Teaching Austria

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Teaching Austria: Global

"The "Regionalist" Approach to Austrian History: Austrian Studies within the Context of German and East European History"

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Abstract
A regionalist approach to teaching European history at the undergraduate level enables Austrian history to be integrated into broader historical narratives that may attract significant student interest. This essay describes two upper-division courses organized around a regionalist philosophy, "Eastern Europe and the Balkans" and "The History of the German-speaking Peoples," and suggests a series of lectures and assignments in line with the aims of this philosophy. (AM)

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The "Regionalist" Approach to Austrian History: Austrian Studies within the Context of German and East European History

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This essay advocates what might be called the "regionalist" approach to teaching the history of Central Europe. The regionalist approach is a variant of what Robert Stradling calls "multiperspectivity," but it emphasizes geographic diversity as a relevant historical variable in addition to the more widely highlighted race, gender, class, and nation.

A regionalist course will make a conscious effort to balance different geographic perspectives when designing lectures and selecting course readings. All scholars must balance what Jonathan Chu described as the need "to reconcile the tyranny of generalization with the anarchy of the particular," but a
regionalist leans strongly away from generalization and thus has a high tolerance for "anarchy." The regionalist model is highly suspicious of the "center-periphery" approach, refusing to accept that all regions outside the capital city can be lumped into a homogenous and undifferentiated mass. A regionalist approach to German history, for example, would reject any narrative that shifted between Berlin and "the provinces," insisting instead that Bavaria, Saxony, and Schleswig deserve separate treatment. The regionalist approach is particularly suited for scholars wishing to teach Austrian history at university level: it integrates Austrian history into a meaningful historical context, but also into courses that will attract scarce student enrollment.

Specifically, this essay will describe two "regionalist" university courses that introduce Austrian history to upper-division undergraduates: a "history of the German-speaking peoples," and a history of Eastern Europe and the Balkans. These courses reflect the teaching experiences of a junior scholar in the early stages of an academic career. They were offered in different university settings. The first, "The History of Eastern Europe and the Balkans (1800-Present)," was an eleven-week module for third-year students at the University of Wales, Swansea. It met twice weekly for an hour-long lecture and then also for an hour-long tutorial (discussion session) every other week. The second course, "The History of the German-Speaking Peoples (1648-Present)," was a 400-level course for upper-division undergraduates at the University of Nevada, Reno. It met three times a week: students heard an hour-long lecture every Monday and Wednesday; each Friday, class began with a short lecture and ended with a discussion of primary source readings. Both classes were small enough for lively class discussion (15 and 6 students, respectively). Students in both classes were asked to write one large research paper based on a self-selected topic and smaller papers based on reading assignments.

My description of these courses concentrates on pedagogical issues arising from the regionalist approach. Primary among these is a question of definition: Austria lies in "Central Europe," a term which has two main meanings in two subsets of the historical profession. On the one hand, German scholars use it to refer to the German-speaking territories, apparently preferring "Central Europe" to "Germany" out of respect for Austrian sensibilities. On the other hand, "Central Europe" also refers to the region also known as "Eastern Europe" during the Cold War, many of whose intellectuals now prefer to distance the region from Russia. The journal Central European History, published by the University of Mississippi's Conference Group for Central European history, uses the former definition; Central Europe, published at the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies prefers the latter. The two courses suggested here mirror these two different understandings of "Central Europe." I will however begin by describing the course that introduces that region which will, for the sake of clarity, here be referred to as "Eastern Europe."

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1.

Any discussion of “Eastern Europe” faces a problem of definition: what exactly is the object of study? Courses in French, American, Russian or British history can follow a political narrative linked to a government. Eastern Europe, however, has no single political center, no common historical narrative, and no obvious defining characteristics. Alan Palmer was reduced to describing his object of study simply as “the lands between” Germany, Russia and Turkey, and several university syllabi describe their subject matter in similarly negative terms: Gary Shanafelt of McMurray University defines Eastern Europe as “the area of Europe east of Germany and west of Russia”; and David Morgan of Wesleyan University looks at the territory “between the ‘West,’ represented by the German- and Italian speaking countries, and the real ‘East,’ meaning the former Russian/Soviet Empire.”

