



# MASTER THESIS

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„The Making of Diplomatic Relations: Memory Politics  
and Its Influences on Bilateral Relations “

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*“On my honor as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it.”*

*Muaz Ceran*

## **Abstract**

How can the making of diplomatic relations be described? Often, the actions of one state lead to reactions from others that appear to be diplomatic responses. However, what happens when a state action unintentionally gives the impression of targeting a friendly state? Could this also lead to an appropriate response? The Turks were unintentionally and, despite warnings, made instruments of an internal political process aimed at legitimizing the Dollfuß government during the *Türkenbefreiungsfeiern* of 1933. The Second Ottoman Siege of Vienna was revived through narratives and spread throughout the country to shape and manipulate the collective memory of the Austrian population. Turkish newspapers quickly interpreted this development as a betrayal by a good friend. The response came in the immediate cessation of cultural and artistic events, while political and economic relations remained largely unaffected. This study collected empirical evidence from diplomatic archives of the Republic of Austria and Turkey to examine the role of 'Politics of Memory' in diplomatic relations.

## **Keywords**

*Politics of Memory, Austria, Turkey, Collective Memory, Türkenbefreiungsfeier, Narratives, Austrofascism,*

## **Resümee**

Wie lässt sich der Verlauf diplomatischer Beziehungen beschreiben? Oft führen die Aktionen eines Staates zu Reaktionen anderer, die als diplomatische Antworten erscheinen. Doch was passiert, wenn eine Aktion unbeabsichtigt den Eindruck erweckt, sich gegen einen Freund zu richten? Kann dies ebenfalls zu einer angemessenen Reaktion führen? Die Türken wurden unwissentlich und trotz Warnungen zu Instrumenten eines innenpolitischen Prozesses, der die Dollfuß-Regierung legitimieren sollte, während der Türkenbefreiungsfeiern von 1933. Die zweite Wiener Türkenbelagerung wurde durch Narrative wieder ins Leben gerufen und im ganzen Land verbreitet, um ein kollektives Gedächtnis effektiv zu formen und zu manipulieren. Diese Entwicklung wurde schnell von türkischen Zeitungen als Verrat eines guten Freundes interpretiert. Die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass die Reaktion durch eine sofortige Einstellung kultureller und künstlerischer Veranstaltungen, während politische und wirtschaftliche Beziehungen weitgehend unberührt blieben, erfolgte. In dieser Arbeit wurden empirische Beweise aus diplomatischen Archiven der Republik Österreich und der Türkei gesammelt und untersucht, um die Rolle der „Politics of Memory“ in diplomatischen Beziehungen zu beleuchten.

## **Schlüsselwörter**

*Politics of Memory, Österreich, Türkei, das kollektive Gedächtnis, Türkenbefreiungsfeier, Narrativ, Austrofaschismus,*

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May this thesis serve as a stepping stone in preventing those who wish to manipulate society for political purposes from succeeding in the future, and may it never be removed from that path.

*“ ich war geblendet, erstaunt, entzückt ”*

*Joseph Hammer von Purgstall when he saw the Bosphorus for the first time.  
Honoring his memory on the 250th anniversary of his passing.*

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## 1. Introduction

What defines relations between states, and what is diplomacy? There are numerous definitions of diplomacy and plenty of academic literature on foreign policy studies. Still, the following question arises: Is it sufficient to rely merely on the multiple approaches to understand diplomacy as a foreign policy tool to understand how states' foreign policies are formed, or could there be additional meanings of diplomacy, maybe beyond normative explanations of diplomacy? Most of what has been written on shaping diplomatic relations and making diplomacy focuses on state-centric approaches, formal diplomatic processes, treaty negotiations, and diplomatic practices of diplomats. Critical scholarly works dealing with international relations theory and diplomacy have been published over the years (e.g., Morgenthau, 1948; Plischke, 1979; Watson, 1982; Hoffman, 2003; Jönsson & Hall, 2005; Kissinger, 2012; Bjola & Kornprobst, 2018) providing valuable insights, different perspectives, theoretical frameworks; all seeking to understand the subject of international relations. Although they may differ in their specific approaches, frameworks, or methodologies, those are fundamental readings for anyone interested in diplomacy who wants to understand how states interact better.

A common theme in these works is the crucial role of diplomacy in shaping relations, often referred to with the simple introductory phrase: "*Diplomacy makes relations.*" If we assume that diplomacy makes relations, the question should be: What role does diplomacy play in making diplomatic relations? This question forms the fundamental basis of this research and thus needs further explanation. To understand diplomacy, we first have to look at the significant thoughts of international politics scholars to build upon these fundamental concepts. International relations scholarship divides the discipline into three meta-theories: Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism. These international relations theories help describe a state's behavior and the motivation behind its inter-state relations.

Nevertheless, they do not explain the specific factors that may positively or negatively influence relations. To fully understand the specific dynamics of diplomatic relations, carefully examining the various factors that could influence inter-state relations is crucial. Those factors do not necessarily have to be a state's specific foreign policy; more often, they can be domestic politics that influence the state's external politics. One such influence that should be highlighted in this thesis could be the politics of memory and the commemorating specific events, individuals, or even symbols.

All of these commemorative factors are essential for the politics of memory, which refers to understanding how historical events and collective national memory influence the formation of national identities and international diplomacy. Pierre Nora, for instance, argues in his work on the politics of memory that memory is crucial in shaping national identity since it describes the essence of belonging to a specific community or nation. Nora highlights that the politics of memory entails the deliberate creation and portrayal of historical events and individuals, which can mirror the interests, values, and power dynamics of dominant societal factions. Notably, he contends that the recollection of particular historical events can significantly impact present or future situations, as it can shape the understanding of the “self” identity and the “self’s” place in society. (Nora, 1996) Therefore, it is crucial to ascertain whether the politics of memory at the domestic level can influence a country’s diplomatic relations on the international level. The examples of neighboring countries and societies, especially given the current crisis hotspots in the world, could be well-known illustrations of what Nora meant in his work. For example, the commemoration of the Nakba Day by Palestinian people, which commemorates the displacement of Palestinians in 1948 after WWII, could conflict with Israel's national celebrations and could raise tensions between the two societies.

Another example could be the Moscow Victory Day Parade, which the Russian leader Vladimir Putin recently celebrated in the middle of the Russian aggression against Ukraine, which has the potential to cause even more tensions with Eastern European countries despite the anti-Western style of the Russian leader during his speech. (Politico, 2024) These neighboring countries, which have experienced Soviet hegemony in the past, could be reminded of the Soviet era, which could add to the ongoing tensions caused by the Russian aggression in Ukraine. Such commemorations can reactivate tensions between neighboring countries with a history of conflict, becoming triggers for diplomatic friction.

However, the question arises whether these concepts can be contested on the international level or between countries on the bilateral level. Therefore, this research thesis aims to answer the following research question: *Can the politics of memory shape diplomatic relations?* Given this context, I will examine the making of diplomatic relations with an alternative approach to traditional explanations of diplomacy. The politics of memory and the commemoration of specific events can cause serious friction between countries and significantly influence their bilateral relations. To achieve this objective, the case study of this research will focus on Austrian–Turkish relations during the interwar period. The analysis will cover the decade starting with the Treaty of Friendship signed in 1924 and extending until 1938 when the “Anschluss” to the Third Reich happened, and Austria did not exist.

To briefly introduce the background of this research, today, the Republic of Austria has clear borders that are internationally recognized, and even within the state, most Austrian citizens are committed to the Austrian nation. However, the fact that there is a minority of the population that is unsure of this identity shows that it is still not so easy to define the Austrian identity. (Vocelka, 2002) What makes Austrians Austrian and what distinguishes them from other national identities were questions asked and analyzed by Austrian intellectuals in the past. Therefore, this study will not address those questions. Still, an important point to consider is the approach that regards Austria's historical identity as a history shaped by collective memory. This viewpoint, which has been used in previous years and has been the focus of various research projects using social surveys, is directly connected to the topic of this study. (e.g. Brix and Bruckmüller and Stekl, 2004) This research will not deal with the Austrian identity building of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Still, it will analyze the attempts of the Dollfuss regime during the interwar period to form a national identity as attempts to address domestic issues that have led to repercussions on the international level. The analysis will explore the attempts of the government of the time to establish a unique national identity centered around Austrian Catholicism. One thing gets clear: the establishment of an Austrian-Catholic identity indicated that anyone outside of this group would not be considered Austrian and would be excluded from the community. Ethnic and religious minorities, especially the Jewish people, but also other minorities were officially not considered a part of the new republic and the “new” Austrian identity. To address this attempt of identity construction, this research will concentrate on a specific event, the “Türkenbefreiungsfeier,” organized by the government in 1933. The objective of this event was to honor and commemorate the Second Vienna Siege of 1683 by the Ottoman Empire and strengthen the Austrian-Catholic national identity. (Ackerl, 1984)

Compared to other works that generally draw on theories to explain social phenomena, this research will rely on historical facts to document the development of bilateral relations between Austria and Turkey. However, more research is needed that combines diplomatic history and international relations theory to explain social phenomena using an interdisciplinary approach. Therefore, this research will first establish the theoretical groundwork, focusing on the politics of memory, but its primary concern is the empirical application. For the empirical part, I chose to work with historical archive material from the Austrian and Turkish diplomatic archives, to which I have the best access. Methodologically, the material in the archives, primarily reports from the Austrian and Turkish ambassadors to their respective ministries, will serve as the primary literature. An additional remark is that the documentation of the archive

material presented challenges due to the need for more organization in the archives and the missing documents in the Turkish archives due to the semi-digitalization process.

This thesis will be organized in the following manner. Firstly, I will establish the theoretical groundwork by combining the “Self-Other” concept with the Politics of Memory. After this section, I formed the methodology of this thesis, which was used to combine international relations theory with historical research methodology. After establishing the theoretical and methodological framework, I will proceed to the primary empirical part of this thesis. This first gives an overview of the historical relationship between the Austrian Habsburg and the Ottoman empires, setting the context for their later interactions as modern states. After this historical overview, I examine the bilateral relations between the modern states Austria and Turkey after 1924, focusing on the period mainly marked by positive interactions and bringing historical evidence of a good relationship. Following this, the chapter on memory politics will include the historical event known as the “Türkenbefreiungsfeier” in 1933 and its instrumentalization by creating narratives in the context of the domestic goals of the Dollfuß regime. This will mainly include the motivations behind Engelbert Dollfuss’s decision to involve the Turks in commemoration celebrations despite Turkey’s country. The reports and newspaper articles that caused friction in the aftermath will be analyzed in the next section. Finally, as a conclusion to this thesis, I will present the findings of this research and identify potential research gaps for future studies in this field.

## 2. International Relations Theory and Diplomatic History

In this thesis, international relations theory is crucial to critically analyzing historical diplomatic correspondence. The main aim of this chapter is to review significant international relations theories to build the theoretical architecture with which I can contextualize the historical occurrences in the interwar period.

As mentioned in the introductory part, international relations scholars in the past tried to understand the making of understanding diplomacy by establishing critical theoretical frameworks. In this part, I will first review the different meta-theories to propose the framework for this thesis, which is the combination of two concepts: the self-other dichotomy and the politics of memory. By combining these two concepts, the primary objective is to shed light on how identities are formed through contrast and maintained and transformed through collective memory. To start with the meta-theories, as mentioned before, international relations scholarship divided the discipline into three meta-theories: Realism, Liberalism, and Constructivism, where many minor sub-theories developed over time.

