

OTTO NEURATH'S 'ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE WORLD WAR':
A CONTEXTUALISATION

A hitherto unknown document, Otto Neurath's outline for an 'Enzyklopädie des Weltkrieges' (Encyclopedia of the World War, EWW) presumably of the early 1920s, has been recovered and invites contextualisation.¹ Why did the initiative for this encyclopedia develop? What was the contemporary background? What was done by others, maybe in a similar vein? We can speculate who the EWW was meant for, and learn from the introductory section that its intended audience was the general public.² That Neurath should be involved in such an undertaking seems timely and appropriate, as he had experience with the topic, and the capacity and connections essential for carrying out such a long-term scheme.

This essay considers the EWW-document from three perspectives. In the first section, Corinna Oesch describes the historical background. In the second part, Günther Sandner embeds the EWW in the intellectual and political biography of Otto Neurath (1882–1945). Finally, Hadwig Kraeutler looks at Neurath's use of specific enlightenment instruments as efforts at democratically furthering social development.

The First World War—with roughly 16 million deaths and 21 million casualties—had shattered the high expectations of progress, especially of the turn-of-the-century internationalists. However, it was also crucial in giving rise to various efforts aiming at the development of international law and dispute settlement to secure peace, international understanding and cooperation (League of Nations, founded in 1919/20; Permanent Court of International Justice, 1922). Besides these fragile official structures, there were various initiatives dedicated to the study of the causes and impact of war, and to the prevention of future similar events. One was to provide, in a collection, a complete, systematic, and objective picture of the war experiences such as, among others,³ the Vienna Group of the

1 Otto Neurath, EWW, Special Archive Moscow, Inventory of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF Papers) 523-2-9, pp. 26-31.

2 Cf. Otto Neurath, EWW, loc. cit., TS p. III.

3 Cf. the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (which had sponsored Neurath and had been referred to in the WILPF's correspondences) commissioned a seminal 150-volume 'Economic and Social History of the World War', published in 1924 with James T. Shotwell as its general editor (<http://carnegieendowment.org/>; <http://app.cul.columbia.edu:8080/findingaids/results.html?q=Carnegie; acc.: 2010-07-20>).

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) intended to procure.⁴

For those familiar with Otto Neurath,⁵ the title of the EWW-typescript immediately brings to mind his pre-eminent work as an 'encyclopedist', as well as his various attempts at reaching, communicating with, and involving society at large. Together these reflect Neurath's utopian concerns as a philosopher, planner, a 'social engineer', a museum and education organiser and advocate.⁶ The idea of compiling and providing a systematic overview over social developments was akin to many of his lifelong occupations. Neurath's war-time experiences included collecting data on, and publishing about warfare, war conditions and economics. This, together with his work with exhibitions,⁷ the short-time directorship (1918) of the German Museum of War Economy in Leipzig (MWE, Deutsches Kriegswirtschaftsmuseum) and the work for the Bavarian Soviet Republic—i.e. Neurath's intellectual background and professional interests—are reflected in the themes sketched out in the introductory paragraphs for the EWW. They witness that he was seriously engaged in a profound reflection of the underlying questions, political, sociological, and cultural.

Already as a young man Neurath considered social policy, women's rights, and peace as the most important political issues.⁸ Neurath, however, was not primarily a political activist, but a social engineer. This self image determined his approach towards social, economic and political questions. Thus, also the EWW-outline is less a political manifesto than a document that reflects, from the perspective of a more or less neutral expert, the economic and societal significance and consequences of war. After the introduction, Neurath's text is subdivided into three parts in which a large number of war-related topics are systematically addressed. In the first part (Before the World War) he focuses on different types of wars, their causes and conditions as well as their preparations and predictions. The second part (The World War) deals with the outbreak and course of the world

4 Confer the opening sentence of the EWW document.

5 Cf. Elisabeth Nemeth/Friedrich Stadler (Eds.), *Encyclopedia and Utopia. The Life and Work of Otto Neurath (1882-1945)*. Vienna Circle Institute, Yearbook, 1996, Vol. 4. Dordrecht/Boston/London: Kluwer Academic Publishers 1996.

6 Cf. Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Empiricism and Sociology*. Dordrecht, Boston: D. Reidel 1973; Otto Neurath, "Visual Education—Humanisation versus Popularisation" (1945), edited by Juha Manninen, in: Nemeth/Stadler (Eds., 1996), loc. cit., pp. 245-335.

7 Nader Vossoughian, "The Museum of War Economy" in: Nader Vossoughian, *Otto Neurath. The Language of the Global Polis*. Amsterdam: NAI-Publishers 2008, pp. 49-54, p. 52.

8 "Drei Fragen treten im alten Griechenland sowohl als heute in den Vordergrund: die soziale Frage, die Frauenfrage und die Friedensfrage". Otto Neurath, "Sozialwissenschaftliches von den Ferial-Hochschulkursen" in Salzburg (1903), in: Rudolf Haller/Ulf Höfer (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte ökonomische, soziologische und sozialpolitische Schriften (Band 1)*. Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky 1998, pp. 1-7, 5.

war, differentiates between a large number of sociological and organisational elements (such as international and trans-national relations, national phenomena, etc) and finally makes the end of the war the subject of discussion. The third and last part (After the World War) includes topics such as the order of states and nations, production and consumption, the inner structure of the state, mass psychology and world peace.

OTTO NEURATH AND THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM (WILPF)

Otto Neurath's outline for an EWW was found in the "Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections", the former "Central State Special Archive", known under the name of "Special Archive" in Moscow.⁹ Though there exists a small inventory of Otto Neurath papers in the Special Archive, the document in question forms part of another inventory, namely the papers of the Austrian Section of the WILPF. The WILPF originated in a 1915 congress in The Hague assembling over 1100 women from belligerent and neutral states to protest against war. It was officially established at the Congress of Women in Zurich in 1919 that took place during the Conference of the Allied Powers in Paris. The organisation was among the first to protest against the punitive peace treaties, to disapprove officially of the League of Nations's Covenant not being in accordance with Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and to send suggestions for its improvement. The WILPF members regarded their organisation as the most radical and avant-garde among international women's and peace organisations in the interwar years, and considered international politics as their primary field of action.

While Neurath indicated that he wrote the EWW-outline in "Wien", he did not specify date or year. However, a single document originating from the WILPF papers provides some information as to time and context of its origin. Marie Wettstein, secretary of the WILPF Austrian section, mentions in a letter

9 The Central State Special Archive (renamed in "Center for Preservation of Historico-Documentary Collections" in 1992) was founded in 1946 to preserve documents captured by the Red Army from various countries between 1941 and 1945 as well as different files concerning war prisoners. In 1938/1939 the national socialists transferred most of the files later becoming the Austrian documents in the Special Archive to Berlin or other central locations of NS-administration. These papers, relocated several times, towards the end of WW II and after the retreat of German soldiers, were taken over by the Red Army. A smaller part of the Austrian files were confiscated in Vienna or in the East of Austria and directly brought to Moscow. Cf. Gerhard Jagschitz/Stefan Karner, *"Beuteakten aus Österreich". Der Österreichbestand im russischen "Sonderarchiv" Moskau*. Graz/Vienna: Selbstverlag des Ludwig-Boltzmann-Instituts für Kriegsfolgen-Forschung 1996. In 2009 the bulk of papers related to Austria was given back by representatives of Russia and turned over to the Austrian State Archive in Vienna.

to the secretary of the WILPF headquarters in Geneva that Mrs. Dr. Friedmann¹⁰ had propagated the plan to edit a so-called “Enzyklopädie des Weltkrieges” and to ask the Carnegie Foundation for financing. At the invitation of Rosa Mayreder and [Marie] Goldscheid¹¹ various ‘learned’ men had joined the meeting of the WILPF Austrian section for preliminary talks about the project.¹² Probably Neurath’s outline for the EWW arose from these discussions at the end of 1921 and thus could have been written in the following months, in 1922.¹³ Otto Neurath had participated in the Bavarian Soviet Republic, as had Anita Augspurg and Lida Gustava Heymann—both leading WILPF activists. This may be the background for Neurath’s acquaintance (in 1920) with Yella Hertzka (1873–1948), appointed representative in WILPF international executive committee and protagonist of the Austrian WILPF branch in Vienna. A few weeks after Neurath’s release from Bavarian imprisonment, Hertzka wrote to Lida Gustava Heymann that she had discussed with Neurath the plan for a so-called Bureau of Statistical Preparatory Work to World Economic Planning (“Büro für statistische Vorarbeit zum Weltwirtschaftsplan”). Yella Hertzka asked for this item to be included in the programme of the WILPF. She also asked for Heymann’s opinion, if they could afford to finance, and if the WILPF German section was already campaigning for Neurath’s project.¹⁴ A few months later Hertzka transmitted an appeal of Neurath’s Research Institute of Social Economy (“Forschungsinstitut für Gemeinwirtschaft”) to Emily Greene Balch, at that time secretary-treasurer of the WILPF in Geneva.¹⁵ For both projects—the Research Institute and the EWW—Neurath had found allies in members of the WILPF. For lack of further documents we do not know if WILPF members contributed further to Otto Neurath’s EWW-outline. In 1919, Augspurg and Heymann from the WILPF German Branch likewise had initiated a project on the World War that might refer to the EWW-outline. Due to their appeal, a commission was formed to investigate responsibilities for the war and to inform the public.¹⁶ Two WILPF activists and Albert Einstein were among the members of the commission and editors of the subsequent publication.¹⁷ As Albert Einstein is sup-

10 Presumably Dr. Constanze Friedmann, mentioned in another context in the sources of the WILPF Austrian section around 1921.

