

Political Science 489 – German 449
Winter 2007

Austrian Politics and Society in the 20th Century

A Case Study in Consociationalism

The Creation, Maintenance and Demise of a Century-Long System of Social Cleavages and Conflict Management

Thursdays: 4PM – 7PM

Location: 2002 Modern Languages Building

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Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays: 1PM – 2:45PM and by appointment.

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Course Description:

Political scientists – indeed, social scientists, in general – rarely study small countries. And most certainly if and when they do, they do so only in comparison with other small countries or in their relations with big countries. I will follow this convention in our course as well, though I will also deviate from it.

To be sure, while this course will feature Austrian politics over the course of circa 150 years, we will extrapolate from our case to study much more general phenomena of European politics and – even more generally still – comparative politics writ large. In other words, through the vector of “Austria”, we will analyze systemic and structural constructs that reach far beyond Austria, even Europe, proper. It is obvious that the complexity of any country B let alone one with the turbulent history of Austria over the past century B can never be properly conveyed in a relatively short course like ours. Still, I hope to highlight certain themes to you that have been crucial in the political and social development of Austria throughout the 20th century. While the structure of the course proceeds chronologically and while history will play an absolutely crucial part in virtually every phase and topic discussed in the course, this will NOT be a course in Austrian history. Rather, as a political scientist having worked in the sub-fields of comparative politics and political sociology all my professional life, I will employ history to highlight the creation, development and (possible?) demise of an almost unique feature of Austrian politics (the so called ALager@ or Acamps@) that during the first half of the twentieth century created a world of cumulative cleavages which led to nothing but trouble, turmoil, civil war and fascism; and during its second half to arguably one of the most successful conflict management regimes in any advanced industrial democracy thereby giving Austria an unprecedented (and much envied) period of political tranquility, social stability and economic prosperity. By the 21st century, new axes of politics have come to define Austrian public life that very well might lead in directions which resemble neither of the two phases characterizing Austria=s existence in the 20th

century. Thus, our course will have come full circle B from the rise to the possible demise of this peculiarly Austrian system of politics. The course will commence with an Austria that was anything but small. Indeed, it formed the core of a huge multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire. We will analyze how this empire came apart and what the consequences of this demise were. The course will then proceed to analyze the turbulent developments of a small Alpine Republic – “the rest, that remains”, to use Clemenceau’s famous characterization – from its tormented creation in 1918 until its tranquil but also uncertain future in a newly constituted multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire called the European Union.

Course Requirements: Clearly, regular class attendance will be an unconditional **MUST!!!!**

This means

1. Coming to class having read the material; and
2. Being willing and able to discuss the material in an intelligent manner.

The class format will happen as follows: I will lecture for about one hour which is to be followed by a very short break and then a discussion period.

It will be to your advantage to participate in these class discussions since I will make your involvement in them 20 percent of your final grade for the course.

Of course, I will also require a final research paper which will account for the remaining 80 percent of your course grade. The paper should be a substantial effort, a solid research paper between 20 and 25 double-spaced pages in length.

You will **HAVE TO** consult with me as to the topic for your paper. I encourage you **STRONGLY** to consider doing so early in the semester, certainly by the beginning of March at the very latest. You will earn a **MEGA** bonus in terms of your final grade and general kudos if you volunteer to present your research topic to the class **FOLLOWING** our winter break. I have left the last two class meetings open for **PRECISELY** this purpose. I will not force you to do this but I **REALLY** encourage you to do so!!!!!!

Course Readings: Since books on Austria are not easy to come by in terms of purchasing them, and since – if available – they are unreasonably expensive, I have assembled **ALL** the basic course readings into a course pack for you that you **MUST** obtain from **EXCEL COPY** which is at 1117 SOUTH UNIVERSITY. The telephone number is 996-1500.

There is one book that will have to be read in its entirety – cover to cover.

I will **NOT** list any weekly assignments and page allotments from this book on the syllabus because that would be superfluous and redundant.

The book is Anton Pelinka, **Austria: Out of the Shadow of the Past** (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998).

The book is available in its entirety in the course pack!!!!!!

Course Outline:

1. January 4: Introduction of the course

2. January 11:

The Camps: Created in the Post-1866 Era as a Response to Modernization:
Class, Nation and Religion as the Main Axes of Political Identity

Readings:

Kurt Steiner, Politics in Austria, A Political Development of the System@; and
William T. Bluhm Building an Austrian Nation: The Political Integration of a Western State A The Politics of Disintegration: The Mirage of an >Austrian Nation=, 1808 - 1938".

3. January 18:

The Camps: Hardened, at War and in the War: The Case of the Hegemonic Left B The World of Austro-Marxism – the REDS.