Some instructors give narrative unity to a course on this amorphous region by organizing their lectures around a theme. John Spielman of Haverford College, for example, focuses on the study “of ‘empire’ as a form of polity,” comparing Habsburg conditions to “a range of imperial states in all parts of the planet.” This sort of thematic approach, however, reduces Eastern Europe to a case study data for theoretical discussions. I wanted my course to put the experience of Eastern Europeans in the spotlight, hoping that some of my affection and enthusiasm for the region would rub off on students.

Other instructors avoid confronting the region’s political fragmentation by limiting their class to a period and region with a common political structure. Ronald Coon’s course at Brown on “The Habsburg Monarchy and its Peoples” ignores the Ottoman Balkans and restricts its chronological focus to 1740-1918, enabling Coon to organize his narrative around dynastic events. Marci Shore’s course at Indiana on “Eastern Europe under Communism” only discusses the territory west of the Soviet Union, but takes its story arc from the history of the Soviet Empire. Such solutions become difficult, however, for a course that spans the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The regionalist approach works to counter such difficulties by placing the diversity of perspectives in the foreground of the story. Key events of Hungarian history may have limited significance in Serbian or Ukrainian history, so a regionalist narrative must jump back and forth between different national perspectives. The class may emphasize those historical milestones, such as 1848, 1918, 1945, and 1989, which transcend national histories; but equally it discusses turning points with a local significance, such as 1867, 1956 or 1968. If anything, the regionalist approach, seeking as it does to ensure that no one country receives disproportionate attention, increases the narrative discontinuity: it encourages instructors not to focus unduly on their own country of expertise, and thus to skip around.
To make the regionalist approach work pedagogically for "The History of Eastern Europe and the Balkans (1800-Present)" at the University of Wales, Swansea, I asked all students in this class to select a country of specialization. Bradley Abrams, from whose Columbia syllabus I took the idea, called this a "pet country." I referred to students in class as "our Poland expert" or "the Croatian specialist." I further grouped the countries of choice into two categories: Habsburg and Ottoman. Every student, therefore, was a country specialist, and either a Habsburg or an Ottoman specialist. All students, of course, were exposed to historical narratives from across the region, but were encouraged to focus primarily on "their" national story, and secondarily on their region: Habsburg or Ottoman.

This approach was designed to anticipate student interest. Students attracted to a course on Eastern Europe often have ancestors from the region; such students can focus on the country that inspired them to take the class. Even in Wales, not noted for its East European diaspora communities, my class included a Slovak-American exchange student. However, I believe that students lacking an ancestral connection to the region benefit from the case-study approach: it gives them a focus of concentration, and prevents them from being overwhelmed by the complexity of the region's history.

A student's choice of specialization affected class assignments. Most obviously, students wrote their research papers about "their" country. The British University system assigns students a list of approved essay topics. Hoping to give students the freedom to pursue a variety of thematic interests within these structural constraints, I established a list of approved topics which asked about the history of "Ruritania." Students then substituted their pet country.

Research paper topics
(Substitute your country of specialization for "Ruritania")

1. How did the social composition of the intelligentsia shape Ruritian nationalism? Discuss both individuals and organizations.
2. What did the Ruritian national movement achieve in 1848? (Macedonian experts use 1902; not valid for Albanian or Bulgarian experts).
3. Discuss Ruritian attitudes toward Nazi Germany.
4. What role has Ruritania's national poet/author played in Ruritian political history?
5. How did Ruritians respond to the Austro-Hungarian compromise? (not valid for Albanian, Bulgarian or Macedonian experts).
6. Discuss nineteenth-century British-Ruritian relations.
7. When and why did Ruritian leaders lose their loyalty to the Empire?
8. How did the millet system contribute to Ruritian nationalism? (not valid for Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, Croatian experts).
9. To what extent was Ruritian nationalism linguistic nationalism?
10. How did religious institutions affect the development of Ruritian nationalism?
Question 3 catered to unquenchable student interest in the Holocaust; Question 6 was inspired by the fear that British students might have difficulty finding a point of interest in the region, but this fear proved groundless.

