

## Austria

Rice

In 1919, Austria was a parliamentary democracy, where the chief executive was the Chancellor. Because Austria was formed from the remains of Austria-Hungary following World War I, the republican form of government was new to the country in 1919. The first Chancellor was Karl Renner, a member of the Social Democratic Labor Party (SDAP). The government was actually composed of a ‘unity coalition’ which included all major parties, and which was formed in 1918 (before Austria was even declared a republic) (Beller 2006, 203). Parliamentary elections were held in 1919, and the SDAP emerged as the largest party in the coalition (though it continued)—Renner remained Chancellor.

However, in 1920, new elections resulted in a victory for the Christian Social Party (CS)—the SDAP became the opposition party, and CS leader Michael Mayr became Chancellor with a coalition of CS and SDAP, and the Greater German People’s Party (GV) (see Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 48) (SOLS change, see explanation below). Mayr’s first cabinet was provisional cabinet which was composed proportionally of all parties in Parliament (see Barghoff et al. 2013, 61; Year-Book of Austria 1920 online; Tripod.com).<sup>1</sup> After the general elections, the Mayr’s second cabinet was formed on Oct. 17, 1920, which was a coalition of SC and GV. It should be noted that we need to code a major SOLS change when Mayr comes to power as an interim leader and code a minor SOLS change when Mayer became a regular leader. By our rules if an interim leader becomes a regular leader, we code the SOLS change at the time he first comes to power, and then a minor SOLS change for the change in coalition.

Mayr resigned in June 1921 and was replaced by the nonpartisan Johann Schober, who continued to preside over Mayr’s coalition government (SOLS change). On Jan. 27, GV dropped from his coalition (Berg-Schlosser and Michell 2000, 48), so we code a minor SOLS change (from Non-party/CS/GV (Schober), to Non-party/CS (Schober)). Schober remained in office until 31 May 1922, at which point the chairman of CS, Ignaz Seipel, became Chancellor. He formed GV (Berg-Schlosser and Michell 2000, 48) (SOLS change). He was in office until 20 November 1924, when he was replaced by another CS leader, Rudolf Ramek (no SOLS change). (Note that while many sources concur that the transition occurred November 20, Archigos codes it as happening June 1. We code November 20.)

Ramek was in office until 20 October 1926, at which point he resigned (due to pressure from organized labor) (“Austria: New Cabinet”) and Seipel took over the office again, this time with a coalition including both the GV and the Landbund (L—Farmer’s party or Agrarian League) (minor SOLS change) (Fichtner 2009, 275). Seipel again served for two-and-a-half years as Chancellor, leaving office on 4 May 1929. He was replaced by Ernst Streeruwitz, of also CS, in coalition with GV and L (no SOLS change). Political stability in Austria had begun to decline, and problems were compounded by economic difficulties later in 1929. Streeruwitz’s government fell apart in September 1930, and he was replaced by Johann Schober, non-party (Cahoon 2000; Webb 2008, 284). Schober ruled in coalition with CS and GV (SOLS change). Schober attempted to create

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<sup>1</sup> In 1919, the Austrian National Assembly was in stalemate because the Social Democrats and Christian Socials could never work out a basic consensus on country’s constitutions and basic political systems. Thus, the National Assembly closed the session to prepare new elections (this is the end of Renner cabinet). And, the National Assembly entrusted a cabinet composed proportionally of all parties in Parliament and the Secretary of State, Dr. Michel Mayr, was entrusted with the presidency of the Cabinet. Thus, the composition of the parties in Mayr’s first cabinet was a mere reflection of parties in the Parliaments.

stability by bettering relations with Austria's neighbors: fascist Italy and democratic Germany (Beller 2006, 220).