11 Presumably Marie Goldscheid, another WILPF activist.

12 Cf. Marie Wettstein to Anny Wössner, Vienna, December 20, 1921. United Nations Office at Geneva Archives (UNOG), WILPF Papers, Reel 55.

13 The fact that Otto Neurath refers at the beginning of the outline to the Vienna group of the WILPF may indicate, that he wrote it not much later than at the end of 1922, when the organisation in Vienna split and the new groups adopted special names.

14 Cf. Yella Hertzka to Lida Gustava Heymann, March 25 [26?], 1920. UNOG, WILPF Papers, Reel 55.

15 Cf. Yella Hertzka to Emily Greene Balch (American economist fired from Wellesley College due to her pacifist activities, Peace Nobel Prize winner in 1946), July 19, 1920. UNOG, loc.cit.

16 Cf. WILPF News-Sheet No. 4, Sept. 17, 1919.

17 Cf. Georg von Arco/Albert Einstein/Walburga Geiger/Hellmut von Gerlach/Maxi-

posed to have discussed a plan for an encyclopedia with Otto Neurath in 1921,¹⁸ the question arises if, at that time, such could have referred to the World War.

STRUGGLES FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION—LINKS BETWEEN YELLA HERTZKA AND OTTO NEURATH

Protagonists of the WILPF considered their political activities as part of a wider struggle for socio-political transformation. Before and parallel to their commitment to the League they were also involved in other social reform movements. Like Neurath, Yella Hertzka and her close friend Helene Scheu-Riesz, another WILPF member, were activists in the garden city and settlement movement. In 1913, Yella Hertzka and her husband Emil Hertzka, managing director of the music publishing house Universal-Edition, founded a colony, composed of eight semi-detached houses in Vienna, designed by architect Josef Hoffmann according to principles of the garden city movement.¹⁹ Helene Scheu-Riesz and her husband Gustav Scheu, lawyer and social democrat, were prominent mentors of the garden city and settlement movement. Both were activists in the Central Office for Housing Reform in Austria ("Zentralstelle für Wohnungsreform in Österreich") before World War I. From 1919 to 1923 Gustav Scheu acted as advisor in matters of housing for the Vienna municipality, and after his term as a city councillor, until 1934, he ran the legal protection agency ("Rechtsschutzstelle") of the Austrian Union for Settlements and Allotment Gardens ("Österreichischer Verband für Siedlungs- und Kleingartenwesen"), co-founded in 1921 and headed by Otto Neurath, as General Secretary until 1925.²⁰ Though the WILPF defined itself as a non-party organisation, many of its leading members were socialists, and several women were prominent activists in the labour party of their respective countries. Yella Hertzka tried, partly successfully, to engage the Austrian social democrats Martha Tausk and Emmy Freundlich in WILPF's activities. WILPF members of-

milian Harden/Max Hodann/Luise Kautsky/Elisabeth Rotten/Erich Schlesinger/Helene Stöcker, *Lille. Beiträge zur Naturgeschichte des Krieges*. Berlin: Engelmann 1919.

18 Cf. Hans-Joachim Dahms, "Die 'Encyclopedia of Unified Science' (IEUS). Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Bedeutung für den Logischen Empirismus", in: Elisabeth Nemeth/Nicolas Roudet (Eds.), *Paris–Wien. Enzyklopädien im Vergleich*, (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts Wiener Kreis, Bd. 13, hg. von Friedrich Stadler). Vienna/New York: Springer-Verlag 2005, pp. 105-120, pp.108-109.

19 Cf. Eduard F. Sekler, *Josef Hoffmann. Das architektonische Werk. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*. Salzburg–Vienna: Residenz Verlag 1982, 140-142.

20 Cf.: Eve Blau, *The Architecture of Red Vienna, 1919-1934*. Cambridge, MA–London: The MIT Press 1999, 90-98; Robert Hoffmann, "Proletarisches Siedeln – Otto Neuraths Engagement für die Wiener Siedlungsbewegung und den Gildensozialismus von 1920 bis 1925", in: Friedrich Stadler (Ed.), *Arbeiterbildung in der Zwischenkriegszeit: Otto Neurath – Gerd Arntz*. Vienna–Munich: Löcker Verlag 1982, pp. 140-148, 142.

ten campaigned among workers for peace, internationalism and disarmament. The League also obtained the Vienna School Board's permission for peace education projects for teachers and pupils. Red Vienna's general agreement with WILPF activities is highlighted by municipal subsidies for educational and publishing projects to WILPF groups in Vienna.²¹ Nonetheless, women in the WILPF regarded their organisation first and foremost as an independent and autonomous agency for social reform, not as a socialist or any other political association. The transformation of the economic system was an integral part of WILPF's proposals for a new world order even though its orientation was contested among the activists. Yella Hertzka never referred to Otto Neurath's term 'war economy'. But other approaches of hers show similarities to Neurath's concepts. She always stressed economic questions in relation to peace, advocated the concept of cooperative socialism, and promoted planned economy. Presiding over the WILPF's Economic Commission, Yella Hertzka interacted with members of the International Labour Office, and organised an Economic Conference in Paris in 1931 in the wake of the world economic crises.

In the mid 1920s, Yella Hertzka and Otto Neurath met again in the Austrian Society for the advancement of intellectual and economic relations with the USSR ("Österreichische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der geistigen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen mit der UdSSR").²² Activists got involved with this association for several reasons. Membership in the Society was motivated by interest in the Soviet system, in trade relations and cultural exchange, intentions to undertake scientific research and journeys in the USSR as well as a desire for direct communication and information beyond the anti-Soviet propaganda of the time. Prominent members in the "Society" were (among others) Moritz Schlick, Hans Hahn and Hans Kampffmeyer. The latter had met Otto Neurath at the time of the "Research Institute of Social Economy" and had cooperated with him in the settlement movement.²³ Yella Hertzka's participation in the Society was founded on various grounds ranging from peace policy, women's emancipation policy to business and cultural relations (in favour of the Universal-Edition). Otto Neurath, who had been invited to work at the ISOSTAT in Moscow in the beginning of the 1930s,²⁴ was mentioned in connection with the WILPF for the last time in 1932. Yella Hertzka proposed to another WILPF group leader in Vienna to publish a joint annual re-

21 Cf. Marie Wettstein to Madeleine Doty, March 2, 1926; Yella Hertzka to Mary Sheepshanks, November 18, 1929. UNOG, WILPF Papers, Reel 55.

22 Cf. Julia Köstenberger, "Österreichisch-Sowjetische Kulturkontakte", Paper held at the conference "*Kulturelle Transfers – Mythen der Erneuerung*", Wien Museum, Vienna, January 29, 2010 (unpublished).

23 Cf. Blau (1999), 98.

24 Cf. Friedrich Stadler, "Wiener Methode der Bildstatistik und politische Grafik des Konstruktivismus. Wien – Moskau 1931–1934", in: *Historikersektion der Österreichisch-Sowjetischen Gesellschaft* (Ed.), *Österreich und die Sowjetunion 1918–1945*. Vienna 1984, pp. 220–249.

port designed by "Dr. Neurath".²⁵ Similar interests, transnational relationships, an international perspective and networking strategies formed the basis of various connections between Otto Neurath and Yella Hertzka. However, their discussions on world economic planning, the plans for an annual report "designed by" and the EWW did not develop further.

OTTO NEURATH ON WAR AND PEACE

For the sake of annihilation it was shown what human energy can achieve. Is it then so incomprehensible that more and more men raise the question whether one might not in a similar way strive for peaceful goals just as one had for so long striven for warlike ones?²⁶

The outbreak of World War I was a crucial incident for many European scholars and intellectuals. Many of them, even those who had been socialists converted into aggressive nationalists, and only a few opposed the war from its beginning.²⁷ Although war had become an important theme in Otto Neurath's work long before 1914, we do not know much about his *political* position of that time.²⁸ Thus, reflecting on the plan for the EWW in the context of Neurath's numerous writings and activities in the field of war economy may help clarify this question.