The realists claim that the realist approach establishes a connection between security imperatives and balancing behavior and between balancing behavior and the formation of relations. Drawing on that, the realistic approach, shaped by major personalities like Hans Peter Morgenthau and Henry Kissinger (Morgenthau, 1948; Kissinger, 2012), argues that the rivalry of great powers highly influences the global political system. Therefore, power must be stabilized and balanced through diplomacy among the most powerful states to prevent them from fighting each other. Treaties, partnerships, and alliances have historically played a significant role in achieving this balance. An excellent example of this balance was NATO and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Even in cases where official alliances are not formed, as seen in US-China relations during the Cold War, the diplomatic practice of Kissinger as a state official and his diplomatic efforts from a realist perspective served as a tool to prevent imbalances between states. However, today, the rise of China and India as significant global powers and the establishment of the BRICS suggests the emergence of a multipolar international state order. This has led to a further reconsideration of the realist notion of balance among researchers. (Bjola and Kornprobst, 2018)

The liberal approach to understanding international relations theory, unlike the realist approach, emphasizes agency and is more optimistic about achieving good governance and lasting peace through collaboration and cooperation. It highlights the potential for cooperation between states, be it economic cooperation, cooperation in international institutions, or

promoting specific values, mostly democracy, that promote a more livable world in Europe or the West. International institutions, in this respect, play a crucial role. Joseph Nye, who is mainly known for his concept of soft power, and Robert Keohane argue that international institutions can help reduce the uncertainty between international actors and transaction costs and create a more predictable and stable international environment. (Keohane and Nye, 1987) According to Martin and Simmons, reducing transaction costs will also lower the chance that one party cheats on the other party. (Martin and Simmons, 1998) Another vital aspect is economic connectivity, as emphasized by Norman Angell, who argues that the costs related to the war in a globally interconnected economy make conflicts senseless. The best evidence for his argument is the project of the European Union. After the Second World War, the EU's initiative was based on economic cooperation among European nations to prevent future conflicts by fostering mutual economic interests. (Angell, 2012) Founded in 1951 as the Coal and Steel Community, an important aspect is that the EU exemplifies how economic interdependencies may foster peace and cooperation because coal and steel were vital resources for warfare during the 1950s. Recent developments, however, have led liberal scholarship to build institutions to force collaboration between state actors and separate institutions, weakening close relations. (Bjola and Kornprobst, 2018)

The last meta-theory foundational to this essay in international relations scholarship is constructivist thought. Contrary to the two other theories, constructivism has the identity, social structures, and other norms at the core of the approach to understanding states' behavior in the international arena. The self-other dichotomy plays a central role in shaping identity, and it is crucial to understand, in this context, that to define the “*self*,” it needs an “*other*.” Prominent constructivist scholars like Alexander Wendt argued that the global system is not necessarily conflictual, but the actions and identities of states influence it. In his work on social theory, he writes about three types of relationships: enmity, rivalry, and friendship. (Wendt, 1999) Without paying much attention to diplomacy, Wendt describes enmity as a condition highlighted by a sharp separation between the self and the other. Applying his distinction to relations between states, the Serbs and the Kosovars or Serbia and Kosovo case seems like a promising example of the enemy case. Another example is the work of the prominent scholar Edward Said, who made it one step further and argued that the Western representations of the East were not objective scholarly works but rather ideological identity constructions to define the self. (Said, 2023) However, friendship, conversely, explains the opposite of enmity by a strong identification with another. Good examples of friendly relationships could be the US and Israel or the concept of the European identity as superior to the national identities of member

states. In contrast to the other two situations, rivalry is more prevalent in a moderate medium position between these two extremes, where the opposing party is acknowledged as a rival but not necessarily perceived as an enemy.

However, the constructivist approach to identity seems like a positive path to use, to establish the theoretical framework for this thesis. The self-other dichotomy is often found in cultural studies, especially works dealing with identity formation. International relations literature has also addressed this concept to understand how entities, states, and individuals construct their identities. The earlier mentioned constructivist approach to collective identity and the relation to the other is described by either enmity, rivalry, or friendship. Adding to that, according to Wendt, the collective meaning is formed through contact, which in turn leads to the development of norms and rules. (Wendt, 1999) Iver B. Neumann, in his book “Uses of the Other,” claims that the East, and especially the Turks, had an important place in European identity formation. The process of othering is important for the formation of the self-identity. The predominant idea behind his understanding of the self-other dichotomy is also that individuals, states, and entities may only understand their identity by distinguishing themselves from what they are not. The other draws the line for all the norms and rules that don’t naturally apply to the self’s nature. Neumann takes a step further and explores the idea that the development of one’s identity is closely connected to the development of others and lines out that ignoring the importance of others’ development would inevitably impact one’s self-development. Thus, it is a process that is inherently relational and dynamic rather than just a formation for a certain period. Interestingly, he further points out that the Turks represented the whole world of Islam and that these representations of the otherness of the Turks were historically used to strengthen the collective identity of Europe and of being European. As he notes: “*Identity is always created in a dialogue with, or rather in differentiation from, the significant other.*” (Neumann, 1999) This, in particular, is interesting because it forms hostile perceptions, where the Turks, more often referred to as the barbarians, are consistently portrayed as the source of danger and as the one big enemy of all Europeans. The reference to barbarians is, according to Neumann, maybe best exemplified by the natural law theorist James Lorimer, who argues as follows:

*“In the case of Turks [...] we have had bitter experience of the consequences of extending the rights of civilization to barbarians who have proved to be incapable of performing their duties, and who possibly do not even belong to the progressive races of mankind.”* (quoted in Neuman, 1999)

This perception, according to Neumann, did not change also in the latter half of the 20th century as an article published in the Financial Times on April 3rd, 1990, makes a good example of this issue by claiming that Islam has never ceased to be the state religion in contemporary Turkey and that the Christian legacy remained a key component of European identity. The Turkish membership in the European Union may face an identity obstacle, as van Mierlo expressed during his speech in the European Parliament on behalf of the Dutch presidency, stating that no one would want a country with a Muslim majority in Europe and emphasized the importance of an honest approach regarding Turkey's membership. This discussion about the portrayal of the Turk as other is primarily bound to their representation and the image that has been given to them in Europe. (Neumann, 1999) This discussion will lead us to the review of the politics of memory, explaining Assmann's investigation into how identity may be shaped by just remembering some parts of the past.

The literature on the politics of memory is a well-researched field. However, this thesis will primarily apply Assmann's Politics of Memory framework and the uses of the "other" to analyze the issues in Austria during the interwar period. According to Jan and Aleida Assmann's research, Politics of Memory highlights a conceptual framework for understanding the process by which collective memories are formed, maintained, and used within communities. Starting with the French historian Pierre Nora: he initially developed the concept of politics of memory in his book *"Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past."* (Nora, 1996) Nora contends that memories are not solely individual reminiscences but are also influenced and formed by societal and political factors. In his work, Nora argues that people excessively discuss memory because of its scarcity. He emphasizes that individuals must experience loss before becoming aware of its significance. Nora then argues that memory is a social and cultural concept formed, upheld, and disputed through public discussions, monuments, memorial actions, and group ceremonies. In his research, he also argues that memory plays a significant role in forming the national identity as it establishes the basic feeling of belonging to a particular society or to a particular nation. Moreover, he highlights that memory politics involves constructing and portraying historical events and personalities by purpose, which leads to the reflection of the interests, values, and power dynamics of the masses. Moreover, the way people remember historical events can have a considerable impact on present and future situations, as it has the capacity to shape the society's understanding of their own identity and their role in society. (Nora, 1996) Assmann in her idea of communal memory, identifies four distinct memory formations: individual memory, social group memory, national memory, and cultural memory. These formations vary in terms of space and time, dimensions, and stability. Aleida Assmann applies

this to a general concept and concludes that cultural memory, which is the type of memory essential for this research framework, refers to memory established through intentional methods generated by state institutions under the control of regimes. (Assmann, 2008)

Her contributions to cultural memory formations seem promising for my case study and thus, it needs further investigation on it. Cultural memory creates a feeling of communal identity, unity, and connections among individuals within a particular society rooted in a shared historical background. The primary objective is to transmit carefully chosen information and analyze historical events to enable individuals in a specific culture to establish a shared collective memory and a unified sense of identity. (Assmann, 2011) Furthermore, she adds that selective memory can lead to remembering but also to forgetting events in the past that do not fit the political agenda or the formation of a specific identity for a certain group. This selective memory can also be a method of how a particular government decides to commemorate wars, revolutions, and other events of the past. Monuments, sculptures, museums, and holidays are all instruments of memory politics, which are by purpose there to shape the collective recollection and mostly subjective understanding of a country's history. (Assmann, 2011)

Yet, the integration of Neumann's concept of the Turks as the “others” with the theory of politics of memory establishes the theoretical framework of this research, which will enable a better understanding of the attempt at the formation process of a Catholic-European identity. Moreover, it will facilitate comprehension of the complex environment in Austria during the interwar era, characterized by conflicts of domestic interests. The process of othering, as described by Neumann, will be seen as a foundational aspect of how collective cultural memories are constructed. The “other” in this context functions as a reference point against which the collective identity is defined. In turn, the politics of memory is ensuring that how the Austrian-Catholic identity was maintained or adapted over time. This different theoretical approach emphasizes the interplay between remembering and othering, which will also illustrate that the past or history is easy to rewrite and that certain attempts can influence future decisions for society.

### 3. Methodology

This study will employ a qualitative research approach to address and gain a deeper understanding of the initial research question: Can the politics of memory shape diplomatic relations? In order to accomplish this, it requires a methodology that enables us to thoroughly examine and precisely understand historical archive material. Thus, Trachtenberg's work on the craft of international history becomes valuable due to the inclusion of guidance on how to deal with primary sources. The key to working with historical evidence, according to Trachtmann, is to put the information gained from the source into the context of historical events. (Trachtenberg, 2006) Working with primary sources, this research will gain firsthand insights into the bilateral relations between Austria and Turkey during the interwar period, which hasn't been researched in this manner to this time.

The traditional historical approach to analyzing the relations is to look at the official events and occurrences between states in the form of official meetings, government visits, consultations, and the exchange of documents. This research will employ methodologies of the new methodological framework of the new diplomatic history. To briefly describe this new understanding of diplomatic history, it is crucial to mention that it has evolved into a diverse and inclusive discipline. It has integrated broader considerations into a discipline that was formerly very conservative and was dominated by the examination of bureaucracy and foreign policy. Practitioners use various methodological and theoretical approaches to address multiple issues and linkages that were not extensively covered during Mattingly's time of writing the "Renaissance Diplomacy." (Mattingly, 1988) In contrast to the conservative approach, this research not only examines the bureaucratic exchanges between the two countries but also explores non-bureaucratic and non-conservative modes of exchange. These non-bureaucratic exchanges include labor, artists, companies, architects, sports events, and other types of activities, which facilitated an exchange between Austria and Turkey. In order to separate the categories, it is important to differentiate Track-I and Track-II diplomacy. Track-I in international relations refers to official bureaucratic exchanges where countries interact through official channels. On the other hand, Track-II refers to informal and unofficial exchanges. It could be possible to employ Track 1.5 diplomacy, which is a semi-state, semi-civil separation, but this thesis should employ just two types to reach evidence about whether the remembrance of the Siege of Vienna resulted in tensions or not. Furthermore, I suggest that if such tensions did arise, they would have impacted a specific type of track diplomacy, and thus, it is important to separate state and non-state influences through Track-I and track-II. Moreover, to analyze whether civil society was influenced by certain actions, it is important to include local journals

and magazines in the analysis. This can become more important when the research also provides information about the domestic politics of each country during the commemorations.

Applying this methodological framework to the theoretical combination of the self-other concept and politics of memory should enrich the understanding of the study of diplomacy. It should test the main hypothesis of this research, which is the assumption that the politics of memory can shape bilateral relations.

#### 4. Ups and downs in diplomatic relations: Austria – Turkey

The following chapter analyzes the ups and downs of bilateral relations between Austria and Turkey, briefly reviewing their first interactions during Empire times. This empirical part of the research aims to provide evidence supporting the argument of this thesis, which is that memory politics can make diplomatic relations. The next chapter, *Von Feindschaft zur Waffenbrüderschaft* (from Enmity to Brothers in Arms), briefly summarizes the interactions of the Austrians and the Turks before establishing the two modern republics. The main goal here is to provide historical context regarding the events that led to the “Türkenbefreiungsfeier” - the crucial event to this research. Moreover, the chapter after this will examine the various forms of diplomatic ties that emerged after the Treaty of Friendship in 1924. It will highlight the improvements in the relations and differentiate between Track-I and Track-II diplomacy, as previously mentioned.