Though he succeeded in that regard, he resigned in September 1930 and was replaced by the new leader of CS, Carl Vaugoin (SOLS change).<sup>2</sup> Vaugoin presided over a parliament where the SDAP had recently won the largest number of seats, making his position tenuous. He formed a coalition with the Heimatblock (HB). His government resigned in December 1930, and was replaced by Otto Ender, also a leader of CS. The Ender's government encompassed the CSP, GV, and L (Gulick 1948: 948, Lauridsen 2007) (minor SOLS change). (Note: since the election of 1930, GV and L worked together as the National Economic Bloc (Nationaler Wirtschafts - NW) under the leadership of Schober. However, several source describe NW as an electoral coalition (see Good et al. 1996, 82; Gulick 1948, 948; Rus 2008, 469 fn. 882; Worldwardiary.com), we do not code NW, rather we use GV or L or non-party for each minister who belonged to NW<sup>3</sup>)

Ender proved unable to deal with the deepening financial crisis, which included a run on one of Austria's largest banks, the Credit-Anstalt, in May 1931. The bank was ruined, and so was Austria's financial status (Beller 2006, 220). Ender's government resigned in June 1931, and he was replaced as Chancellor by Karl Buresch, also of CS. He continued to form a coalition with the GV and L. However, the crises continued to get worse, and in May 1932, Buresch was replaced by Engelbert Dollfuss of CS, who created a coalition with the Farmer's Party and the Heimatblock (the political wing of a paramilitary nationalist group known as the Heimwehr). While this would suggest a minor SOLS change, we actually code a major SOLS change because of what happened subsequently (i.e., the start of the single party system at that time). Dollfuss, in an effort to stand up to the Nazi government of Germany, began to consolidate his own power. On 4 March 1933, all three presidents of the legislature resigned, and the Christian Social leaders decided to declare the legislature dead. Dollfuss then abandoned the idea of a republic and created an authoritarian government under a new single party—the Fatherland Front (Vaterländische Front – VF) (Beller 2006, 222). (This is not a SOLS change, as mentioned below.) Though there was no legislature (which would suggest a personalist state), Dollfuss worked to “[impose] the complete Christian Social conservative agenda on the country” (Beller 2006, 222), and focused much of his energies on completely eliminating the Social Democrats from politics and society (Beller 2006, 223). The VF did encompass most of society—religious tolerance was promised, and the Austrian state at this time is generally classified as corporatist (Beller 2006, 224).

It should be noted that although POLITY codes Austria as democratic until 1933, we code a SOLS change when Dulfuss took power on May 1932 (instead on March 1933) and classify Austria as a single-party system at that time (until 1938). This is a very unusual case. Also, we do not code a SOLS change on March 1933 when his SOLS changed from CS/L/HB to VF because we do not code SOLS changes during an individual leader's reign, and Geddes codes the system from the start of the ruling spell even if it took a little time to develop.

However, Dollfuss was unable to stop German Nazi aggression. Members of the National Socialist Party committed terrorist acts that destabilized Austria, culminating with their assassination of Dollfuss on 25 July 1934. The single-party VF state continued, however, with Kurt Schuschnigg (no SOLS change). Schuschnigg again tried to resist German aggression, by allying with Italy, but to no avail. Eventually, he was forced to try and placate Hitler in Germany, which was equally unsuccessful. In February 1938, Hitler called Schuschnigg to a one-on-one meeting, during which he

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<sup>2</sup> We found one source that thinks Vaugoin was an interim leader (see Lauridesen 2007, 219). However, we found no confirming source and some evidence otherwise. This we consider him as a regular leader.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Shober, a leader of NW, was a cabinet member in the Ender's government. However, since NW is an electoral alliance, we code him as non-party.

demanded changes in Schuschnigg's cabinet (to include NSDAP members). Schuschnigg made the changes as requested, but, in a last effort, tried to hold a referendum on Austrian independence in early March. Hitler then ordered an invasion of Austria, which resulted in Schuschnigg calling off the referendum and resigning. Arthur Seyss-Inquart, one of the NSDAP members who had been forcibly placed on Schuschnigg's cabinet, became the new Chancellor and is coded as leader by Archigos, but COW codes Austria as losing independence as soon as Schuschnigg resigns, so we do not code any additional leaders until after WWII. Shortly thereafter, an "Anschluss" (union) of Austria and Germany occurred, and Austria ceased to be an independent state until after World War II.