"Growing up in the intellectual atmosphere of my father", Neurath remembered, "I was from early youth filled with the notion that the traditional economic order with its crises and misery was in principle unable to make men happy".²⁹ This conviction came to directly influence Neurath's research on war economy which had started no later than 1909. Already in 1907, however, he planned an edition of two volumes on the "philosophy of war"³⁰ and not much later he had started collecting documents and materials for his habilitation on "War and the Principles of Moral"³¹ which he did not complete. A grant of the 'Carnegie Endowment for

25 Cf. Yella Hertzka to "Fr. Professor" [Marianne Zycha?], March 19, 1932. Special Archive Moscow, 523-1-8, 86.

26 Otto Neurath, "Utopia as a Social Engineer's Construction" (1919), in: Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds., 1973), loc. cit., pp. 150-157, p. 153.

27 Cf. Kurt Flasch, *Geistige Mobilmachung, Die deutschen Intellektuellen und der Erste Weltkrieg. Ein Versuch*. Berlin: Alexander Fest Verlag 2000; Wolfgang Mommsen (Ed), *Kultur und Krieg. Die Rolle der Intellektuellen, Künstler und Schriftsteller im Ersten Weltkrieg*. Munich, Vienna: Oldenbourg 1996.

28 For Neurath's political biography, cf. Günther Sandner, "Demokratisierung des Wissens. Otto Neuraths politisches Projekt", in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 38 (2009) 2, pp. 231-248.

29 Otto Neurath, "Through War Economy to Economy in Kind (Preface)", in: Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds., 1973), loc. cit., pp. 123-124, 124.

30 Otto Neurath to Ferdinand Tönnies, July 16, 1907, Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesbibliothek (Kiel), Estate of Friedrich Tönnies.

31 "Der Krieg und die Moralprinzipien". Cf. Otto Neurath to Ferdinand Tönnies, August

International Peace' enabled Neurath to study the Balkan Wars (1912–13) which again influenced his research. He developed the theory that war experience might even offer a possibility of transforming the economic system in order to promote human happiness. Neurath propagated this concept of war economy in a number of books, essays and lectures and elicited criticism by economists such as Franz Eulenburg and Ludwig von Mises. While the former rejected Neurath's idea of "war economy as a separate discipline",³² the latter argued strictly against any form of planning and state interventionism from a liberal point of view.³³

But what was Neurath's approach? War economy, he put it in 1913, was the systematic analysis of advantages and disadvantages of war.³⁴ In his concept³⁵ three different questions were systematically addressed. Firstly he focused on the question of how war influences the economy and social and individual phenomena as well (including standard of living). He was convinced that war does *not* necessarily mean economic decline and that its social and economic effects ought to be scrutinised very carefully. Secondly, he analysed how a war economy is organised, e.g. on which institutions and principles it is based. In this context phenomena such as economy in kind, calculation in kind, barter and planning were introduced and analysed. And thirdly, he raised the question of how far war economy can serve as a model for peace time. For Neurath, war economy was rather efficient as it released productive capacity inhibited by capitalism. War economy in the end, as he put it, provides the instruments for satisfying human needs while the capitalist economy, in contrast, is based upon private profit motifs.

The war experience has deeply influenced Otto Neurath. In a letter to Ferdinand Tönnies³⁶ he wrote that he had seen a world full of cruelty that had influenced his image of human beings in a very negative way. However, as a representative of war economy he became a widely acknowledged scholar and expert, particularly in the time of World War I. After having received military decorations in 1915,³⁷ Neurath became head of the 'General War and Economics Section' which was part

27, 1908, *ibid.*

32 Otto Neurath, "The Theory of War Economy as a Separate Discipline" (1913), in: Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds., 1973), *loc. cit.*, pp. 125-130.

33 Wolfgang Pircher, "Der Krieg der Vernunft. Bemerkungen zur 'Kriegswirtschaftslehre' von Otto Neurath", in: Elisabeth Nemeth/Richard Heinrich (Eds.): *Otto Neurath: Rationalität, Planung, Vielfalt*, Vienna: Oldenbourg 1999, pp. 96-122.

34 Otto Neurath, "Probleme der Kriegswirtschaftslehre" (1913), in: Rudolf Haller/Ulf Höfer (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte ökonomische, soziologische und sozialpolitische Schriften (Band I)*. Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky 1998, pp. 201-249, 202.

35 Among the many contributions of Otto Neurath towards war economy, cf.: *Through War Economy to Economy in Kind*, in: Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds., 1973), *loc. cit.*; *War Economy*, in: Thomas Uebel (Ed.), *Otto Neurath. Economic Writings. Selections 1904-1945*, Dordrecht–Boston–London: Kluwer 2004, pp. 153-199.

36 Otto Neurath to Ferdinand Tönnies, July 20, 1916, *ibid.*

37 Offiziersbelohnungsanträge (OBA), Dr. Neurath Otto, Nr. 27 922 (Kt.31), Austrian State Archive, (Kriegsarchiv).

of the 'Scientific Committee of War Economy', founded in April 1916 by, and in itself part of the Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War. Its aim was research on war economy based on a historical-statistical method. There were ten different sections that focused on different war economy related topics. Among other tasks the committee was to write a publication for the General Staff ("Generalstabswerk"), to edit the yearbook for military statistics, and to build up a library of war economy.³⁸ Among the Committee's collaborators were personalities such as the socialist economist Henryk Grossmann (later: Frankfurt Institute of Social Research), Otto Bauer, who later became the intellectual leader of Austrian social democracy, and Othmar Spann, right wing economist, philosopher and intellectual forerunner of Austro-Fascism (that forced Neurath to emigrate in 1934).

In 1918, Otto Neurath was appointed director of the newly founded MWE,³⁹ a post which he held for only a few months. Initiated and supported by several public institutions such as the Leipzig Chamber of Commerce, the museum planned several activities including conferences, lectures and publications. However, "World Blockade and War Economy" in August 1918 remained the only exhibition organised by the MWE. Although Neurath, assisted by his friend Wolfgang Schumann (general secretary), underlined the pedagogical character of the museum,⁴⁰ there is no doubt that the MWE aimed to support German stamina in the world war.⁴¹

The Encyclopedia of the World War, in contrast, was intended for the WILPF. So, what was Neurath's position towards the peace movement in general? He had worked for the Austro-Hungarian and German military powers that were ultimately responsible for the war. No doubt Neurath, the expert and scholar, worked scientifically. However, it was science in the context of military strategy and propaganda. Neurath, for instance, wished to propagate the German war museum by

38 Wissenschaftliches Komitee für Kriegswirtschaft, Entwurf eines Arbeitsplanes dann Personaleinteilung. Austrian State Archive (Kriegsarchiv), k.u.k. Kriegsministerium/Intern Akten, Karton 74.

39 Cf. "Führer durch die Sonderausstellung Weltblockade und Kriegswirtschaft des deutschen Kriegswirtschaftsmuseums. Leipzig 1918". (Bundesarchiv Berlin, Papers of the German War Museum, Band 1/R 3101].

40 Otto Neurath, "Die Kriegswirtschaftslehre und ihre Bedeutung für die Zukunft" (1918), in: Rudolf Haller/Ulf Höfer (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte ökonomische, soziologische und sozialpolitische Schriften (Band 2)*, Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky 1998, pp. 588-598, 595-599; Entwurf einer Niederschrift über die am 16. Mai stattgefundene Besprechung wegen des Deutschen Kriegswirtschaftsmuseums und des Reichskriegswirtschaftsmuseums im Ministerium des Inneren (Akten, betreffend das deutsche Kriegswirtschaftsmuseums in Leipzig, Band 1/R 3101, 182-199, Bundesarchiv Berlin).

41 "Führer durch die Sonderausstellung "Weltblockade und Kriegswirtschaft" des deutschen Kriegswirtschaftsmuseums. Leipzig 1918", loc. cit., pp. 182-199.

highlighting its important popular function in preparing for war,⁴² at the same time trying to promote human happiness.⁴³ This may seem contradictory.

For Neurath, a social engineer was someone who worked independently of political parties and their propaganda.⁴⁴ He wrote the EWW-draft at about the same time as he published his social engineer's reports on socialisation in Bavaria (1919)⁴⁵ and on Jewish planning economy in Palestine (1921).⁴⁶ There, he underlined the 'unpolitical' character of his expertise. In this time Neurath often stressed the fact that his scientific investigations were neither 'pro' nor 'against' because such a statement could never be the task of science.⁴⁷ However, the social engineer Neurath was definitely not uncritical towards the peace movement. In the EWW he rejected an approach that tried to prevent war only by describing its horrors. The peace movement, he put it, must become part of a larger movement that aims to construct a new social and economic order of life. However, it "has hitherto shown itself rather sterile in the field of economics,"⁴⁸ he stated. Neurath, in contrast, freely discussed the economical advantages and disadvantages of war and warned the peace movement against one-sidedness. He repeatedly accused 'friends of peace' of their naivety, as, in his opinion, the peace movement should address its criticism towards the economic order as such—and not only attack the military.