##### 4.1 An Overview of Relations: *Von Feindschaft zur Waffenbrüderschaft*

Defining the starting point of diplomatic relations between the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires proves challenging. Academics generally argue that the first contact between the two empires occurred in 1526 when the Ottoman Sultan Süleyman defeated King Louis of Hungary in Mohacs, opening Europe's doors to his empire and becoming neighbors with the Austrian Habsburg Empire. (Emecen, 2015; Inalcik, 2010) Others argue that the first interaction happened when the Ottomans began territorial expansion into the Balkans, particularly with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. This significant event represented the growing impact of the Ottoman Empire on the European continent, which led European nations to react, primarily by launching the Crusades to stop the Ottoman expansion. The involvement of the Austrian Habsburg Empire in sending crusaders for the Crusades marks the first interaction between the two Empires for other scholars. (Afyoncu, 2018; Bremm, 2021; Vocolka, 2002) Afyoncu splits this relationship into two parts. The first stage of the relationship covers 1493 to 1664, marked by the offensive actions of the Ottomans and the defensive efforts of the Habsburgs. The second phase, from 1683 to 1791, is characterized by the Habsburgs' offensive actions and the Ottomans' defensive efforts. (Afyoncu, 2018)

However, following a series of ups and downs in the relationship between these two great empires, an important event took place that remained deeply rooted in the collective memory of the Austrian people for over three centuries. The Ottoman Empire's steady decline and defensive actions began with the Second Siege of Vienna, attempted by the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa Pasha. This time, commonly known as the “regression period” in

numerous historical works by historians, represented a pivotal moment in Ottoman and Habsburg history. (Inalcik, 2010; Lewis, 1958) The politicization of this event as memory politics in the following centuries provides this research with crucial evidence for the test of the argument. Thus, looking at the historical background of the Second Siege of Vienna in 1683 by the Ottoman Empire is essential.

After the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, the Habsburgs wanted the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, claiming that because of the double marriage between the Austrians and the Hungarians, Hungarian soil should belong to the Austrian Empire. The Magyar landowners resisted the authority of the Habsburgs and Ferdinand over the Hungarian territories. Instead, they chose the leadership of a young man, Johann Zapolya, with the backing of the Ottoman Empire. This decision was just the brink of a civil war, reaching its peak with the first Ottoman endeavor to besiege Vienna by Soliman the Magnificent. Soon, the Ottomans had to withdraw, and Vienna was liberated due to the unfavorable weather conditions and the late stage of the summer season for the Ottoman Army. Nevertheless, it is crucial to acknowledge that anti-Ottoman propaganda had already established a negative image of the Turks as “barbarians” and “non-Christians” at that period. (Vocelka, 2002)

The second attempt to besiege Vienna, almost a century after the first, had a strategic but also a personal motivation by the Grand Vizier. Turkish scholars argue that Kara Mustafa Pasha's drive to conquer Vienna came from the esteemed Köprülü Family household, where he was adopted. In an over-ambitious attempt to exceed the achievements of his relatives, he launched an effort to besiege Vienna without the approval of the Sultan - according to a group of historians, he did inform the Sultan and got his approval - which caused his execution after his defeat in Belgrade. Before the Ottoman army arrived in Vienna, Kaiser Leopold and approximately 80.000 residents of Vienna left the city and went to Passau. The Kaiser aimed to coordinate and form the rescue army outside the city. Vienna was left to Ernst Rüdiger from Starhemberg, who was responsible for defending the city with limited resources. The siege lasted for months until the intervention of the rescue army, led by the King of Poland, Jan Sobieski III, arrived and rescued the Viennese people and the besieged Vienna. Following the liberation of Vienna, a new chapter of brutal war, with Prince Eugen as commander of the Austrian army and a weaker Ottoman Empire, should characterize the relations between these two Empires until they signed a Peace Treaty named after the city of Carlowitz in 1699. (Bremm, 2021; Sakul, 2021)

However, after the Congress of Berlin, surprisingly, the Orient became attractive to many European people, and Austrians became especially interested in the culture, architecture, etc. of the Orient. Austrian and German universities started conducting academic study initiatives on the Ottomans under the name “Orientalism.” Furthermore, the impact of Turkish culture on areas such as music and literature has attracted considerable attention, leading some historians to name this effect 'Turkfashion' (germ.:Türkenmode). (Baker and Vambery, 1979) An essential event of the friendly connection was the arrival of Sultan Abdulaziz in Europe in 1867, which signified the first trip by an Ottoman Sultan to Europe. This event was exceptional since, conventionally, a Sultan was prohibited from stepping on enemy soil for purposes other than moving to war. To maintain this tradition, an interesting and noteworthy diplomatic concession was provided by the ruling elites of the Ottoman Empire, which was the following diplomatic soft skill: a tiny cylinder filled with soil from the Ottoman Empire was inserted inside his footwear, guaranteeing that he did not violate the regulation by moving across Europe. Following his visits to London and Brussels, he proceeded to Vienna, where he received a fascinating reception from the residents, who were able to see an Ottoman Sultan for the first time.

After almost two centuries of normal relations and occasional friction, the relationship, which started with an enmity, became an alliance during the Great War. The so-called 'Waffenbrüderschaft' refers to the alliance between Germany, the Habsburg Empire, and the Ottoman Empire, which was meanwhile led by the Young Turks and ultimately ended in defeat with the win of the Entente powers. (see Annex 1) During this period, Enver Pasha ordered approximately 30,000 soldiers, a significant number for the first deployment abroad to support middle Europe, to Galicia, and according to some studies and historical records, just about 5,000 of the Turkish soldiers returned to their homes. (Erickson, 2003; Murphy, 1920)

Today, one can note that the transformation of the stereotypical perception and prejudices regarding the Turks as “barbarians” and the “Enemies of the Christians” happened mainly during the Enlightenment era, firstly in Western Europe and subsequently in Austria. Nevertheless, the continuing impact of these stereotypes over the 19th and 20th centuries, despite alliances and friendly relationships, could be seen among the general population and in the writings of historians mainly influenced by Catholicism. (Vocelka, 2002) After the Great War and the establishment of two modern states, it took not long to restart diplomatic, friendly relations from both sides. The next chapter deals with diplomatic relations after the Treaty of Friendship between Austria and Turkey, which was signed in 1924.

## 4.2 Treaty of Friendship 1924: Enhanced Diplomatic Relations

After the Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Empires were defeated in the Great War, both Empires collapsed and were dissolved. Upon ratifying the Armistice of Mudros after the conclusion of the First World War in October 1918, the Ottoman Empire was compelled to terminate its diplomatic ties with Austria, resulting in the departure of German and Austrian nationals residing in Ottoman areas. (Baran, 2003) On the Austrian side, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye stated in Article 242 of the Treaty that all previous treaties, conventions, and agreements were annulled. In the Treaty, it stated: *“Austria recognizes that all treaties, conventions or agreements concluded by her, or by the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, with Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria or the Ottoman Empire since August 1, 1914, until the coming into force of the present Treaty are no longer in effect.”* (Treaty of Peace between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Austria, 1919) A document in the Turkish Diplomatic Archive indicates that, conversely, it was not necessary to send Turkish nationals residing in Austria back to Turkey. Those who had settled in Austria as Turkish nationals obtained Austrian nationality, and a report explains that these individuals were taking advantage of Austrian legislation, which did not require them to perform military service, to have their nationality recognized in Austria. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42802 - 193346 - 81) However, due to these restrictions on their foreign policies, Austria and Turkey faced significant challenges in maintaining diplomatic relations between 1918 and 1923.

On the other hand, Turkey was still in the process of establishing a new republic and striving for its independence because of the military presence of the Allied forces in the region. The term *Istiklal Harbi* (the Independence War) and *Milli Mücadele* (the National Struggle) in Turkish refers to the same period between 1918 and 1923 of hybrid warfare led by Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The ultimate goal of this counter-offensive was to regain Turkish sovereignty in the Anatolian mainland and to remove the Greek, French, Italian, and British forces from the region. The Turkish Republic obtained international recognition of its sovereignty only after the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in July 1923. This treaty was signed between Turkey, the Allied forces, and various other countries that emerged from the Ottoman Empire, including Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Romania, and others. Consequently, the Turkish Republic got the formal declaration in their National Assembly on October 29, 1923 and granted the autonomy to establish their own foreign policy. (Erickson, 2021)

Following the Turkish Republic's declaration, the government of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey took the first step to restore bilateral ties with former partner countries, especially those crucial to young Turkey's development. Austria was with Germany, one of the countries where Turkish interests relied most. As the first signs of Track-I diplomacy between those two countries, one can see that after Adnan Bey, the Turkish delegate, received the instructions on starting the formal procedures for restoring diplomatic relations, he started first contact with his Austrian counterpart, August von Kral, who was on duty in Hungary. Their common goal was to sign three Treaties, namely, the Trade, Friendship, and Residency Treaties, where the Treaty of Trade was the most important one. Thus, economic cooperation was highly important for both countries to negotiate first. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 192442760 – 193328-131)

August von Kral states in an article for an economic newspaper that Austria's manufacturing sector has rapidly progressed and produces a wide range of industrial goods such as iron, steel, and various types of machinery. Furthermore, he notes that due to that progress, Austrian factories manufactured essential goods like mills, agricultural tools, mining equipment, tiles, steel tools, and many other materials that could be important for the agricultural development of Turkey. On the other hand, August von Kral pointed out that Austria could also benefit from business cooperation with Turkey, particularly by importing essential products for daily needs, such as figs, grapes, carpets, stones, leather, silk fabrics, and tobacco, which are available in huge amounts in the Turkish market. (Öncü and Cenevizliler, 2013) The first round of negotiations began in November 1923, with Adnan Bey serving as the chief negotiator for Turkey and August von Kral as his Austrian counterpart. In his letter to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, he informs the Ministry with the following note on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1924: "*The Austrian delegate, monsieur Kral, arrived; tomorrow, we will start the negotiations*" (origin. in Ottoman Turkish, Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42760-193328-74, 1924). After reaching an agreement, both parties submitted the outcomes to their respective ministries for approval and signing. There were some objections to the agreed-upon documents, but after further rounds of consultations, both sides were ready to ratify the agreements. Finally, on January 28, 1924, the Treaty of Friendship was signed. The delegations agreed on two other treaties, namely the Treaty of Residency and the Treaty of Trade, in the former building of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Istanbul, with the presence of August von Kral representing the Austrian side. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folders 42480 - 192789 - 58 and 42796 - 192993 – 134, 1924, see Annex 2 for Austrian and Turkish Version)

Contextually, the signing of this Treaty highlights the fact that both nations faced substantial difficulties following World War I. Internally, as a result of the dissolution of the Monarchies, both countries saw similar occurrences in the establishment of effective government and political stability. As a result of the limited industrial progress during the Ottoman era, contemporary Turkey had to take significant measures to establish its own national industries. Consequently, Austria and other countries became crucial partners with longstanding positive relationships. The Treaty of Friendship, in this context, fostered tighter alignment of both countries' foreign policies and ensured the mutual pursuit of strong diplomatic ties. Moreover, these accords established a good climate for the citizens and entrepreneurs of both countries to engage in their respective activities in the other country. It provided a significant opportunity, maybe not necessarily guaranteeing unrestricted freedom of movement, but it provided the citizens the right to obtain and maintain residency in the country easily. Once again, within the Trade Treaty, both parties agreed not to restrict each other's business dealings. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42480 - 192789 - 58) Years after the "Waffenbrüderschaft" in the Great War, this Treaty represented the first significant step in official diplomatic relations for both countries. Thus, it is regarded as the beginning of the Track-I diplomatic interactions in this thesis.

