actual job of the professional historian ought to be, namely to debunk historical myths, not to reinforce them as many texts in the catalogues under review here tend to do. No “eternal verities” or trite sermonizing here!

Conclusion

Are “memory years” useful, and are such a plethora of exhibits necessary? Is a surfeit of historical memory³³ healthy for a nation? It is always good if the people get a better sense of their own past, especially young people who increasingly learn their history not in classrooms, but from television, the movies, and video games. If such rare “memory years” as 2005 are only used for popularizing grand narratives of national history and for reinforcing official myths through the traditional politics of history, then a great opportunity is wasted. If, however, deeper layers of historical meaning are unearthed and evoked such as the social and economic, cultural, and mental trajectories of the postwar past, along with everyday life of people, then citizens are reconnected

with the complexities of their personal identities and their own family histories. If, on top of this, people get a sense of how blatantly governments and official histories often misrepresent the past and how they build false monuments and deceptive collective memories, then they get an inkling of how febrile and fragile the construction of public historical memories is and how contentious the business of writing national master narratives can be. The stuff most citizens learn in school usually only represents the tip of the iceberg of a nation's historical trajectory. That it is the lowest common denominator most historians can agree on. Master narratives do not represent the real archeology and ethnography of the deeper subterranean pasts. To the credit of some of the 2005 memory year exhibits, deeper layers of history were probed. Strangely, the deepest layers were dug up in a local exhibit in the provinces far removed from Vienna's official *Gedankenjahr*. Quite amazingly and unexpectedly, then, the most daring and unconventional challenges to the *Gedankenjahr* emanated from the heart of Carinthia as a counterpoint to the traditionally smug Viennese intellectual community. In the Carinthians' "heart of darkness," alternate routes into the recent Austrian past were tested. Some flashes of brilliance occurred in Vienna, too, yet official memory cultures were frequently reinforced too facilely. At its worst, the exhibitions embarked on a stale, theatrical historical-memory-as-nostalgia trip.

One of the most glaring lacunae was the intellectual history of the Second Republic. True, it is hard to portray visually great critical minds such as Friedrich Heer, Hans Weigel, and Elfriede Jelinek's, or moral consciences such as those of Franz König, Simon Wiesenthal, Ruth Klüger, and Hilde Spiel in an exhibit. One must turn to the sixtieth anniversary issue of the Austrian Catholic weekly *Die Furche* to enter the discourses of these and other fine Austrian minds.³⁴ Of course, many of the best minds were Jews who left Austria in the 1930s or were forced to leave the country in 1938 (if they were lucky). The Ludwig von Mises, Paul Lazarsfelds, and Erwin Kandler made their weighty contributions in Anglo-American exile. Most Austrians do not want to be reminded of such self-inflicted trauma. Postwar Austrian intellectual history—the most highbrow kind of history—largely remains a history *manqué*. That may be the reason why it is so hard to write about or to display for a larger audience. While culture—the arts and literature—are represented in some of the exhibits and their catalogues reviewed above, ornery minds, such as Friedrich Heer and Tomas Bernhard's, only get a cursory hearing.

Notes

1. Speech by Chancellor Wolfgang Schüssel on the occasion of the presentation of the program for "Österreich 2005," 7 November 2005 [*recte* 2004], reprinted in Bundeskanzleramt/Bundespressdienst, ed., *Gedanken – Termine – Bücher: 1945 – 1955 – 1995 – 2005* (Vienna: 2006), p. 10. This is part of a handy three-volume documentation—namely this book of speeches, dates, and anniversary books quoted here, as well as two DVDs—reflecting the major events of the 2005 memory year. In the supposedly complete list of dates (*Termine*) of the memory year, conferences in New Orleans, Minneapolis, and Ottawa, as well as in Budapest and Vienna, that this author attended were not included—a snub of North American sites?
2. See Heidmarie Uhl, "Europäische Tendenzen, regionale Verwerfungen: Österreichisches Gedächtnis und das Jubiläumsjahr 2005," in: "*Heiss umfehdet, wild umstritten. ...*", p. 21.
3. Television journalist Hugo Portisch continued to be one of the principal myth-makers with his popular Austrian television documentaries. Chancellor Schüssel anointed him to be the "Cicerone leading through the past," establishing the "cultural guidelines" (*Leitkultur*) in the memory year, see his 7 November 2004 speech (n 1), p. 11.
4. For an outstanding analysis of the media's response to the 1988 memory year, see Heidmarie Uhl, *Zwischen Versöhnung und Verstörung: Eine Kontroverse um Österreichs historische Identität fünfzig Jahre nach dem "Anschluss"* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1992).
5. For the 1.25 million quoted in Chancellor's Schüssel's self-congratulatory final accounting of the "*Gedankenjahr 2005*," see <http://www.oesterreich2005.at/site/cob__14011/4381/default.aspx> (accessed 3 May 2006).
6. "Wir wollten zum Schmunzeln anregen," *ibid.*, and 7 November 2004 speech (n. 1), p. 11.
7. See the documentation in the DVD (n. 1) Bundeskanzleramt/Bundespressdienst, ed., *25 Peaces: Die Zukunft der Vergangenheit* (Vienna 2006).
8. G.W. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, transl. Anthea Bell (New York: The Modern Library 2004); Jörg Friedrich, *Der Brand: Deutschland im Bombenkrieg 1940-1945* (Munich: Propyläen, 2002); see also now the massive critique of the Allied bombing war by the British philosopher A.C. Grayling, *Among the Dead Cities: The History and Moral Legacy of the WW II Bombing of Civilians in Germany and Japan* (New York: Walker & Co 2006).
9. Konrad Paul Liessmann, *Die Insel der Seligen: Österreichische Erinnerung* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2005), p. 37.
10. Chancellor Schüssel even avers that ever since the Baroque era "celebration is part of Austrian identity," see 7 November 2004 speech, (n. 1), p. 12.
11. Lucy Noakes, "Making Histories: Experiencing the Blitz in London's Museums in the 1990s," in *The World War II Reader*, ed. Gordon Martel (New York: Routledge, 2004), 422-34 (here 423, 425f).
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. The chancellor had a busy year of opening exhibits and delivering speeches. If one looks at the collection of Schüssel's memory year sermons, the principal ideas of the Austrian postwar trajectory from war and dictatorship via occupation to freedom and