In Neurath's view, it was the dominant economic order (or system) which, not only promotes but even entails war. Those who are interested in peace should therefore first and foremost combat the economic system, which consequently would eliminate war indirectly, but most successfully.⁴⁹ As he put it:

42 Otto Neurath, "Die Kriegswirtschaftslehre und ihre Bedeutung für die Zukunft" (1918), loc.cit. pp. 588-598.

43 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Menschheit" (1920), in: Rudolf Haller/Heiner Rutte (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte philosophische und methodologische Schriften (Band 1)*, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky: Vienna 1981.

44 Cf. for a typology of the social engineer: Thomas Etzemüller, "Social engineering als Verhaltenslehre des kühlen Kopfes. Eine einleitende Skizze", in: Thomas Etzemüller (Ed.), *Die Ordnung der Moderne. Social Engineering im 20. Jahrhundert*. Bielefeldt: transcript 2009, pp. 11-39.

45 Otto Neurath, *Wesen und Wege der Sozialisierung. Gesellschaftstechnisches Gutachten, vorgetragen in der 8. Vollsitzung des Münchner Arbeiterrates am 25. Januar 1919*. Callwey: Munich 1919.

46 Karl Wilhelm (= Otto Neurath), *Jüdische Planwirtschaft in Palästina. Ein gesellschaftstechnisches Gutachten*. Welt-Verlag: Berlin 1921.

47 Otto Neurath, "Einführung in die Kriegswirtschaftslehre" (1914), in: Otto Neurath, *Durch die Kriegswirtschaft zur Naturalwirtschaft*. Munich: Callwey 1919, pp. 132-133.

48 Otto Neurath, "War Economy as a Separate Discipline", loc.cit., p. 128.

49 Otto Neurath, "Probleme der Kriegswirtschaftslehre", in: Rudolf Haller/Ulf Höfer (Eds.), *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte ökonomische, soziologische und sozialpolitische Schriften (Band 2)*, Vienna: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky 1998, pp. 201-249, 248.

The best success therefore may possibly be achieved by struggling not directly against war, but instead against certain deficiencies of our economic order which have the effect of reducing the horror of war and increasing its advantages.⁵⁰

After World War I, when the EWW-draft was written Neurath had transformed his concept of war economy into plans for socialisation and, around this time, had also become a member of the socialist party. With this, his idea of war economy, however, could serve as a guide for a future world order. Thus, the role of the social engineer, as he pointed out, was to transform economy and society:

The hesitations and vacillations of those called upon to act, the advice of my friends and sundry accidental circumstances, finally moved me, after much reflection, to conclude my life of contemplation and to begin one of action, to help to introduce an administrative economy that will bring happiness.⁵¹

In this context, Neurath's concept of utopia had become politically relevant. He was convinced that utopias "one might with full justice call (...) constructions of social engineers"⁵² and from 1919 onwards, peace more and more was seen as part of a future order of life. In 1922, together with Rudolf Goldscheid, Alfred Adler, Josef Luitpold Stern and others, he co-founded the Vienna section of the international pacifist association "Clarté".⁵³ Looking at Neurath's political essays of these years it seems clear that for him questions such as peace and war were becoming more closely connected to socialism (and even Marxist theory). "World-socialism", he was convinced, would ultimately result in a world of peace.⁵⁴

OTTO NEURATH—UTOPIAS, ENCYCLOPEDIAS, MUSEUM WORK

The last part of this essay considers Otto Neurath's EWW-document in two ways: One points at related 'utopias' and refers to the notion of encyclopedic re-presentations/models (i.e. also museums) as tools for societal development, and to their position within Neurath's cosmos.⁵⁵ The other suggests parallels, in the EWW and

50 Otto Neurath, "War Economy", loc.cit., p. 194.

51 Otto Neurath, "Through War Economy to Economy in Kind (Preface)" (1919), loc. cit., p. 124.

52 Otto Neurath, "Utopia as a Social Engineers Construction" (1919), loc. cit., p. 151.

53 Cf. Wolfgang Fritz/Gertraude Mikl-Horte, *Rudolf Goldscheid – Finanzsoziologie und ethische Sozialwissenschaft*. Vienna–Berlin: Lit Verlag 2007, pp. 76-77.

54 Otto Neurath, "Weltsozialismus" (1922), in: Rudolf Haller/Heiner Rutte (Eds., 1981), loc.cit., pp. 203-208, 208.

55 Cf.: Elisabeth Nemeth/Stephan W. Schmitz/Thomas Uebel (Eds.), *Otto Neurath's Economics in Context*, VCI-Yearbook, 2007, Vol. 13. Vienna/New York: Springer 2007; for the term 'Encyclopedist', cf. Hans-Joachim Dahms, "Die 'Encyclopedia of Unified Science' (IEUS). Ihre Vorgeschichte und ihre Bedeutung für den Logischen

early museum work and in the developmental changes leading to his unfinished projects ‘Museums of the Future’⁵⁶ and ‘International Encyclopedia of Unified Science’ (IEUS, 1935 ff.).⁵⁷

Utopias

There was a moment in the history of Otto Neurath’s International Encyclopedia of Unified Science during which the project actually began to fulfil some of the Enlightenment-ideals it shared with its older French counterpart. (...) (as) a successful, international forum for philosophers who believed that science, as organized, collective inquiry into the nature of the world and of society was the supreme tool with which civilization could possibly build a world, more humanistic, peaceful and economically just.⁵⁸

With the involvement in encyclopedia enterprises (the EWW being an early example) and museum and exhibition projects—the MWE prefiguring the Social and Economic Museum in Vienna (SEM, Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum, 1925–1934; SEM)—Neurath aimed to provide instruments which would demonstrate the impact of economic, political and organizational measures on living conditions (the basis for comparing alternatives, and for rationally deciding on unavoidably insecure steps). This would deliver a format “to communicate the results, (and) (...) to promote an informed discourse among those whose living conditions are affected by the measures, the general public.”⁵⁹ In 1933, Neurath saw a twofold task for such instruments, “to show social processes, and to bring all the facts of life into some recognisable relation with social processes” as, “How to organize human life socially (...) (was) the great question which people are asking with ever greater intensity”. These instruments should be seen as diverse, but *orchestrated* media

(w)ith the identical purpose of making (...) less afraid of the world. If previously (...) oppressed by the complexity of facts, the visitor to the museum should leave it with the feeling that, after all, “one can find a way through”.⁶⁰

Empirismus”, in: Elisabeth Nemeth/Nicolas Roudet (Eds., 2005), loc. cit., p. 108, p. 114.

56 Cf.: Hadwig Kraeutler, *Otto Neurath: Museum and Exhibition Work—Spaces (Designed) for Communication*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang 2008; Otto Neurath, “Museums of the Future” (1933), in: *Survey Graphic*, Vol. 22, Nr. 9, New York 1933, pp. 458–463.

57 Cf.: Otto Neurath/Rudolf Carnap/Charles Morris (Eds.), *Foundations of the Unity of Science, Toward an International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1971.

58 George A. Reisch, “Doomed in advance to defeat? John Dewey on logical empiricism, reductionism, and values” in: Elisabeth Nemeth et al. (Eds., 2005), loc. cit., pp. 241–251, p. 241.

59 Cf. Elisabeth Nemeth/Stephan W. Schmitz/Thomas Uebel (Eds., 2007), loc. cit., p. 4.

60 Otto Neurath, “Museums of the Future” (1933), loc. cit., p. 463.

Official representations of warfare usually oscillate between the depiction of horror, of the fascination of instruments—'auratic' objects (in museums, exhibitions) or heroes (accounts in various media)—and an impetus to explain the causes underlying destruction and violence, in order to render them manageable. How centrally a pedagogic/didactic impetus is driving the leading notions, and shaping interfaces and structures, is decisive for the communicatory potential and impact (be this of an encyclopedia, exhibition, museum).

In the introductory paragraphs of the EWW-document, Neurath referred to the complex contingencies involved, leading to the catastrophic experiences of the years 1914–1918. Soon after WWI, Neurath, who doubted that "bourgeois pacifism which expects salvation from a League of Nation and Courts of Arbitration" could contribute effectively to preventing future wars,⁶¹ was searching for a more satisfactory strategy. He turned from an academic career and mostly peer-audiences to political activism. For the 'social engineer' this required involving the public at large—ultimately the target audience of his utopian economic and societal visions—and democratic procedures which Neurath defended as not naïve, but rather *as the only way forward*.⁶²

The tasks outlined for the EWW were: to gather and analyze as factually, objectively and encompassingly as possible the war-related phenomena, to find methods for presenting and transferring this specific knowledge/information, with the goal to reach a better future—engendered by a long-term utopia of world-peace.