The period following the Treaty of Friendship until the early 1930s was primarily marked by strong diplomatic ties and collaborations in several domains such as economics, politics, culture, and more. The Turkish Embassy in Vienna was established during the time of the Ottoman Empire, namely in 1798. The first Ambassador to be assigned to this embassy was Ibrahim Afif Efendi, who served in this position for a duration of two years, until 1800. Following Ibrahim Afif Efendi, the Ottoman Empire dispatched a total of 31 ambassadors until 1918. The newly established Republic of Turkey appointed Mehmed Hamdi Bey as the first Turkish Ambassador to Austria after Ottoman times, and Mehmed Hamdi Bey held his post until 1934. In contrast, the beautiful Austrian Embassy building in Istanbul had a tragic ending. The Embassy was first acquired in 1792, namely the Palazzo di Venezia, a remarkably beautiful structure of unique European architectural significance. It served as the Embassy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for nearly a century, and a total of 12 Ambassadors were sent to Istanbul by the Empire. These numbers also indicate that Austrian Ambassadors served much longer than Turkish Ambassadors. Following the signing of the Treaty of Friendship, August von Kral, who played a crucial role in its development, assumed the position of the first Austrian ambassador to Turkey. He served in this capacity until 1933, at which point he gave up his post to Karl

Buchberger. Between 1929 and 1933, after he got injured, he had to temporarily leave the work to Norbert Bischoff. (Samsinger, 2023)

After the signing of the first three treaties, the next step for both countries was to agree on other matters concerning judicial and legal guidelines. Therefore, as indicated in three reports from the Turkish diplomatic archive, preparations for a legal and judicial treaty commenced on May 22, 1924. Concurrently, August von Kral submitted the first request to the Federal Ministry for cultural exchanges related to our thesis, the so-called Track-II diplomatic exchanges. Track-II Diplomacy also played a pivotal role in initiating a new phase of relations between the two countries, and the following invitation marked the first diplomatic exchange in cultural matters. His request pertained to the 7th International Fair in Vienna and the transportation of Turkish goods to showcase Turkish culture and products at the fair. Moreover, he also invited Turkish exhibitors and buyers to participate in the fair. “[...] *It is all the more regrettable that Turkish industry and arts and crafts are not represented at all at the Vienna Fair. [...] However, it has come to my attention that the Government of the Republic has decided to send a collection of Turkish products to the Frankfurt Fair, which will take place from September 21st to 27th, and that it intends to draw the attention of interested Turkish circles to this Fair by inviting them to participate either as exhibitors or as visitors and buyers. [...] In view of the fact that the Vienna Fair will be held from September 7th to 14th, I have the honor of requesting Your Excellency to allow the Turkish Government and interested parties to participate in the same way, which will be all the easier as the collection destined for the Frankfurt Fair could very well be exhibited there as well when it passes through Vienna.*” (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42759 - 193325-1, see Annex 3 for records of the Austrian archive)

#### 4.3 Europeanization of the Young Republic: The Austrian Contribution

After having showcased two of the first examples regarding Track I and Track II Diplomacy, it is now crucial to understand the changing dynamics of Turkey with the establishment of a government that replaced the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, a relatively small and underdeveloped city compared to Istanbul during Ottoman times. Mustafa Kemal and his friends had the goal of modernizing Turkey in every aspect, and Europe should be the role model for doing so. The founders of modern Turkey aimed to create a modern state by undertaking fundamental changes in many fields in the country. One of the fundamental changes that had to be done was to switch to a national and unitary republican regime, which

was based on secularism and Western democracy. Religion, particularly Islam as statehood, had to be abandoned to create modern Turkey according to the Kemalist agenda. Other reforms, such as abandoning the Khalifate in 1924, the so-called “*Şapka Kanunu*” (Hat Law), and further steps to secularization, such as the closure of the Tekke, Zaviye’s (Islamic Monasteries) and tombs, and the acceptance of the international calendar, time and measurement units strengthen the goal of creating a modern secular nation-state. (Doganer, 2010) Even the switch from Arabic letters to the Latin alphabet in 1926 was seen as a move towards Europeanization. Although prominent intellectuals like Murat Bardakci and Saban Teoman Duralı in contemporary Turkey consistently criticized this decision, arguing that it led to the sudden ignorance of an entire society overnight, to many people, it was a crucial step toward becoming a European nation. Especially in line with the Kemalist reforms and the founding ideology, Europe and European countries were sources of inspiration, especially when it came to administration, education, and social progress. (Kili, 1980) The purpose of the remaining part of this chapter is to emphasize the significant impact of Austria and Austrians on the process of Europeanization in contemporary Turkey and especially on Ankara, the new capital of contemporary Turkey.

Regarding the appointment of ambassadors in both nations, August von Kral presented his letter of credentials to Atatürk on November 20th, 1924. Kemal Pasha was acquainted with Kral from Thessaloniki and received him warmly, appreciating Kral's proficiency in the Turkish language. Kral appreciated Atatürk and his reforms, too. Later, in 1935, when he published his book, “The Land of Kemal Atatürk. The Development of Modern Turkey”, he wrote: “*The fate of the Turkish state is therefore in good hands, and the Turkish people are right to look forward to the future with confidence after all the personal, moral and material preconditions described. They and Europe have many reasons to celebrate the new trajectory that Turkey has embarked upon under the leadership of Atatürk, as well as the remarkable accomplishments it has attained.*” (Kral, 1935) Kral acted not just like a typical ambassador; he took proactive measures and made efforts to enhance diplomatic relations between the two countries not just by using official channels but also by efforts outside the diplomatic society. In 1925, for instance, Austrian residents in Istanbul established the Austrians in Constantinople Society with his initiative, which attracted over 160 members. Their goal was to enhance relations between the two countries by officially stating: “*Austria's outpost in Turkey will also help to strengthen the old friendship that binds us so strongly to this country.*” (Kral, 1935) This effort highlights Kral’s engagement as a diplomat by investing in a strong Austrian diaspora in Turkey.

Sports events are important tools for Track-II diplomacy. Even back then, football diplomacy presented a favorable occasion to renew longstanding partnerships, especially thinking of the great format of these events and their impact on societies. Ambassador Kral initiated football games between prominent teams from both countries, suggesting that in the subsequent years, friendly matches between Viennese and Istanbul clubs, as well as wrestling matches between Austrian and Turkish athletes, became the prominent foundation of mutual relations. Examining the historical newspaper records reveals frequent mentions of clubs from both of these countries. An instance of this is the Admiral sports club, which received an invitation to Constantinople to participate in three matches: one against Galatasaray SK, another against Fenerbahce SK, and a third against the unified national squad of Galatasaray and Fenerbahce. The match between the combined teams of both clubs took place on April 12th, 1926, and the Austrian newspapers documented the result as follows: *“The last match that Admira played in Constantinople brought them a complete success. The Viennese faced a combined team of Galatasaray and Fenerbahce, which can be described as a city team from Constantinople. As already indicated, the Viennese won 2:1, having already taken a 1:0 lead at the half-time break.”* (Neuer Wiener Tagesblatt, 1926) The echoes of the sports competitions between the two countries also found much space in the Turkish media. An article published in a Turkish journal titled *“Why Did We Lose: We Should Learn from Our Games Against Austria!”* provided the following analysis of the game: *“The Austrian team returned to Vienna after winning all three matches in our city. So why did the best players of our city lose against this team? Now is the time to examine these issues. First of all, it must be admitted that in both the Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe matches, as well as in the match with the joint players of the two teams, the players had very little breathing capacity. This reveals their lack of training.”* (Aksam Gazetesi, 1926) With these examples, it is illustrated that the Austrian and Turkish media widely covered the sports competitions between the two countries in these years following the re-establishment of diplomatic relations and with the efforts of Ambassador August von Kral. These events influenced the positive image of Austria in the Turkish population.

It is crucial at this point to redirect focus from sporting competitions to commercial interests and collaborations. August von Kral's work substantiates his role in promoting economic collaboration between the two nations. Hence, we shall conduct a comprehensive investigation of the level of economic cooperation between the two countries. The era following the foundation of the modern Turkish state and the Europeanization of the former Ottoman regions can be characterized as a prosperous period for economic collaboration and investments

between Austria and Turkey. The movement of capital and labor predominantly occurred from Austria to Turkey. Prior to exploring the main Austrian impact on the development of Ankara, the new European-style capital, it is crucial to analyze the wider economic collaboration between the two nations initially.

Preliminary indications of economic interest emerged prior to the signing of the Treaty for Friendship, Trade, and Residency. The initial indication occurred after the formation of modern Turkey in 1923. To foster business contacts, an innovative project was undertaken by establishing the ((Österreichisch-orientalische Handelskammer)) (Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce Association). This initiative aimed to revive the historical economic ties between Austria and Turkey, as well as the whole Muslim world and countries. Instead of providing financial support, the Austrian Ministry of Economics initially granted the Chamber access to the imperial premises in the Hofburg to be used as an office. As mentioned before, the establishment and the operations of the chamber were before the Treaty of Commerce, and upon request of the Chamber of Commerce, the Turkish Foreign Ministry sent a note to the chamber on August 26, 1923, informing the Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce Association about the trade laws in Turkey. In the response of the Turkish Foreign Ministry to the Chamber, it firstly informs about the establishment and then informs about the trade rules and laws in Turkey and states as follows: *“The previously existing Austrian Oriental Chamber of Commerce was re-established in Vienna. Commercial laws and regulations applicable in Turkey are requested.”* (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42748 – 193142-97, see Annex 4 for original document) This Chamber strongly fostered economic relations. Eduard Heintl, the former Austrian trade minister, was appointed president of the Austrian-Oriental Chamber. Additionally, Djavid Bey, former Turkish minister for trade, was selected as one of the Turkish members of the Chamber. Subsequently, in the agreement and establishment of the Chamber, Austrian journals broadly covered this issue by announcing the Chamber's contact information and announcing the re-activation. (Neue Freie Presse, 1923)

The branch office of the Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople was first staffed by the former trade delegate in Constantinople, Imre v. Balint, who first re-activated his contacts in the city and urged them to renew their contracts from the Empire Times. In Turkey, the import-export companies prepared to represent a wide range of Turkish goods so that, by the end of 1925, according to Samsinger, the Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce counted approximately 150 Members, including a large number of Turkish firms. Firstly, the Chamber of Commerce had a branch office in Constantinople and offices in Ankara, Beirut, Damascus, and Alexandria. Subsequently, the Chamber established offices in Palestine, Greece, Albania,

Bulgaria, Iraq, and Persia. The network expanded abruptly and operated successfully by collecting local trade information and assisting or supporting Austrian companies with advice regarding trade issues related to the countries. The Chamber did not just operate by assisting companies in Turkey, but they also arranged labor from Austria to Turkey. Atatürk's government specifically required foreign skilled workers from almost all sectors to build the new modern republic, as there was a massive gap of skilled workers, particularly in fields that were needed for the modernization of Turkey. Skilled workers from business, science, and culture were to support the reconstruction according to the Kemalist model. Technicians, craftsmen, metal casters, engineers, professors, and teachers were invited to Turkey through the Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce. (Samsinger, 2023) The procedure was to request professionals from the Chamber, and the Chamber published the announcement in Austrian newspapers. *"The Austrian Oriental Chamber of Commerce in Vienna publishes a call from the Turkish Ministry of Public Works stating that Turkey needs qualified engineers and technicians who have several years of first-class service experience for employment in the civil service of the General Directorates of Bridges and Roads and Hydraulic Engineering Services in return for a salary and various fringe benefits. Applicants can apply to the Undersecretariat of the Ministry of Public Works by attaching the diplomas obtained at the school to their applications."* (Bregenzer/Voralberger Tagblatt, 1929)

A significant number of Austrians, particularly individuals seeking to leave post-war Austria and pursue a fresh, professional path in Turkey, heeded this invitation. Based on the census conducted on October 28, 1927, the population of Austrians residing in Turkey at that time was recorded as 1435. A significant number of women migrated to contemporary Turkey with the plan to work as a nursery or to be a care worker. In 1926, Turkish institutions requested the Austrian Red Cross Society to deliver an assessment of the considerable number of skilled nurses from Austria. Later, in 1934, an estimated 300-400 Austrian laborers had likely migrated to Turkey. (Kral, 1935) Both individuals and companies were instrumental in the advancement of Turkey's infrastructure in the early 20th century. Two Austrian infrastructure corporations have had a significant impact on the development of Turkey's infrastructure; the first company, namely Redlich & Berger, and the second one, H. Rella & Co. Those two companies accomplished large railroad projects with the authorization of the Turkish government and contributed to the positive Austrian image in Turkey. Even in Austria, these projects were subject to the public news; many newspapers reported on these projects; one example is from 1926, where the following success was reported: *"The Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce informs us that the most important railroad project in Anatolia at present is the*

*extension of the Angora-Erzurum line. The Angora-Sivas section of this line is currently under construction and has been completed as far as the town of Yozgat. This means that almost 200 kilometers of the approximately 400-kilometer route to Sivas have been completed." (Eisenbahn und Industrie Heft, 1926)*

In addition to the critical transportation infrastructure provided by Austrian companies, renowned Austrian artists and architects also played a crucial role in the establishment of modern cities of new Turkey, especially two names at the center of this discussion, Clemens Holzmeister and Heinrich Krippel. As previously said, Ankara, the new capital city, is the prime illustration of Austrian influence. Austrian architects and artists made an enormous impact on the Turkish population and are still remembered by the Turkish population today, even nearly after a century. The reason for the remembrance of those figures is not solely their unique works for Ankara but more their impact on the modern nation-building efforts of young Turkey. They might be minor figures as individuals, but they are major figures in Turkey.