sovereignty, from poverty to prosperity, from Cold War neutrality to European integration tended to become repetitive; see his speeches in *Gedanken* (n. 1), pp. 9-12, 17-20, 21-25, 41-45, 49-52, 59-63, 71-74, 77-81. In the case of his brilliant opening speech at the Marshall Plan exhibit in Vienna's Technical Museum on 16 March 2005 (not reprinted in *Gedanken*), his principal ideas were directly excerpted from—but not attributed to—this author's introductory essay to the exhibit catalogue.

17. A similarly uneven product with interesting perspectives from abroad, but too many politicians writing their usual edifying trivialities on "European identity" and "historical milestones" is the anniversary issues of "Österreich und die Welt: 50 Jahre Staatsvertrag," of *Europäische Rundschau* 33/1 (Winter 2005).

18. For a possible first draft of such a book, see Katharina Wegan's essay in this volume.

19. For an uncomplimentary portrait of Karner, see Herwig G. Höller and Thomas Wolkinger, "Ein Mann der Geschichte," *Falter* 13/2006, 2f.

20. See Rolf Steininger, *South Tyrol: A Minority Conflict of the Twentieth Century* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2003).

21. There seems to be a growing movement in Austria to make the artifacts and the narrative of the Belvedere show the permanent core exhibits of an Austrian "*Haus der Geschichte*," the idea of which has been contentiously debated for almost ten years amongst historians and politicians.

22. Ralph Giordano, "Die Internationale der Einäugigen," in *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, 24 April 2006, 7.

23. Full disclosure requires that this author note his contribution to the first chapter with an essay on the Moscow Declaration for 1943, pp. 22-26.

24. The doyen of Austrian State Treaty historians, Gerald Stourzh, is only represented with a short essay on Foreign Minister Leopold Figl, one of the Austrian architects of the Treaty. He contributed a more substantive essay to *Frei – Souverän – Neutral – Europäisch: 1945 1955 1995 2005*, in *Informationen zur Politischen Bildung* 22 (2004), 7-20. His principal contribution to the State Treaty celebrations was his memorable keynote address to the Austrian Academy of Sciences in mid-May, reprinted in "Wie Kam es zu Staatsvertrag und Neutralität?," in idem, *1945 und 1955: Schlüsseljahr der Zweiten Republik* (Innsbruck: StudienVerlag, 2005), 65-82.

25. For a parallel volume dealing with both the history and the analysis of film on the occupation period, see Karin Moser, ed., *Besetzte Bilder: Film, Kultur und Propaganda in Österreich 1945-1955* (Vienna: verlag filmarchiv Austria, 2005).

26. The well-known American economist Charles P. Kindleberger visited Vienna in August 1946 as a State Department official dealing with Austrian economic affairs. On 16 August he wrote to his wife: "[...] Vienna is a sad city. Like Berlin, but even more so. Everybody is carrying a package, or a bundle or a rucksack. I saw a woman this evening with a netzli [sic] which showed the contents of at least some of the packages—six or eight pounds of potatoes." Charles P. Kindleberger, *The German Economy, 1945-1947, Charles P. Kindleberger's Letters for the Field*, with an historical introduction by Günter Bischof (Westport, CT: Meckler, 1989), p. 79.

27. It thus provides the imagery for the scholarly analyses in Günter Bischof and Anton Pelinka, eds., *Contemporary Austrian Studies*, vol. 12, *The Americanization/Westernization of Austria* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2004).

28. The larger trajectory of Americanization by way of consumerism is covered in the profound new book by Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2005). See also Charles S.

Maier, *Among Empires: America's Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2006).

29. Interestingly, the *Greisler* was not included in the three-volume encyclopedic Austrian *lieux de memoires* by Emil Brix, Ernst Bruckmüller, and Hannes Stekl, eds., *Memorie Austriae I – III* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004/2005).

30. Again, full disclosure demands that the reader know this author wrote the scholarly lead essay in the exhibit catalogue; see Günter Bischof, "Der Marshall-Plan in Österreich/The Marshall Plan and Austria," in *Österreich baut auf/Rebuilding Austria*, pp. 12-66.

31. Noakes, "Making Histories," p. 426.

32. See also Wegan's essay in this volume.

33. I take the notion from Charles S. Maier, "A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial," in *History & Memory* 5/2 (Winter 1993): 136-51.

34. *Die Furche*, 1 December 2005. The Viennese daily *Kurier*, launched by the Americans, celebrated its fiftieth birthday with a less high-minded special anniversary issue on 18 October 2004 by picking a signal headline from each year and having it analyzed by a prominent contemporary (for example, Ambassador Ludwig Steiner commenting on the special edition of 15 May 1955 "*Wir sind frei!*").