Readings:

Tom Bottomore, Austro-Marxism , Introduction.

Hans Zeisel, A The Austro-Marxists in >Red= Vienna: Reflections and Recollections@ in Anson Rabinbach (ed.) The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918 - 1934.

Anson Rabinbach, A Red Vienna; Symbol and Strategy@ in Anson Rabinbach (ed.) The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918 - 1934.

Peter Lowenberg, A Otto Bauer as an Ambivalent Party Leader@ in Anson Rabinbach (ed.) The Austrian Socialist Experiment: Social Democracy and Austromarxism, 1918 - 1934.

4. January 25:

The Camps: Hardened, at War and in the War: The Case of the Two Rights B The World of the Christian Socials, politicized Catholicism and Austro-Fascism – the BLACKS.

Readings:

Andrew Whiteside, A Austria@ in Hans Rogger and Eugene Weber, The European Right: A Historical Profile.

Karl Stadler, A Austria@ in S. J. Woolf (ed.) Fascism in Europe

5. February 1:

The Camps: Hardened at War and in the War: The Case of the Two Rights – The World of the German Nationalists, the forerunners of Austrian (and German) National Socialism – the BROWNS.

Readings:

Bruce Pauley, Hitler and the Forgotten Nazis: A History of Austrian National Socialism, pp. 16 - 137

6. February 8:

The Camps: Striking a Model Deal after World War II: The Height of Consociationalism

Readings:

Andrei S. Markovits, Austrian Corporatism in Comparative Perspective in Guenter Bischof and Anton Pelinka (eds.) Austro-Corporatism: Past - Present - Future.

Philippe C. Schmitter, Still the Century of Corporatism? Review of Politics, Volume 36, Number 1 (1974); 85 - 131;

Philippe C. Schmitter, Corporatism in Joel Krieger (ed.) The Oxford Companion to Politics of the World

7. February 15:

The Camps: A Rare A Priori Consensus: Austria's Dealing with its Nazi Past in Comparison with the Two Other Successor States of the National Socialist Regime, East and West Germany.

Readings:

Andrei S. Markovits, Jews and the Transition to a Post-Yalta Order: Germany, Austria, Eastern Europe and the United States in Y. Michal Bodemann (ed.) Jews, Germans, Memory: Reconstruction of Jewish Life in Germany

Andrei S. Markovits and Rebecca S. Hayden, Holocaust= Before and After the Event: Reactions in West Germany and Austria in Anson Rabinbach and Jack Zipes (eds) Germans and Jews (also available in New German Critique, Number 19, Winter 1980; 53 -80).

Walter Manoschek, FPÖ, ÖVP, and Austria's Nazi Past in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka (eds.) The Haider Phenomenon in Austria

8. February 22: I will be away that day but we will screen a film about Austria. I will announce the details during the course.

WINTER BREAK. THEREFORE NO CLASS ON MARCH 1.

9. March 8:

The Camps in Crisis I: The Waldheim Affair

Readings:

Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka, "Introduction: From Waldheim to Haider" in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka (eds.) The Haider Phenomenon in Austria, pp. vii – xxvii;
And

Richard Mitten, The Politics of Anti-Semitic Prejudice: The Waldheim Phenomenon in Austria

(I will hand out the appropriate readings from this book during the course.)

10. March 15:

The Camps in Crisis II: The Challenge of Haiderism

Readings:

Andrei S. Markovits, Austrian Exceptionalism: Haider, the European Union, the Austrian Past and Present in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka (eds.) The Haider Phenomenon;

Andrei S. Markovits, "The Ancient Hatred: Postwar Austrian Anti-Semitism"; and

Anton Pelinka, The FPÖ in the European Context in Ruth Wodak and Anton Pelinka (eds.) The Haider Phenomenon

11. March 22:

The Camps Dissolved? The Westernization and Europeanization of Austrian Politics and Society

Readings:

Kurt Richard Luther and Wolfgang C. Mueller, Austrian Consociationalism: Victim of Its Own Success? in Kurt Richard Luther and Wolfgang C. Mueller (eds.) Politics in Austria: Still a Case of Consociationalism?

12. March 29:

Austria's Relations with its Neighbors:

The Case of "Big Brother" Germany – A Comparative Study of Dyads

Readings:

Andrei S. Markovits, "Austrian-German Relations in the New Europe: Predicaments of Political and National Identity Formation" in German Studies Review, Volume 19, Number 1, (February 1996), pp. 91 – 111;

And

Harald von Riekhoff and Hanspeter Neuhold (eds.) Unequal Partners: A Comparative Analysis of Relations Between Austria and the Federal Republic of Germany and Between Canada and the United States, pp. 3 – 45.

13. April 5:

14. April 12: