

Austria

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Austria found itself on the losing side of the First World War and, as successor to Austria-Hungary, had to deal with harsh capitulation terms. Because Austria was a new state, no SOLS changes are coded upon Austrian independence. Following elections in February of 1919, Renner built a government coalition of his Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei- SDAP) and the Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei- CSP) (see Berg-Schlosser and Mitchell 2000, 48).

However, following a crisis in the summer of 1920 Michael Mayr of the CSP led a caretaker government that oversaw the introduction of the constitution (Encyclopædia Britannica 2011; Library of Congress 2010). However, after the general elections, the Mayr's second cabinet was formed on Oct. 17, 1920, which was a coalition of SC and the Greater German People's Party (GV) (see Barghoff et al. 2013, 61; Year-Book of Austria 1920 online; Tripos.com).¹ We 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 (see Berg-Schlosser and Michell 2000:48), so we code a minor SOLS change (from Non-party/CS/GV (Schober), to Non-party/CS (Schober)).

In 1922 Seipel succeeded in building a relatively stable coalition of his CSP and GV (SOLS change). In 1924 Seipel resigned and the coalition continued under Rudolf Ramek. (Note that while many sources concur that the transition occurred November 20, Archigos codes it as happening June 1. We code November 20.) Seipel would remain highly influential and returned as Prime Minister at the helm of a coalition with the Agrarian League (L)² and GV in 1926, which is coded as a minor SOLS change (Brook-Shepherd 2002). In 1929 Seipel suddenly stepped down in favor of Streeruwitz (Lauridsen 2007). However, by the end of the year Seipel and the Agrarian League forced Streeruwitz to step down in favor of Schober (non-party³), who headed a coalition encompassing all non-socialist parties, which is coded as a SOLS change (Gulick 1948).

He resigned in September 1930 and was replaced by the new leader of CS, Carl Vaugoin of the CVP that included the Heimatblock (HB) – the political wing paramilitary Heimwehr - that was to oversee the elections. This is a SOLS change⁴. Following mounting pressures the Vaugoin government resigned in November 1930 in favor of a new government led by the

¹ 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.

² Since WSM does not have party abbreviation for the Agrarian League, I use "L" (Landbund fur Ousterreich: Agrarian League for Austria).

³ see WSM and Webb (2008:284).

⁴ 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.

Christian Social Ender that encompassed the CSP, GV, and L (Gulick 1948: 948, Lauridsen 2007). This is a minor SOLS change. Following failed attempts at government formation by Seipel, his fellow CSP-member Buresch successfully constructed a coalition with the GV and L. Buresch's government broke down when the GV withdrew its support because of lost local elections.

[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 NW⁵]

In May 1932, a new cabinet was formed under the leadership of Engelbert Dollfuss of the CSP. Dollfuss' coalition, composed of the CSP, the L, and the HB, had a one-vote majority (Gulick 1948; Lauridsen 2007; Library of Congress 2010). 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). When in March 1933 the parliament failed to elect a speaker, Dollfuss suspended the parliament and banned Communists and Nazis, which were increasingly considered a threat by the government. Dollfuss broke with his CSP and on May 10 Dollfuss reorganised the cabinet in favour of personal friends and the HB. In September of the same year, the CS and the Heimwehr (a paramilitary group) combined into the Vaterländische Front (Fatherland Front or VF), which became the party of Dollfuss' (Gulick 1948; Lauridsen 2007; Library of Congress).

The idea was for the VF to generate mass support for the Austrian government like Mussolini's party did in Italy and thus limit the influence of the Nazi movement in Austria. While Dollfuss was the leader at the time, he had trouble asserting himself against other figures in the VF movement so it was not him but the party that held political power. The VF movement ultimately moved to make Austria a single-party state under the VF, supported by the Heimwehr, farmers, and the Catholic Church. When Dollfuss was murdered in 1934, Schuschnigg, Justice Minister and like Dollfuss a former CS member and current VF member, became new Chancellor (no SOLS change). Schuschnigg stayed in power until 1938 when Germany attained control over Austria in the "Anschluss".

It should be noted that although POLITY codes Austria as democratic until 1933, we code a major 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.

POLITY codes -9 from July 31, 1934 to March 15, 1938 and codes -77 from March 16, 1938 to April 30, 1945. COW codes loss of independence on March 13, 1938 (and regain independence from July 27, 1955). Thus, we consider Austria's independence ends with Schuschnigg (VF)

Austria is considered independent starting in 1955, because it is the year the State Treaty, which brought an end to Austria's occupation, was signed (Library of Congress 1993). Austria was under occupation between 1938 and 1955 so we compare the first post-occupation leader, Raab (OVP), to the last regular leader before occupation, Schuschnigg (VF) who led a fascist

⁵ 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.

regime, and code a SOLS change. Austria is coded as a mixed parliamentary-presidential democracy from 1955 until 2008. Archigos codes the Chancellor as the effective leader.

Raab's coalition with the SVO remained in power until 1961. In 1961 Alfons Gorbach, ÖVP, became chancellor, in coalition with the SPÖ. This is not a SOLS change. In 1964 Josef Klaus, ÖVP, became chancellor in coalition with the SPÖ. This is not a SOLS change. In 1966 the SPÖ leaves the coalition. This is a minor SOLS change (April 19). In 1970 Bruno Kreisky of the Social-Democratic Party (SPÖ) became chancellor. This is a SOLS change. In 1983 Alfred Sinowatz, SPÖ, became chancellor in coalition with the right-wing FPÖ (Austrian Freedom Party). This is a minor SOLS change (May 24). In 1986 Franz Vranitzky, SPÖ, became chancellor and maintained the coalition with the FPÖ. This is not a SOLS change. In 1987, Vranitzky's coalition switches to SPÖ/ÖVP (January 21). This is a minor SOLS change. In 1997 Viktor Klima, SPÖ, became chancellor and continued the coalition with the ÖVP. This is not a SOLS change. In 2000 Wolfgang Schüssel, ÖVP, became chancellor in coalition with the FPÖ. This is a SOLS change. 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 FPÖ 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 still code a minor SOLS change based on our rule that if the splinter gets a different name than the original party this is a minor SOLS change. In 2007 Alfred Gusenbauer, SPÖ, became chancellor in coalition with the ÖVP. This is not a SOLS change. In 2008 Werner Faymann, SPÖ, became chancellor leading a coalition with the ÖVP. This is a SOLS change.

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