Clemens Holzmeister came to Turkey with the recommendation of Hamdi Bey, the Turkish ambassador in Vienna. Around 1927, at the same time as Heinrich Krippel. Holzmeister's main task was to build the new government district in Ankara in accordance with Atatürk's wishes and in line with the European role model. Some of his notable architectural achievements in Ankara are, for instance, the Ministries of Defence, Interior, Labour, Justice, Agriculture, and Economy, as well as the building for the General Staff, Police, Gendarmerie, and the Supreme Court. In an interview with the Wiener Zeitung, Clemens Holzmeister conveyed his delight at being given the chance to create a multitude of artistic and architectural works. During the interview, he describes his current circumstances in the following way: *"For the past three years, I have been employed at Angora, and I am highly enthusiastic about the Turkish government's support in facilitating my creative endeavors. My position was arranged by the Turkish ambassador in Vienna, Hamdi Bey."* (Neues Wiener Journal, 1930) Having built a strong reputation through successful planning and implementation of previous projects, he was then entrusted by Mustafa Kemal to undertake the design of the Presidential Palace. Upon being granted the opportunity to perform a significant responsibility and get more involved in Turkey, he swiftly emerged as a prominent figure and got into the middle of the Austrian community living abroad in the young Turkish state. He personally hired numerous Austrian workers for his construction projects. A number of Austrian firms were awarded projects in Turkey as a result of Holzmeister's suggestions. The Neue Wiener Journal reported that Kemal Pasha, known for his generosity, invited numerous engineers, craftsmen, and economists from Austria and Germany to the new capital in order to Europeanize the country. *"Austrians play a*

*substantial role in the city's growth. The Austrians are in charge of overseeing the railways, railway administration, and railway construction. Additionally, they are currently restructuring the police force, agriculture, and postal service. Vienna has sent a significant number of vocational instructors to Ankara for advanced training courses. The Austrians are constructing the new administrative city of Kemal Pasha in Asia Minor. The influence of Professor Clemens Holzmeister is principally responsible for the Austrian and Viennese effect on the growing Turkish generation of architects and artisans.*" (Neues Wiener Journal, 1930 see Annex 5 for Holzmeister Architecture in Ankara)

As we mentioned earlier, Heinrich Krippel also came to Vienna through the recommendation of the Turkish ambassador Hamdi Bey in the same year as Clemens Holzmeister in 1927. However, unlike Clemens Holzmeister, Krippel was ordered to showcase his artistic talents for Mustafa Kemal. The Viennese were some of the most prominent sculptors of his time, and he was allowed to create the first statues and monuments of the founder of modern Turkey. Krippel's monuments were particularly important for the political memory and the creation process of a new modern Turkish identity. His works quickly became symbols and gained even more significance for Turkey, especially after Atatürk's death. He created statues and Atatürk monuments for the founder of the state in Ankara, Samsun, Konya and Istanbul. The Sarayburnu monument in Istanbul is probably one of the most important ones in Turkey today. The importance of this monument comes from its distinction as the first-ever sculpture of Atatürk to be built in Türkiye. Ceran explains that, although Mustafa Kemal Pasha was invited to visit Istanbul on multiple occasions after the establishment of the young republic, he did not really make the journey to the city until July 1927. He further notes that the creation of the sculpture aimed more at memory politics than just inviting Mustafa Kemal to Istanbul. (Ceran, 2023) Other researchers argue that the sculpture was created to invite Turkey's new leader to visit Istanbul. (Tekiner, 2010; Dere, 2020) Since the monuments were manufactured in Austria, a substantial number of letters from Turkey to Vienna and vice-versa have been found in the Turkish diplomatic archives. The majority of formal correspondence includes upfront fees to acquire the necessary materials in Vienna. In one of his letters with the Turkish Ambassador, Krippel states that the Atatürk statue in Ankara is nearly complete, with only a few minor details remaining for the allegorical figures of the Victory Monument in Angora. *"If I have the required finances, I will be able to do the work within around ten days."* (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42821 – 193061-55). Within the same dossier, there is an additional correspondence from the Turkish Foreign Ministry stating that only Heinrich Krippel is required for the Atatürk monuments, and no other individuals are

necessary to build the Atatürk monuments in Turkey. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42921 – 193061-50, see Annex 6 for Atatürk Monuments)

Krippel's monuments went beyond just ordinary sculptures and served more as powerful symbols of the difficult fight for Turkey's liberation led by Mustafa Kemal while at the same time embodying his character. This is supported by many newspapers and articles, but also by researchers in contemporary times. A newspaper article published in 1938 about the Ankara monument, for instance, describes the exceptional talent of Heinrich Krippel in resembling Atatürk's character: *"A 4.5-ton block of Salzburg marble has been transformed into a remarkably vivid work of art in the hands of a skilled artist. Krippel, who has been living within us and very close to us for years, has clearly created this latest work with great emotion. The powerful gaze and posture of our Atatürk are successfully brought to life in this piece of art while preserving their naturalness. The side sitting position in this sculpture is his, as well as the dominant head, and the determined posture and speech expressed in those blessed hands. The following meaningful inscription is carved into the bottom of this marble block: We believe, and we do."* (Son Posta, 1938). In the description of the four-and-a-half-ton block of Salzburg marble, the newspaper notes that Krippel has been able to transform the marble into a unique piece of art. They further note that Krippel, who lived among the Turks for many years, created the newest work with *"much feeling."* (Ibid.) Interesting is also the description of Atatürk's sitting posture: *"The sitting posture, which expresses power and will, has been portrayed in this work of art successfully while preserving its naturalness. The side-saddle in this sculpture is his, the dominant head, and the stubborn stance and speech in those blessed hands that express majesty are his."* (Ibid.) Today, one can still see the following phrase carved on the bottom of the marble block: *"We believe and we do."* (Ibid.)

Economic cooperation and exchanges in many fields between Austria and Turkey significantly influenced the relations between the two countries. Particularly notable are the contributions of each Austrian citizen in Turkey through Track-II Diplomacy. However, Austria was not the only partner in Turkey's modernization efforts after its establishment. Germany was also a trusted partner for the new government of the young Turkish Republic, but the Germans could not match the scope of the Austrian partnership with Turkey. German newspapers expressed anxiety regarding the lack of understanding of the changes in Turkey by the new leaders of Germany. Conversely, they recognized that Austrian leaders were better and more perceptive. One article mentions that Austrian syndicates were actively operating in Istanbul and Trabzon while Austrian firms were expanding their presence from Ankara to important cities along the Baghdad Railway, which was initially a project financed and supported by

Germany. Moreover, the fact that Austria's financial position was under the control of the Entente, still the Austrian influence on Turkey's economic environment was remarkably strong. (Linzer Tagespost, 1924) These examples are the best-known names who made important contributions to the development of modern Turkey and who are still much talked about today. Of course, we must not forget that there were many other people who continued their lives in Turkey and contributed to Turkey's development. Names such as Robert Oerley, Schüttele-Lihotzky, Gudrun Baulich, Anton Hannak, Ernst Arnold Egli, Franz Hillinger, and many more were all Austrians that contributed to the positive image of Austria and modern Turkey.

Prior to the early 1930s, the relationship between these two countries was, as showcased in this chapter, defined by multiple bilateral exchanges and shared interests. Track-I diplomacy, such as official communication between the ambassadors, reached a high point, along with developments regarding Track-II Diplomacy, the workers, companies, architects, and artists who came to Turkey to continue their professions. Nevertheless, the emergence of nationalism in Europe in the early 1930s, especially in Germany and Italy, caused some domestic friction in Austria. In the following chapter, we will thoroughly analyze this event and delve into its origins and its repercussions on diplomatic ties with other nations, particularly Turkey. To start with analyzing this event, it is important to understand the historical developments in Austria in the early 1930s to contextualize the incidents in the aftermath.

## 5. Austrofascism and the Politics of Memory

### 5.1 The Dollfuß Agenda: Collective Memory Construction

This chapter will transition from discussing bilateral matters to examining domestic circumstances in Austria in order to provide a better understanding of the decisions of the Austrian government of that time to instrumentalize the friendly Turks, as described in the previous chapter, in the commemorations in 1933. Currently, Austria possesses well-defined national borders that are acknowledged on a global scale, and its population is strongly committed to a unique national Austrian identity. Nevertheless, it was not always like that, though the time after the Great War, it was not so easy to draw the lines for an Austrian identity. This had also to do with the multicultural and multinational nature of the Habsburg Empire. In post-war Austria, there were two primary political factions: the Christian Socialists and the Social Democrats. Although they held contrasting perspectives on the world, they first pursued a harmonious approach to domestic affairs. However, there were some critical differences regarding the time period after 1926. (Thaler, 2022) Ignaz Seipel, for instance, the leader of the Christian Socialists, is seen by certain scholars as a prominent intellectual and a figure who saved Austria, while others perceive him as an opponent of democracy and a proponent of fascism. In 1927, under Seipel's administration, a tragic event took place in southern Burgenland where the Heimwehr, with the backing of the Christian Socialists, opened fire on a crowd of protesters, resulting in the deaths of two innocent civilians. The court acquitted these Heimwehr members and officially declared them innocent. The riots in Austria reached a high point with a significant rally on July 15, 1927, in front of the Palace of Justice, which was subsequently set on fire. Police and armed forces intervened, leading to the deaths of 89 unarmed protesters, which included four police officers. Karl Vocelka observes that following this event, the Heimwehr experienced a growing surrender to Italian fascism and had substantial financial and military assistance from Mussolini. The deaths of Seipel and Schober in 1932 cleared the path for a subsequent generation of politicians, namely Engelbert Dollfuß and Kurt Schuschnigg, to assume control of the administration. Dollfuß emerged as a powerful leader, resolute in his mission to eradicate communist influence and confront the challenge of German nationalists. After the Dollfuß government effectively removed the Austrian parliament from power, the political system in Austria rapidly transitioned into a dictatorship, which opened the doors for the period of what is now commonly referred to as Austrofascism by contemporary researchers. The path towards dictatorship became increasingly visible, especially during

commemorating the 250th anniversary of independence from the Turks, commemorated on the same day as the Catholic Day in Vienna (Vocelka, 2002).

1933 was a pivotal year for the progression of the authoritarian system in Austria under Dollfuß. Specifically in Vienna, it was necessary to diminish the influence of the Social Democratic faction, which had the strongest influence in the capital, and establish an Austrian national identity as a means to oppose the German nationalists. The existing literature on the objective of identity creation by the Austrofascist regime claims that the main political targets during that time were the nationalist Germans and the communist social democrats, who served as the political opposition to Engelbert Dollfuss and his regime. The claim made against the national socialists regarding their German identity primarily aimed to distinguish Austrians as the superior or good Germans, "*bessere Deutsche*" or "*gute Deutsche*." This notion initially came from a communist thinker named Mr. Fischer, who was an intellectual and a member of the Communist Party Austria in the early 1920s. Understanding the dynamic evolution of the notion of a country and the fundamental change within nations underscores the importance of nation-building for the governing class (Bruckmüller, 1994). According to Hobsbawm in *Nations and Nationalism*, the formation of a nation is coordinated by those in positions of authority—a top-down approach (Hobsbawm, 1992). Within this framework, it becomes clear that the usage of the Siege of Vienna by the Ottomans in 1683 played an important or maybe even the most important role in legitimizing the Dollfuß regime and its agenda. The main objective of legitimizing the new state structure and reinforcing the Christian-Catholic Austrian identity was to differentiate the dictatorship from other parties, both the nationalist Germans and the communist Social Democrats within the country. In order to integrate Assmann's notion of collective memory with these concepts, the three narratives of the Austrofascist regime stand out as very important to manipulating or creating a new collective cultural memory. These narratives were produced with the program of the *Türkenbefreiungsfeier*. Initially, the former city commander Rüdiger von Starhemberg was honored, establishing a legend of the protection of the city of Vienna against threats and opposing factions. Furthermore, the Christian monk Marco d'Aviano was commemorated with several monuments in order to distinguish the Austrians from other German populations based on their belonging to Catholicism. Furthermore, the narrative of Vienna being a fortress was strategically incorporated into the common consciousness primarily as a means to counteract any dangers originating from the Eastern regions.