To emphasize students' roles as regional experts, I also adapted from Bradley Abrams the idea of asking students to review a book of polemical nationalist history, which I described as the "mythic history" assignment. This assignment asks students to detect and filter out nationalist biases in a historical narrative. I consider this skill useful not only for budding historians, but for future citizens. Students were expected to point out at least one factual error, and did not seem to find this unduly challenging. Abrams used this assignment to problematize "national liberation" as a narrative template for the last century of Habsburg rule and insisted that students read books that achieved a certain minimal subtext: as he told me in an informal personal communication, "I didn't want them just going and finding some trashy book from the interwar years." My aim was for students to engage with nationalist ideology at its most exuberant and excessive, so I deliberately sought out highly polemical books, and as it happens my Hungarian reading (Otto Zarek's *History of Hungary*) first appeared in English in 1934. More recent histories appropriate for this assignment include Josef Polišenský's *Czechoslovak History in Outline*, Kirschbaum's *1996 History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival* and Gazi's *1973 History of Croatia*.

Reviewing a history text as mythic has several pedagogical advantages. It provides students a certain detail about the key figures and events in the history of their country: mythic historians, for example, frequently mention the works of canonical national poets or artists. More importantly, however, this assignment frequently introduces students to key controversies in the national historiography of "their" country. Such overt perspectives facilitate class discussions as students compare the contradictory narratives. A final advantage of this assignment at Swansea would apply to any university with limited library holdings: different students read different books, thus conserving scarce library resources.

Class readings also depended on a student's country of specialization. One assignment, designed to prepare students for the "mythic history" paper, asked Ottoman specialists to read a series of nationalist webpages about Macedonian history, in which the Greek, Bulgarian, and (Slavo-) Macedonian perspectives were represented. To illustrate the similarity of nationalist arguments in different contexts, Habsburg specialists received a list of webpages detailing Romanian and Hungarian versions of Transylvanian history.

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Discussion centered first on the degree to which incompatible territorial claims rested on disagreements about historical fact, but then turned to the rhetorical strategies used to promote or legitimate various polemics. The tendency to contrast "facts" against "myths," for example, is an object lesson in the importance of historical interpretation.

The final exam also reflected the regionalist approach. Course readings included excerpts from Slavenka Drakulić's *How We Survived Communism and Even Laughed* and Andrew Wachtel's *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation*, as well as excerpts from Jaroslav Hašek's *The Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk* and Heda Kovály's *Under a Cruel Star*. I told students that one of the exam questions would have two options: a Yugoslav question on Drakulić and Wachtel, and a Czechoslovak question about Hašek and Kovály. Of course, students could prepare for both questions if they preferred, but most concentrated their preparations on the books that had interested them the most.
The list of possible choices for student specialization reflects the content of lectures. My students in Swansea chose between Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Croatia, Slovenia, Romania, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, Albania or Bulgaria. Since my personal interest in Ottoman history is increasing, I will probably add Greece to the list when I next teach the course. An instructor with stronger teaching interests in the Russian Empire might omit the southern Balkans, but add Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic countries, similarly dividing students between Habsburg and Romanov experts. An alternative approach could ask students to select a speciality from a list of multi-national provinces. A list such as Transylvania, Moravia, Galicia, and Vojvodina touches on many national experiences, and thus would cater to the interest of most heritage students.

2.