Encyclopedias, Museum Work

The EWW-document, the MWE (1917),⁶³ and the SEM in Vienna,⁶⁴ show similarities in the factual, systematic approach to subject matters, as well as in pedagogical intentions expressed. All three were meant to furnish the public with an understanding of the social, administrative, and economic dimensions of social phenomena. But in addition to a 'Gesamtbild' (complete overview) and lasting memory, Neurath's stated aim was to contextualise the historic developments in

61 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Personal Life and Class Struggle" (1928), in: Marie Neurath/Robert S. Cohen (Eds., 1973), pp. 249-298, p. 270.

62 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Utopia as a Social Engineer's Construction", loc. cit., pp. 150-157.

63 The MWE-guide emphasised scientific and educational (popular education) orientation, cf. "Grundsätzlich geht es ... um die Frage, wie aus kriegswirtschaftlichen Erfahrungen gelernt werden kann..." [Bundesarchiv Berlin, Bestandssignatur: R/3101, Archivsignatur: 617].

64 Cf. Otto Neurath's related writings, especially of the mid 1920's, propagating the GWM-plans; the introduction to the 'Gruppe: *Weltkrieg*' (Group World War), "Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftsmuseum in Wien", 1925 in: Österreichische Gemeinde-Zeitung, 2. Jahrgang, Nummer 16, (reprint) in: Rudolf Haller/Robin Kinross, Eds., *Otto Neurath. Gesammelte bildpädagogische Schriften*, Vienna: Hölder/Pichler/Tempusky 1991, pp. 1-17, p. 12.

order to encourage complexity in the discussions and with this, to deliver the basis for reflection and informed decisions.

In the early 1920s the overriding concern had been that the projects were scientifically sound, sufficiently attractive, and viable. Around 1928, Neurath's plans for museums and exhibitions became more functional (information organisation, approachability),⁶⁵ and later developed into systematic visualisations.⁶⁶ This was the result of a decisive communicational reorientation appropriate to the 'era of the eye', that ultimately led to his proposal for a global, egalitarian educational scheme.⁶⁷

Such developments seem paralleled by changes in Neurath's notion of 'encyclopedia'. In a detailed 'reconstruction of the pre-history' of the IEUS, Hans-Joachim Dahms points at the obvious relation to the classical *Encyclopédie* of 18th century France, and traced it back to earlier plans of Neurath's. Dahms describes an unrealized 'Volksbibliothek' of 1921—likened to an encyclopedia by Albert Einstein⁶⁸—(and a further 1928 'Leselexikon') as precursors of the IEUS. This, a complex and plurally structured model, was to represent the sciences in a genuinely international scope, an adaptable framework for open-ended, interdisciplinary collaboration.

By 1933 Neurath had introduced metaphoric concepts such as a collage, or mosaic-like 'orchestration' of the sciences, which would ensure the progression of the *common play* and at the same time, respect the provisional nature of scientific knowledge, engaging the users in 'argumentations', in dialogic processes and partnership relations, encouraging exploration in an active rather than passive stance. With this approach to enlightenment tools, characterised by tedious democratic processes and the corresponding practical political structures, Neurath definitely placed social responsibility with the institution, with the team of scientists and planners.⁶⁹

With more experience in museum and exhibition work, and the engagement in the IEUS, Neurath came to consider team work, with self-reflexive exchange

65 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Die neue Zeit, Köln 1932", in: *Die Form*, vol. 4 (21), Berlin 1929, pp. 588-590.

66 Cf. Elisabeth Nemeth "Gesellschaftliche Tatbestände sichtbar machen. Otto Neurath über den Gegenstand der Wirtschaftswissenschaft und seine Visualisierung", in: Ewa Czerwinska-Schupp (Ed., 2003), *Philosophie an der Schwelle des 21. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, pp. 181-207.

67 Cf. Otto Neurath's and Paul Otlet's plans for a global information network *Mundaneum* (1932 onwards); Otto Neurath, "Bildstatistik—ein internationales Problem" (Original in English, *Pictorial Statistics—An International Problem*, in: *The Listener*; London 1933, pp. 471-472), (reprint) in: Rudolf Haller/Robin Kinross, (Eds. 1991), loc. cit., pp. 258-264; Otto Neurath (1944, 1996): "Visual Education: Humanisation versus Popularisation", in: Elisabeth Nemeth/Friedrich Stadler (Eds., 1996), loc. cit., pp. 245-335; Hadwig Kraeutler, loc. cit., pp. 135-139.

68 Cf. Hans-Joachim Dahms, loc. cit., p. 110.

69 Cf. Hadwig Kraeutler, "Strategies for Enlightenment", loc. cit., pp. 175-192, p. 185.

and approximations of statements, as a precondition for achieving acceptable (intersubjective, temporarily valid) propositions, and to prefer transmitting information to non-expert audiences visually (more egalitarian than word-based communication).⁷⁰ In this vein, he had proposed an accompanying visual thesaurus to make the IEUS approachable. In his last years, towards the end of WWII, Neurath regarded visual education as an appropriate tool for international communication. In this, museums and exhibitions would figure as specifically well-suited media, with designed (finely attuned) visual narratives, spaces, and interactivities to engage the public at large as well as the researchers in 'argumentations'.⁷¹

Already in the EWW-document of the early 1920s, Neurath had hinted at underlying methodological challenges—however far from the refinement to be reached in the next decades⁷²—and acknowledged the difficulties involved:

While we know how to tackle such a task from the point of view of war history or political history, we lack experience on how to best analyze (...) for the development of future universal peace (...).⁷³

There were crucial questions: How to reach the many with fact-based argumentation which should not become a thrilling story or nightmare "oppressing (...) [the] defenceless"?⁷⁴ How to patently strive for objectivity—the basis for a more reflected stance—as one-sidedness, emotionally coloured clichés,⁷⁵ absolutes or anecdotes would "only deter the calm ones who we aim[ed] to win"? Neurath emphasized that no answers or progress could be founded on merely enumerating the phenomena and effects of war-fare.⁷⁶

Comparable to this essential request for contextualizations, Neurath sharply criticised museum presentations which were not used analytically, i.e. to enable comparisons, or to open up discussions in a "scientific attitude".⁷⁷ Referring to literary accounts of warfare as mostly speaking to emotions and feelings,⁷⁸ he implied that the EWW should not be the work of an artist, as this would involve a different concept.

We can only speculate if this encyclopedia, planned as an elaborate work and intended as programmatic tool for reaching the broad public, would not rather have been addressing the academically trained. However, we may also acknowl-

70 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Unified Science as Encyclopedic Integration", in: Otto Neurath/Rudolf Carnap/Charles Morris, (Eds. 1971), loc.cit., pp. 1-27.

71 Cf.: Hadwig Kraeutler, "Otto Neurath's concern with the visual", loc. cit., pp. 193-206.

72 Cf. Marie Neurath/Robin Kinross, *The Transformer*, London: Hyphen Press, 2009.

73 EWW, loc.cit. p. I.

74 ibid.

75 Cf. EWW, loc.cit., p. III.

76 Cf. EWW, loc. cit., p. I.

77 Cf. Otto Neurath, "Museums of the Future", loc. cit., p. 459.

78 Cf. EWW, loc. cit., p. I.

edge that Otto Neurath, who rejected the concept ‘truth’, even in this sketchy outline for the EWW, pointed out that this, “however incomplete it may be” is suggesting one possible structure, and that there might be other schemes and “better solutions”⁷⁹.

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79 EWW, loc.cit., p. III.

Translation of the "Encyclopedia of the World War" by Otto Neurath⁸⁰

Encyclopedia of the World War.

by Otto Neurath—Vienna.

The Vienna group of the International Women's League for Peace and Freedom is planning to start a collective work about the World War. A huge and significant task. Difficulties of all kinds arise, not to mention the financial ones. It will not be easy to find really objective people to work on it; it will be even more challenging to subject them to a uniform editorial standard, especially because not sufficient preliminary systematic work has been done so far that might help us to give room to each single problem. While we know how to tackle such a task from the point of view of war history or political history, we lack experience on how to best analyze the World War in its significance for the development of future universal peace or in its influence on institutions that are supposed to further or inhibit wars or on inclinations as well as other states of affairs. The mere enumeration of appearances and effects of the World War is able to awake horror and repulsion to a large degree. But that is not enough if we want to further the peace movement in a decisive way. The horror of the Thirty Years' War has been made known sufficiently by Grimmelshausen, Gustav Freytag and other writers, and so have the Napoleonic Wars. Berta Suttner's gripping depictions have been repulsive enough. But all that does not suffice without other driving forces which will give us a glimpse of hope for a peaceful future. Without such forces the horror becomes a gripping story about Indians or a nightmare oppressing us defenceless.