Therefore, the Turkish liberation celebrations organized by the Austrofascist government are examined as part of the identity and collective memory construction effort from the top,

which was the government, down to the Austrian population. The process of the celebrations will be examined in the next part of this thesis, but it is important to examine the celebrations in 1933.

## 5.2 Memory Politics in 1933

In response to the increase in the nationalist-german threat in 1933, two celebrations were organized, the first of which was the *Türkenbefreiungsfeier*. The usual celebration of the liberation from the Turks in 1683 was typically held in September, as the liberation occurred in September 1683. However, unusually in 1933, the government in Vienna moved the celebrations forward to May, considering its own party agenda. The celebration was seen as appropriate for validating Dollfuß's autocratic regime through the party propaganda. The May celebrations may also be interpreted as a display of authority in opposition to the Social Democrats, whose usual May 1<sup>st</sup> demonstration on the "Ringstraße" had been prohibited by the autocratic government. In May 1933, the Christian Socialists under Dollfuß held the official *Türkenbefreiungsfeier*, while the Social Democrats and the National Socialists also organized counter-events. (Ackerl, 1984) Interestingly, before the celebrations in May, Ambassador Buchberger in Turkey sent a note to the Austrian Chancellor Dollfuß two months before, on March 22, 1933, reporting possible damage to the friendly relationship between the countries with the planned celebrations and his observations in Turkey about the events: *"About 14 days ago, a colleague approached me to ask whether I thought the celebrations planned in Vienna to commemorate the liberation of Vienna in 1683 might make a negative impression on the Turks, who are extremely sensitive about national matters."* (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder *Türkenbefreiungsfeier* – 21513) Initially, Karl Buchberger notes that he kindly rejected his friend's comments on the matter. However, he added that the Hungarian envoy had also brought to his attention that Tevfik Bey, the Foreign Minister of Turkey, had informally expressed his concerns about the celebrations to him, as a direct address to the Austrian envoy could be interpreted as a directive or an interference into domestic politics. However, the Foreign Minister's concern was expressed by the Hungarian envoy as follows: *"The Foreign Minister is less worried about the celebrations themselves and more about the character that they apparently intend to give them, and he has freely expressed his displeasure. He added that no one wants or can erase historical facts. There is also no reason to forget them. But it is different to present these historical facts in certain lights that could offend the former enemy, who has long since become a friend."* (ibid.) Moreover, the following statement from the highest representative of the Turkish foreign ministry captures the concerns

about the celebrations in the best way: *“One hears about the liberation of the West from the Turkish barbarians 250 years ago, but one hears nothing about the fact that these same barbarians were urgently needed 19 years ago and fought on the same side until their last breath.”* (ibid.) Tefik Rüşti’s informal concern and question to the Austrian side via the Hungarian envoy was clear: *“Has the brotherhood in arms been forgotten, or do they want to overshadow the memory of it with the remembrance of 1683?”* (ibid.) As one can see, the Austrian Ambassador Buchberger had already suspected two months earlier that these politically significant celebrations might hurt their partners. However, he did not advise the Chancellor to cancel the celebrations. After all, the celebrations took place in a rather peaceful atmosphere, but neither Austrian nor Turkish sources mentioned the participation of the Turkish ambassador. In terms of the media, it can be said that there was little coverage of these celebrations in Turkey, whereas in Austria, there was considerably more written about them. However, a critical distinction must be made regarding which political camp the newspapers belonged to. The coverage in the “Reichspost” emphasized the success and the high participation - about 40.000 people in the event (Reichspost, 1933), while the social-democrat-oriented medium “Das Kleine Blatt” reported a much lower level of participation and portrayed the event as not meeting expectations (Das Kleine Blatt, 1933).

Following the initial *Türkenbefreiungsfeier* organized by Dollfuß and the counter-celebrations by the other factions in May 1933, plans were promptly initiated for the traditional grander festivities in September 1933. These events were originally intended to be much larger in scope and were scheduled to coincide with the German Catholic Day. On this occasion, a larger number of individuals were formally invited, including international delegates and notably a delegation from Turkey, in order to ensure that all required resources were available for the commemoration of 250 years of liberation from the Turks. The objective was to provide Dollfuß’s autocratic governance with essential legitimacy and to enhance the notion of the Christian national identity, which was thus directly organized by the official Dollfuß government. This orchestrated mass event was intended to publicly demonstrate the close alliance between church and state in Austria and to endorse Dollfuß’s autocratic rule with the church’s blessing, which can also be interpreted as the highpoint of political Catholicism in Austria. Additionally, September 12, 1933, was declared an official holiday. The program planned for the celebrations to begin at 9:00 AM on September 12 with a wreath-laying ceremony by Chancellor Dollfuß at the Sobiesky Chapel and to conclude with a closing ceremony at St. Stephen’s Cathedral in Vienna. A highlight of the day was the state ceremony at Heroes’ Square, where President Miklas was scheduled to give a speech. (Ackerl, 1984, see

Annex 8A) The preparations for these festivities included diplomatic arrangements with the Turkish side. Essential for the purpose of this research is to note that the Austrian regime was careful with their Turkish friends while planning and organizing such an event in this kind of huge format. The first step was to inform the Austrian Ambassador in Ankara about the festivities and to request a first-hand observation of what kind of reactions the Turks would express to this event. On July 28, 1933, already two months before the celebrations, an inquiry from the Austrian Foreign Ministry was sent to the Austrian Embassy in Ankara, conveying the following information and instructions from the Chancellor: *“On September 12, marking the 250th anniversary of the day Vienna was relieved from the siege of the Turkish army, a celebration organized by the Austrian Federal Government will take place.”* (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Türkenbefreiungsfeier – 23984-13) Additionally, it was communicated how the program for this celebration in September was planned and that President Miklas and Chancellor Dollfuß would be giving speeches. To prevent any confusion or misunderstandings, the following was explicitly stated: *“The mentioned anniversary celebration will not carry any negative meanings against today's Turkish Republic but will also take the greatest possible care to respect the historical and traditional sensitivities of the Turkish people.”* (Ibid.) The instruction to the Austrian envoy in Ankara was to *“[...] first diplomatically look whether an invitation to the Turkish Republic could be expected”* (Ibid.) and to report the Turkish reaction to such a celebration. After receiving the first observations of Buchberger in Ankara, the Austrian Republic sent its official invitations. After exactly a month, another note was sent to Ankara on August 24, requesting confirmation on who should be expected to join the celebrations from the Turkish side. (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Türkenbefreiungsfeier – 24566-13)

After receiving the renewed request regarding whether a delegation from Turkey would attend the ceremony, Ambassador Buchberger once again sought an answer from his Turkish colleagues. In the Turkish archives, one finds his request dated August 29, 1933 (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42768 - 192915 - 109). He formally asked the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs whether a delegation would attend and, if so, who these individuals would be. Firstly, due to uncertainty about the political use of such celebrations, the Turkish side hesitated to accept this invitation. Some reactions from Tevfik Rüşti's circle were brought forward, but eventually, the following response was sent to Austria. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs responded with a letter dated September 5, 1933, to the Austrian ambassador as follows: *“In your letter of August 29th, you kindly informed Tevfik*

*Rüştü Bey of the Federal Government's wish to see the Government of the Turkish Republic represented at the ceremonies to be held in Vienna on September 12th. I would like to thank you for the sentiments expressed in your letter, which are highly appreciated and also shared by the Government of the Republic. I have the pleasure of informing you that the Government of the Republic has decided to send Cevdet Bey, military attaché to Berlin, to Vienna.*" (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42768 - 192915 - 107) After this note was received, Karl Buchberger sent an interesting letter to the Austrian MFA, informing them about the attendance of the Turkish military attaché and adding important information about the Turkish side's reactions to the festivities, including an informal diplomatic request of the Turkish Foreign Minister: *"Foreign Minister Tevfik Rüştü immediately recognized that such participation would be the best means to remove any sting from the celebration, which still irritates some people here, from the Turkish perspective. Rüştü also stated that such celebrations offer a splendid opportunity to make clear to nations what great achievements they were capable of—in both victory and defeat—and how much more they could achieve if they henceforth put the same heroism and spirit of sacrifice they once showed in battle against each other into the service of great humanitarian goals. If the Vienna celebration were held in this spirit, then the Turkish government could only be proud to participate in it. I believe that it would satisfy the Foreign Minister if these ideas found their place in the official speeches."* (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Türkenbefreiungsfeier – 23984-13) Therefore, the research in the archive shows evidence that the Turkish government's first reaction was to hesitate to send a delegation to the festivities, but after the promise made by the Austrians, nothing welcomed the festivities and supported them through the active participation of the Turkish military attaché Cevdet Bey. However, the Turkish side made indirect demands to incorporate references to the friendly relations between the two nations in the speeches of President Miklas or Chancellor Dollfuß. Interesting to point out is the speech of President Miklas, who began his speech with the following words: *"In those days when the Turks were at the walls of Vienna, Austria once again took on the role of savior, as in the time of the Babenbergs."* (Reichspost, 1933) In his further address to the masses, Miklas commemorated the heroic struggle of the Viennese citizens, craftsmen, and students, and he recalled the personal and courageous leadership of Rüdiger von Starhemberg. He further highlighted *"the immortal merits for European culture and history"* of Pope Innocent XI and his legate Marco d'Aviano. According to him, the liberation of Vienna marked the beginning of Austria's golden age back in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. (Reichspost, 1933)

## 6. The Influence of Memory Politics in Diplomatic Relations

To analyze the possible influence of the commemorative events in Vienna on bilateral relations, one must thoroughly examine the aftermath of the celebrations, most importantly including the media reports. After the celebrations, Austrian and Turkish media reported intensively on the events in Vienna for over two weeks, more than usual. In Turkey, the echoes of the *Türkenbefreiungsfeier* were loud and expressed huge displeasure. They were mainly upset with the Austrian government's decision to instrumentalize the Turks and reported negatively, which led to anger among the Turkish population about what had happened in Vienna. A newspaper analysis shows that the weekly editions of some important newspapers, like *Cumhuriyet*, *Vakit*, and *Son Posta*, covered the festivities in a very offensive nature. On September 15, for instance, an article titled *"They found the time to distract Austria for today, but can every day be a holiday?"* was published in *Cumhuriyet*. (Cumhuriyet, 1933) The *Posta* newspaper featured an article headlined *"Today all the Popes of the world are busy singing hymns in Vienna,"* which highlighted that the festivities marking the liberation of Vienna were aimed at Turkey. (Posta, 1933) Certain articles even commended the courage of the Ottomans and speculated on the potential triumph they would have achieved had they seized Vienna and added images of the Ottoman pashas arriving in Vienna (Posta, 1933, see Annex 7). The controversy in the Turkish media was also promptly noticed and processed by the government departments. The Austrian archive contains evidence supporting this claim, including a report of Ambassador Norbert Bischoff to the Austrian MFA. In his report, Bischoff discusses the press polemic and the negative sentiment in Turkey, specifically highlighting two articles published in the "Republique" on September 14 and 15 as particularly inappropriate. (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder *Türkenbefreiungsfeier* – 25101-13) Following his report, the Austrian MFA responded to the press controversy in Turkey by providing the text of the festive speech delivered by Federal President Miklas. This was in response to reports of the strong dissatisfaction expressed by the Constantinople press regarding the Turkish liberation celebration and stated the following lines: *"I would like to emphasize that the address delivered by the Federal President includes two notable parts where the Turks are referred to in a very friendly manner. The second segment employed the idea mentioned by the Turkish Foreign Minister in your August 28 report, which President Miklas happily mentioned in his speech."* (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder *Türkenbefreiungsfeier* – 25101-15A) Moreover, the report also mentions that the *Reichspost*, along with the majority of other daily publications in Vienna, relied on this perspective of the celebration to shape their pieces that paid tribute to the Turkish liberation

event. In addition, it is important to mention that the official representative, Cevdet Bey, participated in all receptions and festivities organized by the Federal Government. He was also introduced to President Miklas and Chancellor Dollfuß and stood out positively due to his numerous and extensive interactions with them. According to the report, Cevdet Bey did not show any dissatisfaction with the course of the celebration. (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Türkenbefreiungsfeier – 25101-15) These reports from the Austrian embassy and the Austrian MFA confirm that there were no speeches expressing hostility against Turkey during the celebrations. Following a request for a report on the events in Vienna, the Turkish envoy in Vienna composed a 15-page letter to assure the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the celebrations did not exhibit any hostility towards Turkey. In addition, the Turkish envoy stated that he had to deal with the unpleasant feelings expressed by Chancellor Dollfuß and Cardinal Innitzer during their meetings. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42768 – 192915-104)