I also used a regionalist approach for my Nevada course on "the History of the German-Speaking Peoples," which covered Germany, Austria, Switzerland and German-speaking diaspora communities in Eastern Europe. I defined the subject of the course with linguistic criteria partly because I personally have a research interest in linguistic nationalism, but mainly because several students taking German history also study the German language. My Nevada course attracted more students from the department of foreign languages than the history department. Such students deserve exposure to the entire region that their new skill opens up to them.

Historical periodization in the German-speaking lands, as in Eastern Europe, is complicated by multiple political centers. The accession date of Frederick the Great of Prussia is, for instance, not a particularly important date in Bavarian history; key events in Habsburg history may not be important in Saxony. Several respected experts in German history avoid this problem by restricting their geographic focus to the German Kaiserreich and its successor states, and by selecting 1871 (or 1870) as the starting date for their narrative. David Blackbourn at Harvard, Ute Frevert at Yale, Geoff Eley at Michigan and Rudy Kosjar at Wisconsin all use this approach.

This Prussocentric solution essentially ignores the Austrian experience, and only rarely discusses the peculiarities of Bavaria, Thuringia, Saxony, Baden and so forth. This is not necessarily problematic: all instructors teach to their strengths. No syllabus can cover everything, and the Prussocentric approach to German history raises plenty of interesting questions, not least those related to National Socialism. Scholars interested in discussing the Austrian contribution to the history of the German-speaking world, however, can hardly be satisfied with Prussocentricism as a solution to the pedagogic problem of German political fragmentation.

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The regionalist approach restores Austria to the narrative of germanophone Europe, while still enabling the course to engage with one of the great debates of German historiography: the "volkish" quality of German nationalism. Several scholars have derived the linguistic and cultural emphasis of German nationalism from the multiplicity of German-speaking states. The tension between political divisions and volkish nationalism, furthermore, is a consistent theme in modern German history, influencing, for example, the "Grossdeutsch-kleineutsch" debate in 1848, Bismarck's wars, Hitler's Anschluss, and German-German relations during Cold War.

I suggest, furthermore, that understanding volkish nationalism in comparative context requires an engagement with the Habsburg experience. Participants in the increasingly sterile Sonderweg debate typically contrast alleged German exceptionalism against France and England. The German tendency to define the nation through language and culture, however, appears less singular in contrast to Czech, Slovak, Serbian, Croatian, Slovene, or Ukrainian national discourses.

My course on German history explored volkish nationalism through a regionalist approach. I began with an overview of dynastic politics, discussing the Wettins, Wittelsbachs, Hohenzollerns, and Habsburgs. Attention to diverse political centers need not interrupt traditional narratives of Central European history: the War of Austrian Succession, for example, can be engagingly discussed from the perspective of Bavaria, whose Wittelsbach elector Karl VII proclaimed himself Holy Roman Emperor and attempted to depose Maria Theresa. The Saxon-Wettin bid for influence and territory in Poland similarly sheds new light on the subsequent Habsburg-Hohenzollern struggle.

After describing eighteenth-century dynastic politics, the lectures turned to the nationalization of German politics. Keeping with the regionalist theme, the lectures examined a series of case studies. We examined the spread of French Revolutionary ideas through the Hevetic Republic, German resistance to Napoleonic through the story of Hofer and heiliges Land Tirol; and Metternich and post-Napoleonic reaction partly through a discussion of constitutionalism in Baden. Even intellectual history can be given a regionalist slant: my lecture on Goethe focused not only on the Duchy of Weimar, but on Goethe's own attitude toward German regional diversity. Note Goethe's emphasis on Germany's many capitals:

What makes Germany great is her admirable popular culture, which has penetrated equally to all parts of the Empire. But is it not the individual princely residences from whence this culture springs and which are its bearers and curators? Assume that for centuries German possessed only the two capitals of Vienna and Berlin, or even only a single one [...] Now think about cities such as Dresden,
Munich, Stuttgart, Kassel, Braunschweig, Hannover, and so forth; think about the life-force that these cities carry within themselves; think about the effect they have on neighboring provinces, and ask if this would be so if these cities had not long been the residences of princes. (Goethe to Eckermann, 23 October, 1829)

My course readings, furthermore, sought to provide a balance of geographic perspectives. The readings for week three, for example, included a primary source from the Austrian statesman Metternich, an excerpt from Matthew Levering's excellent study of nationalism in Prussia, and William Godrey's description of a lesser noble family from a German microstate. Class discussion that week concerned Arndt's famous poem "What is the German Fatherland," which incidentally justifies a regionalist approach by listing several different German lands, including Austria.