II

Yes, when the forces that press towards a war are alive, such depictions of horror can only dull the mind of courageous souls. Who believes that he can turn an inquisitor away from his sad work by describing the suffering of his victims to him? The genuine inquisitor had to learn through permanent self-training to despise all pity as vain play of the moment. And when socialists think of a bloody revolution, not because they wish for it, but because they consider it inevitable, must they not go against their nature and harden themselves?

If one describes the terror of an uprising to them, in the style of the great French Revolution or the Soviet fights, then they often come up with the follow-

80 The original German text of this document follows, starting on page 289. Handwritten comments had been added to Otto Neurath's typescript. They probably do not stem from the author himself, since they partly represent a contradiction, and partly they ask questions about the meaning of individual words. All handwritten comments are retained or commented on in the editorial footnotes.

ing thought: We must come to terms with all this in order to serve the cause for which we are ready to make sacrifices. The depiction of all suffering, the depiction of all corruption is only a small impediment when the masses begin the struggle for power! On the contrary, horror which already existed will be considered less so—this is the fate of man!

The depiction of the World War as deterrent is also meaningful, but only as a subordinate means of propaganda. Leaders, wide circles of thoughtful and energetic people, who are very necessary for the peace movement, have not been decisively influenced through this. Who didn't know that wars cause pain? Who didn't know that robbery, violation, brutality of any kind occur in all wars? We know how little the sheer fear of venereal diseases deters young people from haphazard sexual intercourse. It is quite different things that come into play here, especially spontaneous instincts which stem from a feeling of duty and similar sentiments, as

III

religious communities, political parties and other organizations are able to show. The Quakers, who heroically resisted to be drafted for military service, didn't do so because of their pity with the victims, but because of their general world view. Pity towards others and care for one's own well-being are not the decisive motivators in a person's life, as all brutal sports, mountaineering, tournaments, fencing bouts and many other activities prove. The peace movement will only sink into the consciousness of wide circles when it is understood as part of a development of humankind which is reflected in everything, so also in the World War, and which carries with it the promise of a future which will bring happiness. The creation of a new order of life which doesn't know any wars must appear as historical necessity and as an aim. This would be the aim of an encyclopedia of the World War, if it should be more than a collection of anecdotes in a higher sense. Also the collection of literary creations only has a permanent value if it represents the direction of the mental development. The mere fact that there is a literature which depicts the war as terrible is of little importance! The task is a huge one. But even the weakest attempt has to be undertaken so that at least everyone becomes aware of what insights are necessary. Below we will sketch the structure of such an encyclopedia so that we can serve such an attempt, however incomplete it may be. There is more than one solution, there are better ones than the one introduced here.

IV

It goes without saying that all the facts listed in the encyclopedia must be presented truthfully. It is equally imperative that the selection must be made objectively. The full scope of the war must be presented, from all the magnanimity,

dedication, loyalty, all the sublime⁸¹, which the war brought with it, to all the horrible, the cruel, the pain, the vileness. One-sidedness will only deter the calm ones who we aim to win. Nobody wants to be deceived. The argument that one's opponents lied and cheated doesn't convince.

Scholarly experts shall proceed in a scholarly spirit; however, the overall idea which guides every individual cannot evolve from scholarship; it rests on conviction, on belief. One can only demand that it doesn't conflict with the facts. It is of the utmost importance how the experts are chosen. Selection only on grounds of knowledge of facts would mean that the encyclopedia project will be usurped by opponents of war [the author probably meant opponents of peace; editors' note]. The experts are in the majority of cases dependent on the governments; in many cases they have been made professors, heads of departments, civil servants etc. because of their views going in a certain direction, however without doing research against their conviction. That doesn't mean that the authors of the encyclopedia must be supporters of the peace movement, least in its haphazard present state, in order to fulfil this task adequately.

V

Organization of the content

A. Before the World War

1. Types of great wars in various cultures and eras⁸²
 - a. Raids, migration⁸³
 - b. Other
 - c. Thirty Years' War, Napoleonic Wars
2. Origins and conditions
 - a. Geographic
 - b. Governmental
 - c. Economic
 - d. National
 - e. Religious
 - f. Emotional
 - g. Other
3. Preparations
 - a. Governmental (alliances, laws concerning contributions to wars etc.)
 - b. Military (mobilizing plans, armament etc.)
 - c. Economic
 - d. Other (revenge propaganda, philosophical tenets etc.)
4. Predictions (scholarship and literature)

81 Comment of five lines in the left margin, probably: "This has been depicted enough. Objectivity now calls for the negative side."

82 Indecipherable comment of one line, probably in shorthand, in the left margin.

83 Handwritten amendment at this position: "Migration of the peoples to Djingis Khan."

- a. Scope and outcome
 - b. War strategies
 - c. Organization of the economy
 - d. Other
- B. The World War
- 1. Outbreak and development in outlines
 - 2. Sociology and organization
 - a. Interstate relations
 - aa. Type of war strategy
 - aaa. Military
 - bbb. Administrative
 - ccc. Other
 - bb. Position of the neutral states
 - b. Supranational relations
 - aa. Formation and strengthening of international relations (Panturanic⁸⁴ Movement etc.)
 - bb. Weakening and destruction of supranational relations (e.g. in the case of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy a supranational unity on a dynastic basis)
 - c. Phenomena within a state
 - aa. Mass motives
 - aaa. Defense
 - bbb. Fight for freedom, justice, culture etc.⁸⁵
 - ccc. Pugnacity etc.
 - bb. Peace forces
 - aaa. Internationalism⁸⁶
 - aaaa. Socialism
 - bbbbb. Catholicism⁸⁷
 - cccc. Freemasonry
 - dddd. Peace movement
 - eeee. Other
 - cc. Economic centralism and planning
 - dd. Economy and wastefulness
 - ee. Boost and reduction of a sense of community
 - ff. Subjugation and liberation of individual groups

84 “Panturanic” is underlined by hand; in the left margin of the text a handwritten question-mark is added.

85 Here “Freemasonry!” is added in handwriting.

86 In the right-hand margin next to the category “Internationalism” the hand-written amendment: “4f [ffff] surfeit a[nd] war-weariness 4 g [gggg] Nazarenes and followers of Tolstoi.”

87 A question-mark added by hand in the right-hand margin might refer to the word “catholicism” also marked slightly by hand.

- gg. Moving of masses of people
- hh. Administration, jurisdiction, the military etc.
- ii. Destructions
 - aaa. Killings, mutilations, wounding, disease
 - bbb. Substances and powers
 - ccc. Comparison with peaceful state
 - aaaa. Crises, suffering, unemployment etc.
 - bbbb. Other
 - ddd. Comparison with other wars

VI

- kk. Social phenomena
 - aaa. Social hygiene
 - bbb. Marriages, births, deaths etc.
 - ccc. Upbringing, education
 - ddd. Crime, prostitution etc.
 - eee. Other
- d. Individual items
 - aa. Love and hate (pity, revenge, cruelty etc.)
 - bb. Forgetting and remembering
 - cc. Enjoying nature, physical strength
 - dd. Sorrow and pleasure in general
 - ee. Knowledge, studies, narrowing and widening etc.
 - ff. Ability to act
 - gg. Change of fate as a possibility
- e. Expressive culture
 - aa. Literature and writers
 - bb. Fine art and artists
 - cc. Habitation, nourishment, clothing etc.
 - dd. Other
- f. Scholarship and scholars (Wissenschaft und Gelehrte)
- g. Family, marriage, sexuality etc., friendship etc.
- 3. Conclusion of the World War, the peace negotiations and the peace treaty in outline (gemeint
- C. After the World War
 1. Governmental and national organization
 - a. General state
 - b. Alliances, economic relations etc.
 - c. Courts of arbitration etc.
 - d. Stability and instability (causes)
 2. Production and consumption
 - a. Comparisons with the pre-war era
 - b. Crises among the winners, want among the losers

3. Inner structure of the state
 - a. Situation of the individual classes
 - b. Revolutionary tendencies
 - c. Creation of a system of government
4. Mass psychology
 - a. War atmosphere
 - b. Revolutionary atmosphere
5. Ideas for a universal peace
 - a. Antimilitary movements
 - b. Universal peace as a special aim
 - c. Universal peace as a subsidiary aim
 - aa. Liberalism, analysis and criticism
 - bb. Socialism, analysis and criticism
 - d. Peace movement
 - aa. Views
 - bb. Political importance
 - cc. Possibilities
 - aaa. Inadequacy of the courts of arbitration
 - bbb. Necessity of a world authority and a surmounting of states
 - ccc. Future revolutions and wars
 - ddd. Conditions for universal peace
 - aaaa. Geographic conditions
 - bbbb. Diversity of the members of a peace community
 - cccc. Spiritual, economic etc. conditions
 - eee. The overall organization of life in the future

Translation: Wiltrud Steinacker (Innsbruck/Budapest)

Transcript of the "Encyclopedia of the World War" by Otto Neurath⁸⁸

- xxx passages which have been made illegible through overwriting them with "xxx"
- / / passage inserted later above the line
- _____ underlined words were printed in double space in the original
- [] editors' amendments

Enzyklopädie des Weltkrieges.

von Otto Neurath – Wien.