However, despite the Turkish envoy's original report to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs stating that there were no anti-Turkish slogans and only friendly speeches during the celebrations, both parties failed to prevent Austria's reputation in Turkey from being harmed, mainly because of the media's dissatisfaction. The endeavors after the celebrations to improve the damage were possibly inadequate, as around five months later, on March 7, 1934, the Austrian ambassador in Turkey presented a dossier to the Ministry entitled *Echoes of the Türkenbefreiungsfeier*, in which he addressed significant points. During his conversations with Turkish individuals who are close to Atatürk and Atatürk's circle, he saw that the discontent expressed earlier by Norbert Bischoff regarding the Türkenbefreiungsfeier in Vienna has not yet been diminished. While working to enhance cultural and tourism ties between Austria and Turkey, Buchberger reports facing resistance. His counterparts attributed the hesitation to the lingering memory of the Türkenbefreiungsfeier and suggested that some time should be given for it to fade away. In addition, Buchberger suggested conclusive measures to solve the dissatisfaction of the Turks. His proposal was to construct a modest monument or commemorative stone at the mountain Kahlenberg, near the collective graves, as a tribute to the Turkish soldiers who lost their lives. That's what the Hungarians did when the Turkish minister was to visit Budapest, he adds. In addition, Buchberger advises against labeling the Turks as barbarians, as this could greatly insult them and could spark a heated public debate. Alternatively, he proposes employing the word "Ottomans" rather than "Turks" whilst writing about the events that occurred in the times of the Ottoman Empire. (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Türkenbefreiungsfeier – 25101-13A) This report

indicates that even a year later, the commemoration made it difficult for the Austrian envoy to do his work efficiently.

In order to improve Austria's reputation, Norbert Bischoff suggested that it would be beneficial for President Miklas to participate in the 10-year anniversary festivities of the founding of the Turkish Republic. The receptions were planned to be held at the Austrian embassy in Vienna, and President Miklas agreed to this proposal. One month later, Miklas attended the exclusive reception held by the Turkish embassy in Vienna. The *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, in its publication on November 6, 1933, documented that the protocol for the decennial commemoration in Vienna encompassed the participation of the President of Austria and numerous other esteemed officials. (*Cumhuriyet*, 1933) Moreover, other documents found in the Turkish archives indicate that official relations, mainly Track-I relations, continued during the time of the little crisis. Before this period, there were records in Turkish archives regarding the preparations for commercial protocols. These records begin before the celebrations and continue uninterrupted immediately after the celebrations. For instance, on October 10, a draft of the commercial protocol to be made between Turkey and Austria was sent by the Turkish embassy to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42745 - 193340-21) Along with this new protocol, other proposals to increase the trade volume between the two countries were also sent to the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Supporting documents for these proposals are recorded in the Turkish archives under "Increasing the Import Quota for Bulbs and Optical Instruments" or to increase the trade volume with additional coal exports from Turkey to Austria. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42739 - 192978-64, 42745 - 193340-16) Additionally, another notable issue is that a delegation from Turkey was invited to the International Vienna Conference in January 1934. Unfortunately, the attendance of the Turkish delegations is not reported in the archive, but they were invited to attend. (Turkish Diplomatic Archive, Collection Austria, Box 506, Folder 42719 - 192920-1) Also, in the Austrian archives, there are important Track-I diplomacy exchanges. For example, it is reported that Tevfik Rüstü will be traveling via Vienna on his trip to Geneva and London and that it would be a good opportunity to receive him as a guest. On November 2, 1933, a letter was sent to the Austrian Foreign Ministry requesting further economic resources for the reconstruction of Turkey. (Austrian State Archive, Collection Archiv der Republik, Box 6, Folder Berichte Türkei – 26299)

In light of the documents presented in this section, we will conduct the analysis in the next section. Many turbulent periods have been overcome between the two countries, and both

nations have preserved the documents from these periods well. These reports are the evidence for this research and are analyzed thoroughly in the next chapter.

## 6.1 Analysis

This chapter focuses on discussing and presenting the gained information, which can then address the initial research question of this thesis, which is whether memory politics has an impact on or makes diplomatic relations. To begin the extensive analysis, it seems essential, at this point, to revisit the theoretical framework of this thesis, which combines Assmans's and Neumann's concepts. Neumann argued that identifying the self requires an "other," and Assman's cultural memory plays a significant role in forming the national identity, establishing a basic sense of belonging to a certain social group. In order to perform the analysis in a logical and plausible manner, it seems reasonable to divide this section into two parts. Indeed, the process of examining a multitude of historical events can be rather complex. In the initial stages of the thesis, I introduced the concept of Memory Politics and its potential impact on diplomatic relations. I indicated my intention to categorize diplomatic relations into two distinct tracks: Track-I Diplomacy and Track-II Diplomacy. Track-I diplomacy refers to formal state affairs, while Track-II diplomacy involves acts that do not directly involve state officials but have beneficial outcomes for the relations of two countries. Now, the aim is to separate this part into Track-I and Track-II Diplomacy contacts and examine how these ties were impacted following the aforementioned events referred to as "Türkenbefreiungsfeier."

First, let's begin with Track-I, which refers to the official interactions between the states. According to the facts gained from archives, the friendship treaty signed between the two governments in 1924 can be regarded as the first formal interaction between the newly established Turkey and the Republic of Austria. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two governments led to rapid development in many areas. Through the implementation of the friendship treaty and following trade and residence treaties, these connections started to evolve progressively. Archive material, such as invitations to each other's fairs, is evidence of this argument. One of the most notable advancements was the swift establishment of trade between Turkey and Austria. Turkey's efforts to address the lack of a robust iron and steel sector by importing a substantial amount from Austria and also by undertaking several measures to modernize with the assistance of individuals invited from Austria are remarkable in the development of the relations. The above-mentioned important artists and architects have effectively fostered diplomatic success by pushing the relations between Austria and Turkey to a high point. The reason for including them in the Track-I

section is due to the efforts of Turkey's ambassador to Austria, Hamdi Bey. Individuals such as Krippel and Holzmeister, who migrated from Austria to Turkey as workers and played a significant role in the progress of modern Turkey, particularly in the city of Ankara, could be regarded as diplomats within the context of the new diplomatic history framework.

However, on the other side, while examining the progress of Track-II diplomacy between the two nations, it becomes clear that the formation of the Austrian society in Istanbul played a crucial role in the improvements made between the two nations regarding unofficial interactions. Subsequently, due to the establishment and functioning of the branches of the Austrian-Oriental Chamber of Commerce in Turkey, with partial government assistance, several artists and bearers of European culture migrated to Turkey and accomplished prosperous endeavors. This organization also enlisted the support of prominent corporations like Redlich and Berger to facilitate their entry into the Turkish market. Sports events have significantly contributed to ameliorating relations between the two nations. Under the August von Kral era, the mutual exchange of matches between the big teams of both countries in each other's territories was well-received by the public on both sides, as indicated by newspaper stories.

During good ties between the two countries, the Dollfuss government unintentionally caused friction by manipulating national memory and invoking the Ottoman capture of Vienna in 1683 in reaction to domestic unrest in Austria. Based on our past assessments, it may be inferred that this is a conclusion. Within the realm of Memory Politics, attempts to establish an Austria-Catholic identity in response to the growing influence of German nationalism and communist ideology in Austria resulted in a state-coordinated festival held in Vienna in September. During this period, we discovered that Austrian authorities were cognizant of the heightened sensitivity of Turks on this matter. We discovered a written message indicating they forwarded a formal declaration to the Turkish authorities after informing them about these incidents. Furthermore, we have also detected a formal request to officially appoint a delegation to represent the Turkish state. Austrians exhibited great caution and showed profound respect in order to avoid causing any offense to their Turkish acquaintances. Furthermore, despite initial hesitation from Tevfik Rüştü Bey, the foreign minister at the time, he eventually dispatched a delegate to Vienna following the participation of the Berlin Military Attaché of Turkey in these events. Although no derogatory remarks were made about the Turkish government during the festivities, the headlines in Istanbul and Ankara media deeply infuriated the Turkish populace. Government officials put up several suggestions to alleviate tension. However, the most noteworthy one was President Miklas of Austria spending considerable time at the Turkish embassy, disregarding

procedure, during the 10-year festivities. Unfortunately, this action did not effectively restore Austria's reputation in Turkey.

An unexpected finding is that despite the ongoing scandals, Track-I diplomacy, sometimes known as official relations, remained unaffected and proceeded seamlessly. Following Austria's provision of clarifications to Turkish officials, archival records indicate that official relations between the two countries persisted unaffected by the incident. The signing of the trade pact during the same year, which was already in progress before the celebrations, is the most compelling proof. Furthermore, the rise in trade quotas between Austria and Turkey for imports and exports signifies a speeding up of business ties. However, Track-II diplomacy shares a different characteristic. According to the telegram received by Karl Buchberger from Turkey in 1934, 5 months after the events took place, we have learned that he encountered challenges in arranging cultural events even one year after the festivities, which he blamed on the celebrations. Likewise, we discovered that student organizations desiring to commemorate the 251st anniversary in the upcoming year made a formal request to abstain from organizing such festivities. According to Karl Buchberger's archival notes, he successfully resolved these challenges after one year. Although organizing cultural events during this period was challenging, the arrangement made by radio stations in both countries to broadcast Western classical music and Turkish classical music in 1935 suggests that these events may be reconsidered after a specific time.

Based on these events, I have reached the following conclusions in this thesis: Indeed, the politics of memory can influence diplomatic relations. However, this impact may be confined to a specific timeframe. This period can range from one week to one year, as in our situation. We see that diplomatic relations were temporarily in a crisis after the celebrations. Memory politics, particularly its impact on cultural and informal relations in Track-II diplomacy, clearly influences them.

Regarding Track-I diplomacy, which refers to official relations, the following deduction might be made: Diplomatic relations between two states are not formed or terminated quickly. These troubled relations do not disappear from one day to another, and the evidence shows that friendly and good relations do not. As observed, commerce and official connections remained uninterrupted, and increased activity was observed following the disruptive incidents. Our analysis demonstrates that the hypothesis proposed in the thesis has been proven. In conclusion, it is evident that the politics of memory indeed shape relations. The evidence presented demonstrates that the commemoration of a specific event caused friction.

## 7. Conclusion

This master's thesis promised to provide academic research in international politics with a new perspective on diplomatic relations. The initial question was whether domestic “memory politics” could make diplomatic relations. The specific research question was: “*What makes diplomatic relations?*” The main argument stated that “politics of memory” can also play a role in the diplomatic relations between two states. To test this thesis, a case study was chosen that effectively tests this argument.

A close friendship characterized the relations between Austria and Turkey in the interwar period. This friendship, which was once marked by enmity and later by wartime alliance in World War I, continued positively. With the rise of the authoritarian regime under Engelbert Dollfuß, Austrian domestic politics became a battleground between political parties. While political power lay in the hands of the authoritarian corporatist state, it also needed to legitimize itself in the eyes of the people. Dollfuß attempted this primarily by instrumentalizing the Turks, who had become friends. To scientifically test this argument, developing a suitable theoretical framework and methodology was initially important. The Self-Other concept by Iver B. Neumann, which examines the role of the Turks in European identity construction, and the “Politics of Memory” concept by Jan and Aleida Assmann formed the theoretical basis of this work. Understanding the creation and dissemination of an image of the enemy, where the Turks are portrayed as barbarians, and embedding the protector against threats from the East in the collective memory through various narratives significantly contributed to understanding the archival material. The archival materials provided evidence for both close cooperation after the founding of the republics and correspondence regarding the Turkish Liberation Celebration. Especially the reports on the excellent cooperation between Austrian and Turkish workers in building the Turkish Republic according to European standards characterized the relations in the interwar period. The relations took a favorable course with the signing of the Friendship Treaty and the Migration and Economic Treaty in 1924. Track I-II diplomatic exchanges were thoroughly represented and conceptualized by evaluating archival documents and historical journals.