After Bismarck, the Prussocentric narrative of post-1871 German history becomes impossible to ignore entirely, but lectures in this version of the course alternate between perspectives from the Kaiserreich and the Dual Monarchy; the Weimar Republic and the Austrian Republic. The First World War provides an interesting moment of unity, since the German and Habsburg Empires share similar experiences on both the battlefield and at the home front. The treaties of Neuilly and Versailles also go well together, not least because both treaties forbade the unification of Austria and Germany. At this point in the course, the tension between regional diversity and the pressure to unify all German-speakers into a single state have emerged as consistent themes.

Both narratives reach their climax in Hitler, an Austrian citizen who enlisted in the Bavarian Army and eventually unified Prussia and Austria in a single state. The Pan-German dream of unity, when finally fulfilled, quickly degenerated into a nightmare of war and deprivation. The dramas of the Second World War and the Holocaust temporarily eclipse the regionalist approach. The readings for week 12, for example, address the Holocaust. Post-war lectures, however, resumed the regionalist theme, alternating between West Germany, East Germany, Switzerland, and the Austrian Republic.

Students had a free choice of topics for their research papers, except that I forbade any papers on Nazi military history. I justified this ban by observing that the University of Nevada offers a course on the history of the Second World War, but I was equally worried that American students would wish to write about American military triumphs or disasters, which are only tangential to the German experience. Students interested in military history had several other wars to choose from, and in fact a student on an ROTC scholarship wrote his paper about the First World War.
I assigned three short papers based on class readings, comprising 12.5%, 6.25% and 6.25% of the student's grade. (The short papers were 25% of the grade, calculated as the average between the student's best paper and the average of the other two papers). For each essay, students answered a question of their choice. All questions could be answered solely from assigned readings, since the main purpose of these short essays was to test student comprehension of said readings. Essay 1 corresponded to the first six weeks of the class, which covered the period 1648–1914, though in practice my narrative began in 1733 with the war of Polish succession. The second period, corresponding to weeks six to twelve, covered 1914–1945, and both questions address different aspects of the question "why Hitler?" The final essay was intended to sum up the class as a whole. The regionalist philosophy is only visible in questions (2) and (7): the latter encouraged students to focus on a specific part of the German-speaking world, the former asked them to do so comparatively:

**Essay 1 topics (select one)**
1. How did linguistic nationalism of the Herder-Arndt type contribute to Bismarck's success?
2. How did the spread of nationalism affect German monarchies? Discuss at least 3 royal houses.

**Essay 2 topics (select one)**
3. How did Hitler's policies show discontinuity with previous trends in German nationalism? Give specific examples.
4. Many think the treaty of Versailles indirectly caused the Second World War. What were the most harmful provisions of the treaty? Justify your choice in light of German history during 1918-1945.

**Final essay topics (select one)**
5. Do you agree with Joshka Fischer that the nation-state is irreplaceable? Why or why not?
6. How has the meaning of the word Volk meaning changed since 1800?
7. Austrian Pan-German nationalism has a long history. Why has it disappeared? How would you rate the prospects of a Pan-German revival in Austria?

The regionalist approach had a greater influence on the midterm and final exams, which were based on the content of class lectures.