Through World War II and the first ten post-war years, Austria was occupied by Germany and the allies in turn. Austria did not receive its full independence until 1955. Julius Raab the Österreichische Volkspartei (ÖVP), who had become chancellor in 1953, served as the first chancellor of an independent Austria since WWII in coalition with the SPÖ (Cahoon 2000). We code a major SOLS change for July 27, 1955 since the party which was in control before Austria's loss of independence, the VF, is different than Raab's ÖVP party and July 27, 1955 is the date that COW recognizes Austria as an independent state again. Note that this SOLS change does not correspond to a leader transition.

On April 11, 1961, Alfons Gorbach of the ÖVP replaced his fellow party member Raab as the Austrian chancellor (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005, 267). We code no major SOLS change for this year since both men were of the same party. Three years later, on April 2, 1964, Josef Klaus of the ÖVP replaced Gorbach as chancellor (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005, 267). Since both men were of the same party, we code no major SOLS change for this leadership change.

A minor SOLS change occurred on April 19, 1966 when the Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs (SPÖ) left the coalition consisting of it and the ÖVP, thus leaving the ÖVP as the sole party in government (Woldendorp et al. 2000, 115). We code a minor SOLS change for this date April 19, 1966. In 1970, Bruno Kreisky of the SPÖ became chancellor in 1970 and we code a major SOLS change for April 20, 1970 since both politicians were not of the same party (Cahoon 2000).

In 1983, Alfred Sinowatz of the SPÖ became chancellor but we code no major SOLS change since both he and his predecessor were of the same party. A minor SOLS change occurred on May 25, 1983 when the Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) formed a coalition government with the SPÖ; we code accordingly.

On June 16, 1986, Franz Vranitzky of the SPÖ became chancellor (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005, 268). We code no major SOLS change for this date since the leadership transition did not feature a move from one party to another. The next year, on January 21, 1987, the ÖVP replaced the FPÖ on the coalition government, so we code a minor SOLS change for that date.

Vranitzky remained chancellor until January 28, 1997. Vranitzky was replaced by fellow SPÖ party member Viktor Klima on January 28, 1997 (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005, 268), and since both men are of the same party, we code no major SOLS change. Klima served as chancellor until being replaced by ÖVP party member Wolfgang Schüssel on February 5, 2000 (Cahoon 2000; Goemans et al. 2005, 268). We code a major SOLS change for this transition since both politicians were from different parties. In 2005, "the right-wing, populist Freedom Party (*Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs*, FPÖ), which had joined forces with the liberal-conservative Austrian People's Party (*Österreichische Volkspartei*, ÖVP) in a coalition government since February 2000, split as a consequence of a severe internal crisis. The government members as well as the majority of the FPÖ Members of Parliament left the party and formed a new one, the so-called 'Alliance for the Future of Austria' (*Bündnis Zukunft Österreich*, BZÖ). We continue to code the coalition as ÖVP-FPÖ, note however that this coalition is sometimes referred to as ÖVP-BZÖ coalition (Fallend 2006, 1043). When Haider left the FPÖ and created the BZÖ, he was joined by all

FPO cabinet ministers, most of the MP's in parliament and the Carinthia party organization (Art 2011, 141; Miklin 2009, 960). While there was effectively no split within the governing coalition, we code a minor SOLS change based on our rule that if the splinter that stays on in government gets a different name, this is a SOLS change.

Schüssel would serve as chancellor until 2007 when he was replaced by Alfred Gusenbauer of the SPO party on January 11, 2007 (Cahoon 2000). We code a major SOLS change for this leadership transition. The last leadership transition to occur before the end of this project temporal domain was the replacement of Gusenbauer by fellow party member Werner Faymann on December 2, 2008 (Cahoon 2000). I do not code this as a major SOLS change since this transition was within the same party.

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