The official notification and direct involvement of the Turks in the celebrations in Vienna in 1933 were previously unexplored areas concerning the Turkish Liberation Celebrations. Likewise, the concerns of the Turks regarding these invitations were hardly addressed in previous research on bilateral relations. All necessary information for the analysis could be collected through the detailed listing of the various forms of exchange between the two states

and the reports on the “politics of memory” and Dollfuß's domestic political goals. The warnings of the Austrian ambassador in Turkey and the subsequent reporting on the critical mood spread by the local press are the primary evidence that tensions arose. The problems generated by the narratives of Starhemberg, Catholicism through Marco d’Aviano, and the fortress of Vienna confirmed that the “politics of memory” significantly influenced local reporting in Turkey. These narratives not only served to form a collective memory for the Austrian population but also unintentionally influenced the Turkish press. A deeper analysis of the two archives surprisingly found that not all relations between these two states were affected by the crisis. The distinction between Track I and Track II Diplomacy showed that official state and economic interests did not experience sustainable effects. For about a year, mainly relationships in art and culture, sports, and other characteristic Track II issues were affected. While the Austrian ambassador reported difficulties five months after the celebration, other archival materials show that relations were back on track after about a year. The promise of this work was thus fulfilled.

Looking ahead to evaluating this topic, the following conclusions could be drawn: Domestic agendas to strengthen one's political power through the instrumentalization and manipulation of collective memory using long-forgotten historical events are repeatedly taken up by politicians. However, it should not be forgotten that such commemorations can also anger good friends. Another insight is that economic and political relations are not affected by more than temporary effects. However, in this respect, sports, art, culture, and less prominent relationships can be significantly affected. An exciting field of research could be how the Turkish Liberation Celebrations in 1983 for the 300th anniversary affected bilateral relations, whether there were press polemics, and to what extent they affected Track II Diplomacy.

In conclusion, it must also be admitted that the sieges of Vienna are historical events that cannot be forgotten and that there will probably always be people who try to instrumentalize them for domestic political gain. A definitive solution to this has yet to be found. Approaches could include mass education, although I am convinced that even this would not work as long as there are people outside with malicious intentions and seeking for getting power in a populist way.

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## 9. Annex

### Annex 1: Waffenbrüderschaft Postal Card

Source: BPD :<https://www.bpb.de/themen/europa/tuerkei/184966/die-tuerkisch-deutsche-waffenbruederschaft-im-ersten-weltkrieg/>



### Annex 2: Treaty of Friendship in Austrian and Old Turkish Source: Bundesgesetzblatt and Resmi Gazete



### Annex 3: Example of selection method for Archival Documents (Austrian Archive)

| Masterarbeit Staatsarchiv - Verzeichnis |        |         |                     |                                         |                            |                                                                                                                  |                                 |            |
|-----------------------------------------|--------|---------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------|
| Nmr                                     | Karton | Dossier | Datum               | Von                                     | An                         | Thema                                                                                                            | Relevanz                        | Scan       |
| 1                                       | 5      | V.3     | 13.01.1936 (Ankara) | Botschaft Ankara (wsl. Karl Buchberger) | Wien - T. Hombostel        | Kulturelle Beziehungen: Bitte um türkische Musik im Radio Wien (Vedat Tür: Direktor Presse Türkei)               | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 2                                       | 5      | V.3     | 01.10.36            | Yeniöy - Karl Buchberger                | Wien - Oskar CZEJA         | Klagung und Feedback zur Radioausendung des türkischen Konzerts 23.09.1936 (im Anhang: Programm + Zeitungsartik  | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 3                                       | 5      | V.3     | 26.09.36            | Notiz an die Zeitung Türkische Post     | Zeitung - Türkische Post   | Zusammenfassung: Türkisches Konzert im Radio Wien                                                                | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 4                                       | 5      | V.3     | 27.08.36            | Karl Buchberger                         | Radio Direktion Ankara     | Türkisch: Mitteilung über türkische Musik in Wiener Radio                                                        | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 5                                       | 5      | V.3     | 07.08.36            | Karl Buchberger                         | Wien - Oskar CZEJA         | Erfolg und Dank Übermittlung - Radioausendung österreichischer Musik in der Türkei 23.Mai.1936                   | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 6                                       | 5      | V.3     | 23.05.36            | Karl Buchberger                         | Wien - Oskar CZEJA         | Bestätigung über Erhalt der Platten - Radioausendung öst. Musik in der Türkei + Türk. Zeitung                    | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 7                                       | 5      | V.3     | 03.04.36            | Karl Buchberger                         | Ankara - Dr. Vedat Tür     | Vorschlag über türk. Öster. Radio Sendungen zunächst in Ankara, dann wieder in Wien                              | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 8                                       | 5      | V.3     | 10.04.36            | Karl Buchberger                         | August Kral                | Probleme über die Anschaffung von Schallplatten in der Türkei und bitte um Entgegenkommen von Czeja              | Kulturelle Bez. (POSITIV-Radio) | Adr_K5     |
| 1                                       | 6      | VI.12   | 28.03.33            | ?                                       | Bundeskanzler Dollfuß      | Bericht über die Veranlassung der Feier und ob es zu Beschwerden aus der Türkei führen könnte                    | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Neutral) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 2                                       | 6      | V.12    | 24.06.33 - 28.09.33 | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Berichte an und von der Gesandtschaft betreffend der Türkenbefreiungsfeier                                       | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Neutral) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 3                                       | 6      | V.12    | 07.03.34            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Engelbert Dollfuß          | Nachklang der Türkenbefreiungsfeier                                                                              | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Negativ) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 4                                       | 6      | V.12    | 16.06.34            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Theodor Hombostel          | Nachricht bez. 251-jährigen Türkenbefreiungsfeier im Neuen Wiener Journal + Antwort aus dem Bundeskanzleramt     | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Negativ) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 5                                       | 6      | V.12    | 18.09.34            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Dr. Egon Berger-Waldenegg  | Aufkommen der Türkenbefreiungsfeier in der türkischen Presse auch später durch Präsidenten 7ANTWORT? Lebstehendi | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Negativ) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 6                                       | 6      | V.12    | 13.09.33            | Zeitungen Wien                          |                            | Wiener Zeitung & Reichspost am 13. September 1933                                                                | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Neutral) | Adr_K6_TF  |
| 7                                       | 6      | V.13    | 06.11.35            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Theodor Hombostel          | Anfrage für Fachleute für die Türkei + kulturelle Diplomatie                                                     | Kulturdiploamatie positiv       | Adr_K6_FL  |
| 8                                       | 6      | V.13    | 16.12.35            | Bundeskanzleramt                        | Botschaft Ankara           | Antwort zu Fachleuten                                                                                            | Kulturdiploamatie positiv       |            |
| 9                                       | 6      | V.4     | 02.03.30            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Nie erreichte Selbstständigkeit der türkischen Justiz + Kirche                                                   |                                 |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 09.02.31            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Schulen + panislamischer Kongress                                                                                |                                 |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 27.04.32            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Eisenbahnlinie + Gebet in türkisch + Schule + Aviatik                                                            |                                 |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 02.02.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Bahnbau nach Ergani                                                                                              |                                 |            |
| 10                                      | 6      | V.4     | 01.01.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Die Kündigung der Konzession der Anglo-Persien durch die persische Regierung                                     | Bericht (no)                    | Adr_K6_MBM |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 16.01.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Überreichung des Beglaubigungsscheins des Ges. Verbach                                                           | Protokol                        | Adr_K6_MBM |
|                                         |        | V.11    | 22.03.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | 250-Jahre der Befreiung Wiens von der Türkengefahr                                                               | Türkenbefreiungsfeier (Negativ) | Adr_K6_MBM |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 28.06.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Stimmung in der Türkei bez. Ost-Deut Streit                                                                      | Bericht (no)                    |            |
| 11                                      | 6      | V.4     | 27.07.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Auswärtige Angelegenheiten | Besuch von Erzhzog und Prinzessin                                                                                | Bericht (no)                    |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 08.08.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Politische Besuche                                                                                               | Bilateral (positiv)             |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 07.08.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Bericht über Botschaft in Berlin und Hittler                                                                     | Bericht (no)                    |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 04.09.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | 10-jähriges Jubiläum und Teilnahme AT                                                                            | Bilateral (positiv)             |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 18.10.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Amtsantritt-Überreichung Copie d'usage                                                                           | Bilateral (positiv)             |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 12.10.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | Meeting mit GS des türk. Außenministeriums                                                                       | Bilateral (positiv)             |            |
|                                         |        | V.4     | 15.10.33            | Botschaft Ankara                        | Bundeskanzleramt           | 10-jähriges Jubiläum und Teilnahme AT                                                                            | Bilateral (positiv)             |            |

### Annex 4: Example for Document in Ottoman Turkish Source: Turkish Diplomatic Archive



## Annex 5: Examples of Holzmeister Architecture in Ankara

Source: Brückemagazin: <https://bruckemagazin.at/osterreichischer-architekt/>



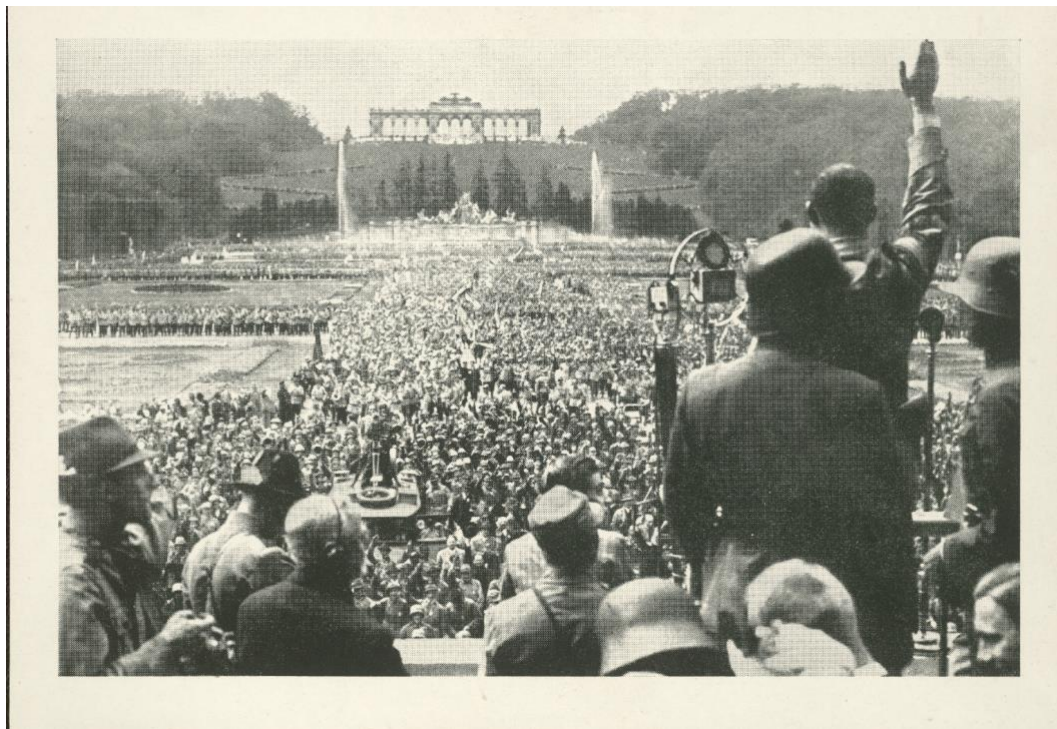
## Annex 6: Examples of Atatürk Monuments in Istanbul and Ankara, Source: Wikimedia



Annex 7: Newspaper reports in Turkey about the celebrations, Source: Son Posta 1933, Gaste Arsivi



Annex 8: Türkenbefreiungsfeier of the Dollfuß regime in Vienna Source: Austrian National Photo Archive <https://digital.onb.ac.at/rep/osd/?10C804A9>



Annex 9: Illustration of narratives spread by the Dollfuß regime (Ottoman crescent on Vienna Cathedral on top, down Marco d'Aviano), Source: Wikimedia