The novelty of the regionalist approach to German history raises the question of textbooks. Most textbooks on modern Germany reflect the hegemony of the Prusso-centric approach; I am not aware of any undergraduate textbook that teaches the narrative proposed here. Textbooks may, of course, be combined: an instructor could use two textbooks, one each for Habsburg and German history, supplemented with a course reader covering postwar Austria.
and the smaller German states. I personally dispensed with textbooks altogether, believing that upper-division students should concentrate their reading on primary sources or specialized studies. Indeed, I made myself popular by sparing the budgets of Reno students: my class had no required books. Several canonical primary sources for German and Austrian history are available online; for my course, the capable librarians at Nevada scanned the remainder. James Longhurst, after experimenting with "sometimes-lengthy web-based readings," concluded that "students have a deeply-rooted aversion to reading these documents from their computer screens."21 My students seem to have shared this aversion, but simply printed out the relevant documents. The only issue was the lack of page numbers, which slightly impeded reference to specific passages in class discussion.

The regionalist approach may not suit scholars who treat the Nazi Germany, or the Holocaust, as the culmination or pivot of German history. My syllabus reflects my own lack of research interests in the Nazi period, though I argue that it engages with the questions posed by Nazi Germany. German-Jewish relations, for example, are a recurrent theme, discussed not only in the context of Nazi Germany, but also in lectures on the social structure of the Holy Roman Empire, the religious dimension of Arndt's thought, the Wartburgfest, and student culture in the Kaiserreich. I also discuss the social and intellectual origins of National Socialism. That said, neither Anti-Semitism nor the origins of National Socialism forms the organizing principle of my course, and I consider this a strength.

Nazi Germany receives such blanket coverage in secondary education, to say nothing of the popular history represented by the History Channel (a.k.a. "the Hitler channel"),22 that upper-division courses should seek to counteract what the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority of the United Kingdom called "the Hitlerisation of History."23 I agreed with the QCA that teachers of German history should "broaden their teaching beyond the twelve years of Nazi dictatorship and to support a more balanced understanding of twentieth-century Germany,"24 and indeed would make the same point about nineteenth-century German history. John Snell, whose lectures addressed variations of the question "could it happen again," concluded that "few questions are more interesting to students," and that "few are more important."25 These sentiments are as relevant now as they were in 1968, but they reduce Germany's rich and complex history to a case study in political morality. I suggest that one can engage with the dilemmas of Nazi Germany without reducing German history to Nazi genocide, which remains only one of many formative experiences in German history. I also doubt that a course dominated by such considerations fully prepares students to understand the historical legacies they will confront while living or working in the German-speaking part of Europe. Indeed, Richard Evans reports that many of his students "are sick and tired of learning about the Nazis and want to start afresh."26 The regionalist approach offers an alternative narrative.
The regionalist narrative, finally, makes Austrian history an essential part of upper division courses that should attract considerable student enrollment. Austria is a small country; lecturers need a strategy for generating interest among undergraduates. Austrian experts can "sell" Austrian history by integrating it into larger historical narratives. A regionalist course in "German speaking Europe" integrates Austrian history into a wider narrative that reliably attracts student interest. The regionalist approach to Eastern Europe, furthermore, enables lecturers to present the full complexity of the Habsburg legacy history without overwhelming students, and caters to the interests of heritage students. The strategies outlined here are not, of course, the only possible solutions to the pedagogical problems of Central European history, but they worked for me, and may work for others.

Brad Abrams, personal communication, 5 April 2006. I found Abrams's syllabus online, but he has since revised his approach: the original is no longer available on the internet.


Abrams has since discarded the technique, feeling it unworkable for large class sizes.

Personal communication, 5 April 2006

Oto Zarek, History of Hungary, translated by Peter Wolkonsky (London: Selwyn and Blount, 1934).


Similar courses are also taught at Southwestern, Marquette, Bradley, North Kentucky, Whittier, SUNY Plattsburgh, and Coastal Carolina University.

For discussion of pedagogical problems posed by this approach, see Lawrence Birken, "Volkish Nationalism in Perspective," The History Teacher, 27, no. 2 (February 1994), 133-44.