Die Wiener Gruppe der Internationalen Frauenliga für Friede und Freiheit hat den xxx⁸⁹ Plan gefasst ein Sammelwerk über den Weltkrieg ins Leben zu rufen. Eine gewaltige und bedeutsame Aufgabe. Schwierigkeiten aller Art ergeben sich. Von den finanziellen soll ganz abgesehen werden. Es wird nicht leicht sein, für alle Fragen wirklich objektive Mitarbeiter zu finden, noch schwieriger sie einer einheitlichen Redaktion zu unterwerfen. Vor allem auch deshalb, weil wir bis jetzt über keine ausreichenden⁹⁰ xxx⁹¹ systematischen Vorarbeiten verfügen, die uns gestatten würden, jedem Einzelproblem seinen Platz zuzuweisen. Während xxx wir wissen, wie man unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Kriegsgeschichte oder der politischen Geschichte eine solche Aufgabe anpackt, fehlt Erfahrung darüber, wie man den Weltkrieg in seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung eines zukünftigen Weltfriedens analysieren soll, wie in seinem Einfluss auf kriegsfördernde und kriegshemmende Einrichtungen, Neigungen sowie sonstige Tatbestände. Die blosse Aufzählung der xxx⁹² Erscheinungen und Wirkungen des Weltkrieges kann Grauen und Abscheu in reichem Masse erwecken. Das genügt aber nicht, wenn man der Friedensbewegung xxx⁹³ /in entscheidender Weise /nützen will. Man hat die Schrecken des Dreissigjährigen Krieges durch Grimmelshausen, durch Gustav Freytag und andere Schriftsteller ausreichend kennen gelernt, auch die der napoleonischen Kriege

88 Explanations of the transcription: Overwritten and illegible passages in Otto Neurath's text were marked with xxx by the editors. The footnotes give the original version, if it could be deciphered. Overwritten and illegible passages which could not be deciphered for sure are labelled as "probably" in the footnotes. Obvious typing errors were corrected by the editors without comment. Handwritten comments had been added to Otto Neurath's typescript. They probably do not stem from the author himself, since they partly represent a contradiction, and partly they ask questions about the meaning of individual words. All handwritten comments are retained or commented on in the editorial footnotes.

89 Probably "Gedanken an" (replaced by "Plan gefasst")

90 The flecational "n" was added later.

91 Probably "ausreichende gedankliche Vorarbeiten verfügen" (replaced by "ausreichenden systematischen Vorarbeiten verfügen").

92 "Wirk[ungen]" (replaced by "Erscheinungen und Wirkungen").

93 "irgendwie" (replaced by "in entscheidender Weise").

sind allgemein bekannt geworden. Berta Suttners packende Schilderungen haben wahrlich genug des Abschreckenden gebracht. Das xxx⁹⁴ hilft alles nichts, wenn nicht andere treibende Kräfte da sind, die uns eine xxx⁹⁵ Friedenszukunft erhoffen lassen. Ohne solche Kräfte werden die Greuel zur packenden Indianergeschichte oder zum Nachtmahr, das uns Wehrlose bedrückt.

II

Ja[,] wenn zum Krieg drängende Kräfte wahrhaft lebendig sind, kann die Schilderung der Schrecken mutige Seelen nur dazu veranlassen, rechtzeitig sich⁹⁶ innerlich gegen derlei abzustumpfen! Wer glaubte, wohl einen Inquisitor von seiner traurigen Aufgabe durch die Beschreibung des Leidens seiner Opfer abhalten zu können? Der echte Inquisitor musste durch dauernde Selbsterziehung geradezu lernen, alles Mitleid als nichtiges Spiel des Augenblicks /zu⁹⁷ /verachten xxx⁹⁸. Und wenn Sozialisten an blutige Revolution denken, nicht weil sie sie wünschen, sondern weil sie sie für unausweichlich halten, müssen sie nicht oft wider ihre Natur ihr Inneres geradezu verhärten? Schildert man ihnen die Schrecken eines Aufstandes, xxx /nach Art der /grossen französischen Revolution oder der Sowjetkämpfe, dann wird in ihnen vielfach der Gedanke lebendig: also mit all dem müssen wir uns abfinden, um der Sache zu dienen, für die wir Opfer zu bringen bereit sind. Die Schilderung aller Leiden, die Schilderung aller Korruption übt nur eine geringe Hemmung aus, wenn die breiten Massen⁹⁹ den Kampf um die Macht beginnen! Ja, im Gegenteil, Schrecken, die bereits da waren, werden vielfach geringer eingeschätzt – Menschenlos!

Die Darstellung des Weltkrieges als Abschreckungsmittel¹⁰⁰ hat auch eine Bedeutung, aber doch nur als ein mehr untergeordnetes Propagandamittel. Führende Männer, xxx, breite Kreise besonnener und energischer Menschen, deren die Friedensbewegung dringend bedarf, waren dadurch xxx wahrlich nicht /wesentlich /beeinflusst. Wer wusste nicht, dass Kriege Jammer bringen? Wer wusste nicht, dass Raub, Schändung, Brutalität jeder Art in xxx¹⁰¹ allen Kriegen auftreten? xxx¹⁰² Wir wissen, wie wenig die blosse Angst vor Geschlechtskrankheiten, die Jugend von ungeregeltem Geschlechtsverkehr zurückhält. Da sind ganz andere

94 “genügt nicht” (replaced by “hilft alles nichts”).

95 “Zukunft” (replaced by “Friedenszukunft”).

96 The reflexive usage of the verb “abstumpfen” is not common in German.

97 “zu” was added in handwriting.

98 Probably “verachten zu lernen” (replaced by “verachten”).

99 The original contains a comma here.

100 The original contains a comma here.

101 Probably “jedem” (replaced by “allen”).

102 Probably “Es genügen Furcht und”.

Dinge wirksam. Vor allem unmittelbare Antriebe, die auf Pflichtgefühl und verwandten Gefühlen beruhen, wie sie xxx¹⁰³

III

Religionsgemeinschaften, politische Parteien und andere Organisationen zu zeigen vermögen. Die Quaecker [sic!], welche heldenmütig sich geweigert haben Kriegsdienst zu leisten, haben das nicht getan, weil sie Mitleid mit den Kriegsoptionen hatten, sondern aus einer umfassenden Gesamtanschauung heraus. Mitleid mit anderen und Sorge um eigenes xxx¹⁰⁴ /Behagen sind nicht die entscheidenden /Triebfedern im Menschenleben, wie jedem brutaler Sport, Bergbesteigungen, Tourneure, Messuren, und vieles andere beweisen. Die Friedensbewegung wird erst dann im Bewusstsein grosser Kreise wirklich Fuss fassen, wenn sie als Teil einer Menschheitsentwicklung erscheint, die sich in allem, so auch im Weltkrieg[.] offenbart und eine Zukunft verspricht, die heraufzuführen beglückend ist. Die Gestaltung einer neuen Lebensordnung, welche keine Kriege kennt, muss als geschichtliche Notwendigkeit und als Ziel angeschaut werden können. Das hätte eine Enzyklopädie des Weltkrieges zu leisten, soll sie mehr sein, als eine Sammlung xxx¹⁰⁵ von Anekdoten in höherem Sinne. Auch die Sammlung von Literaturerzeugnissen ist nur dann von bleibendem Wert, wenn dadurch eine Richtung der geistigen Entwicklung gekennzeichnet wird. Die blosser Tatsache, dass es eine Literatur gibt, welche den Krieg schreckhaft schildert, hat wenig zu bedeuten! Die Aufgabe ist eine ungeheuer. Aber selbst der schwächste Versuch muss so unternommen werden, dass mindestens allen bewusst wird, um welche Einsicht gerungen wird. Es sei im folgenden angedeutet, wie eine solche Enzyklopädie aufgebaut werden könnte, um bei aller Mangelhaftigkeit, doch solchem Bestreben zu dienen. Es gibt mehr als eine Lösung, bessere, als die hier vorgeführte.

IV

Dass alle in der Enzyklopädie mitgeteilten Tatsachen wahrheitgemäss wiedergegeben werden, ist selbstverständliche Forderung, dass sogar die Auswahl objektiv getroffen wird, ist ebenso berechtigte Forderung. Es muss ebenso berichtet werden von aller Hochherzigkeit, von aller Hingabe, von aller Treue, von allem Erhebenden,¹⁰⁶ das der Krieg xxx gebracht hat, wie von allem Scheusslichen, aller Grausamkeit, allem Jammer, aller Niedertracht. Einseitigkeit hat nur zur Folge, dass die ruhig gesinnten, um deren Gewinnung wir ringen, sich enttäuscht ab-

103 "insbesondere Religionsgenossenschaft" [sic!] replaced by "Religionsgemeinschaften".

104 Probably "Heil und Leben sind verhältnismässig schwache".

105 Probably "von ziellos".

106 Comment of five lines in the left margin, probably: "Das ist genug geschildert worden. Die Objektivität verlangt nun die Schattenseite."

wenden. Niemand lässt sich gerne hinters Licht führen. Es ist ein verfehltes Argument, darauf hinzuweisen, die Gegenpartei habe genug gelogen und betrogen.

Wissenschaftlich geschulte Sachverständige sollen in wissenschaftlichem Geiste darstellen. Die Gesamtidee [sic!], die jeden Einzelnen aber leitet[,] kann nicht selbst aus der Wissenschaft entnommen werden, sie beruht auf Ueberzeugung, auf Glauben. Es kann nur gefordert werden, dass sie nirgends mit den Tatsachen in Widerspruch tritt. Es ist von grösster Wichtigkeit, wie man die Sachverständigen auswählt. Blosser Auswahl auf Grund des Sachverständnisses, bedeutet Auslieferung der Enzyklopädie an die Kriegsgegner [gemeint war vermutlich „Friedensgegner“, Anm. der HerausgeberInnen]. Die Sachverständigen sind in der Mehrzahl der Fälle¹⁰⁷ abhängig von den Regierungen, sind ohne wider ihre eigene Ueberzeugung zu forschen, dennoch in sehr vielen Fällen, um ihrer in bestimmte¹⁰⁸ Richtung gehenden Ueberzeugungen willen in die Lage versetzt worden, als Professoren, Institutsvorstände, Beamte usw. wissenschaftlich tätig zu sein. xxx¹⁰⁹ Das bedeutet noch lange nicht, dass die Verfasser der Enzyklopädie Anhänger der Friedensbewegung oder gar in ihrer zufälligen gegenwärtigen Form sein müssen, um diese Aufgabe entsprechend lösen zu können.

V

Gliederung des Stoffes¹¹⁰

A. Vor dem Weltkrieg

1. Grosskriegstypen verschiedener Kulturen und Zeiten¹¹¹

- a. Kriegszüge, Wanderungen usw.¹¹²
- b. Sonstiges
- c. Dreissigj[ähriger] Krieg, Napoleonische Kriege

2. Ursachen und Bedingungen

- a. geographische
- b. staatliche
- c. wirtschaftliche
- d. nationale
- e. religiöse
- f. gefühlsmässige
- g. sonstige

3. Vorbereitungen

- a. staatliche (Bündnisse, Kriegsleistungsgesetze usw.)

107 The comma in the original changes the meaning and has probably been put erroneously.

108 A flectional “r” at the end of the word was subsequently overwritten.

109 “Unbedingte Gegner des Krieges”.

110 The punctuation in the overview was tacitly standardised by the editors.

111 Indecipherable comment of one line, probably in shorthand, in the left margin.

112 Handwritten amendment at this position: “Völkerwanderung bis Dschingis-Chan”.

- b. militärische (Mobilisier[ungs]pläne, Rüstungen usw.)
 - c. wirtschaftliche
 - d. sonstige (Revanchepropaganda usw., Weltanschauung usw.)
- 4. Voraussagen (Wissenschaft und Dichtung)
 - a. Umfang und Ausgang
 - b. Methoden der Kriegsführung
 - c. Wirtschaftsorganisation
 - d. Sonstiges.
- B. Der Weltkrieg
 - 1. Ausbruch und Verlauf in Umrissen
 - 2. Soziologisches und organisatorisches
 - a. zwischenstaatliche Beziehungen
 - aa. Art der Kriegsführung
 - aaa. Militärisch
 - bbb. Verwaltung
 - ccc. Sonstiges
 - bb. Stellung der Neutralen
 - b. Uebernationale Beziehungen
 - aa. Neuentstehung und Stärkung übernationaler Beziehungen (Panturanische¹¹³ Bewegung usw. usw.)
 - bb. Schwächung und Zerstörung übernationaler Beziehungen (z.B. in Oesterr[eich-]Ungarn einer übernat[ionalen] Einheit auf dynastischer Grundlage)
 - c. Innerstaatliche Erscheinungen
 - aa. Massenmotive
 - aaa. Verteidigung
 - bbb. Kampf für Freiheit, Recht, Kultur usw.¹¹⁴
 - ccc. Rauflust usw.
 - bb. Friedenskräfte
 - aaa. Internationalismus¹¹⁵
 - aaaa. Sozialismus
 - bbbb. Katholizismus¹¹⁶
 - cccc. Freimaurerei
 - dddd. Friedensbewegung
 - eeee. Sonstigem

113 "Panturanisch" is underlined by hand; in the left margin of the text a handwritten question-mark is added.

114 Here "Freimaurerei!" is added in handwriting.

115 In the right-hand margin next to the category "Internationalismus" the hand-written amendment: "4 f [ffff] Überdruss u[nd] Kr[iegs-]Müdigkeit 4 g [gggg] Nazarener + Tolstoianer".

116 A question-mark added by hand in the right-hand margin might refer to the word "Katholizismus" also marked slightly by hand.

- cc. Wirtschaftszentralismus und Planmässigkeit
- dd. Sparsamkeit und Verschwendung
- ee. Steigerung und Verringerung des Gemeinsinns
- ff. Unterjochung und Befreiung einzelner Gruppen
- gg. Verschiebung von Menschenmassen
- hh. Verwaltung, Rechtsprechung, Heerwesen usw.
- ii. Zerstörungen
 - aaa. Tötungen, Verstümmelungen, Verwundungen, Erkrankungen
 - bbb. Stoffe und Kräfte
 - ccc. Vergleich mit Friedenszustand
 - aaaa. Krisen, Leiden, Arbeitslosigkeit usw.
 - bbbb. Sonstiges
 - ddd. Vergleich mit anderen Kriegen

VI

- kk. Soziale Erscheinungen
 - aaa. Sozialhygiene
 - bbb. Ehen, Geburten, Todesfälle usw.
 - ccc. Erziehung, Unterricht
 - ddd. Verbrechen, Prostitution usw.
 - eee. Sonstiges
- d. Individuelles
 - aa. Liebe und Hass (Mitleid, Rache, Grausamkeit usw.)
 - bb. Vergessen und Erinnern
 - cc. Naturfreude, Körperliche Tüchtigkeit usw.
 - dd. Leid und Lust im allgemeinen
 - ee. Kenntnisse, Studien, Verengung, Erweiterung usw.
 - ff. Aktionsfähigkeit
 - gg. Aenderung des Lebensschicksals als Möglichkeiten
- e. Ausdruckskultur
 - aa. Dichtung und Dichter
 - bb. Bildende Kunst und Künstler
 - cc. Wohnung, Nahrung, Kleidung usw.
 - dd. Sonstiges
- f. Wissenschaft und Gelehrte
- g. Familie, Ehe, Geschlechtsleben usw., Freundschaft usw.
- 3. Abschluss des Weltkrieges, der Friedensverhandlungen und des Friedens in Umrissen
- C. Nach dem Weltkriege
 - 1. Staaten- und Völkerordnung
 - a. Gesamtlage

- b. Bündnisse, Wirtschaftsbeziehungen usw.
 - c. Schiedsgerichte usw.
 - d. Stabilität und Instabilität (Ursachen)
- 2. Produktions- und Konsumverhältnisse
 - a. Vergleiche mit Vorkriegszeit
 - b. Krisen bei Siegern, Not bei Besiegten
- 3. Innere Struktur des Staates
 - a. Lage der einzelnen Klassen
 - b. Revolutionäres
 - c. Aufbau der Staatsordnung
- 4. Massenpsychologie
 - a. Kriegsstimmung
 - b. Revolutionsstimmung
- 5. Weltfriedensideen
 - a. Antimilitaristische Bewegungen
 - b. Weltfrieden als Sonderziel
 - c. Weltfrieden als Nebenziel
 - aa. Lieberalismus [sic!], Analyse und Kritik
 - bb. Sozialismus, Analyse und Kritik
 - d. Friedensbewegung
 - aa. Anschauungen
 - bb. politische Bedeutung
 - cc. Möglichkeiten
 - aaa. Unzulänglichkeit der Schiedsgerichtsidee
 - bbb. Notwendigkeit einer Weltinstanz und Ueberwindung der Staaten
 - ccc. Zukunftsrevolutionen und Zukunftskriege
 - ddd. Voraussetzungen des Weltfriedens
 - aaaa. geographische Voraussetzungen
 - bbbb. Mannigfaltigkeit der Glieder einer Friedensgemeinschaft
 - cccc. seelische, wirtschaftliche usw. Vorauss[e]tz[ung]
 - eee. die Gesamtlebensordnung der Zukunft