Chapter 4. Government and Politics

Coat of arms of the province of Upper Austria

AUSTRIA'S POLITICAL SYSTEM has been a model of stability since democracy was restored in 1945. In contrast to the interwar period, when domestic political rivalries and foreign intervention brought the system of government set out by the constitution of 1920 to a standstill, after World War II this reestablished parliamentary democracy functioned smoothly in what came to be termed the Second Republic.

For most of the postwar period, Austrian politics appeared unique in many respects to outside observers. Between 1945 and 1966, the country was ruled by the so-called grand coalition of the two major parties, the Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei—ÖVP) and the Socialist Party of Austria (Sozialistische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ). (In 1991 the name of the latter party was changed to the Social Democratic Party of Austria [Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ].) This arrangement appealed to Austria's politicians and people mainly because it symbolized the reconciliation between social groups that had fought a brief civil war before the absorption (Anschluss) of Austria by Nazi Germany in 1938. The coregency of the ÖVP and SPÖ led to the systematic dividing of political offices and civil service posts, known in Austria as *Proporz*. Also benefiting from this arrangement were key economic and professional organizations that were aligned with the two major parties.

At times, Austria's political system seemed impervious to change, but by the middle of the 1980s, it had become clear that far-reaching social and economic trends were beginning to affect the country's politics. The dominance of the ÖVP and SPÖ was challenged by the reemergence of the Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs—FPÖ), led by Jörg Haider, a young right-wing populist who appealed to German nationalist sentiment. After the FPÖ's short-lived coalition with the SPÖ between 1983 and 1986, it continued to attract increasing numbers of voters. In the national election of 1990, the FPÖ won 16.6 percent of the vote, establishing itself as a new power in the Nationalrat (National Council), the lower house of parliament. In early 1993, however, some members of the FPÖ withdrew from it and formed their own party, The Liberal Forum (Das Liberale Forum), a potential threat to Haider's political future. Concern over environmental issues has also affected the Austrian political process, as evidenced by the entry of Green political parties into parliament in 1986. Previous patterns

of government, which revolved almost exclusively around reaching agreement between the ÖVP and the SPÖ, were replaced by a more contentious, freewheeling atmosphere where more voices are heard.

While the political process underwent gradual but distinct changes, a variety of scandals during the 1980s brought Austria to the world's attention. The best-known involved Kurt Waldheim, elected president in 1986. Shortly after his election, a sharp international controversy erupted over whether he had been involved in Nazi atrocities in Yugoslavia during World War II. Although a thorough investigation found no evidence that Waldheim had participated in any atrocities, his method of handling the affair disappointed many Austrians and foreign observers. The strong emotions unleashed inside Austria by this matter showed that the older generation is still reluctant to discuss the country's role in the Nazi era.

Major changes in Austria's political landscape opened prospects of a new basis for its foreign policy. The bedrock of Austrian diplomacy in the postwar period has been its commitment to permanent neutrality. In order to achieve the removal of Soviet occupying forces, the Austrian government in 1955 pledged never to join a military alliance or to permit the stationing of foreign troops on its soil. Thereafter, Austria pursued a policy of active neutrality, which included participation in numerous United Nations peacekeeping operations. During the Cold War period, Austria was a consistent advocate of détente between the United States and the Soviet Union.

By the late 1980s, a growing number of politicians had concluded that the country should examine closely the question of whether or not to join the European Community. After a prolonged debate over the merits of membership, the Austrian government submitted a formal entry application in the summer of 1989. As of late 1993, a substantial number of Austrian citizens still had serious reservations about joining the organization, which as of November 1993 came to be known as the European Union. Membership would have to be approved in a popular referendum. Whatever the outcome of the vote, the disintegration of communism in Eastern Europe and the dissolution of the Soviet Union have raised the question of whether neutrality should—or could—remain the guiding principle of Austrian foreign policy.

Constitutional Framework

Austria is a parliamentary democracy of the kind that exists in most of Western Europe. The legal basis for the Austrian system of government is the constitution of 1920, which was amended in

Austria's parliament meets in this building in Vienna. Courtesy Embassy of Austria, Washington

1929 and several times thereafter. The constitution of 1920 provided a transition from Austria-Hungary (also seen as the Austro-Hungarian Empire) to a democratic federal republic in which the law emanates from the people. The constitution was suspended from 1934 to 1938 during the authoritarian administrations of Engelbert Dollfuss and Kurt von Schuschnigg and again during the Anschluss that was forced on Austria by Adolf Hitler from 1938 to 1945. Since 1945, when the Second Republic was proclaimed, Austria has been governed by the 1920 constitution as amended.

Executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government were established by the 1920 constitution, with the executive branch subordinate to the legislative branch. The federal presidency as established by the 1920 constitution was a weak political office whose incumbent was elected by a joint session of the bicameral legislature, the Bundesversammlung (Federal Assembly). The constitutional amendments of 1929 increased the president's political role by granting him the formal power to appoint or dismiss the chancellor and, on the chancellor's recommendation, the cabinet. The 1929 amendments also provided that the right of electing the president be taken away from the legislature and given to the people.

Austria's political system is federal in nature, reflecting the fact that the country consists of nine provinces. Although Article 15

of the constitution states that the provinces shall have jurisdiction over all matters not explicitly reserved for the federal government, Austrian federalism is weak and underdeveloped. The areas of law reserved for the provinces are few in number and relatively unimportant. Among the areas where the federal government is almost exclusively responsible are foreign affairs, national security, justice, finance, civil and criminal law, police matters, and education. In other areas of law, the provinces are called on to pass implementing legislation for matters already decided at the federal level. This process, known as indirect federal administration, applies to areas such as elections, highway police, and housing affairs. Other laws are made and administered at the provincial level, but within federally established guidelines. These concern social welfare, land reform, and provincial administration. Areas where the provinces have primary authority include municipal affairs (for example, trash removal and major aspects of zoning), preschool and kindergarten, construction laws, fire control, and tourism.

The constitution does not include a bill of rights as such, but it does guarantee equality before the law and further guarantees that there shall be no discrimination because of birth, gender, civil status, class, or religion. Individual rights are further defined by inclusion in the constitution of the final article, which raises certain older Austrian laws to the rank of constitutional law. Among them is the Basic Law of December 1867, which establishes equality before the law, inviolability of property, and freedom of assembly, expression, and worship. Laws promulgated in 1862 set forth individual rights regarding personal liberty and one's home. These rights include not being held without a warrant and, except in unusual circumstances, not allowing homes to be searched without a warrant.

Some restrictions are placed on freedom of expression and association. Proper authorities must be informed when a new association is formed. Officials then have six weeks to object to its formation if the group is thought to be illegal or a potential threat to the republic. Since the Second Republic was established in 1945, care has been taken to ensure that laws concerning individuals are in accord with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

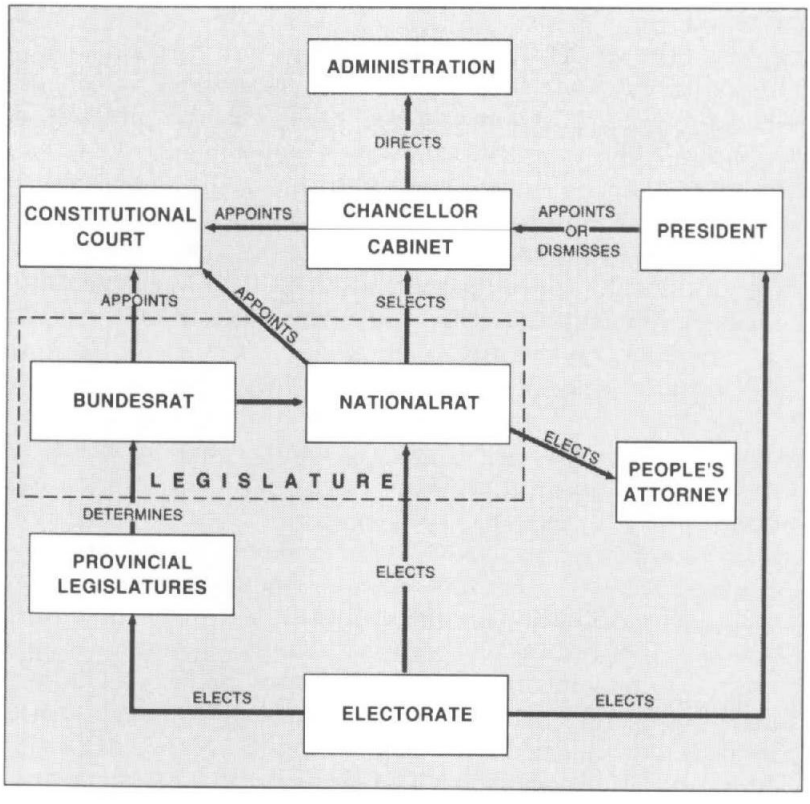
Amendments to the constitution can be made through laws designated constitutional laws or through constitutional provisions if the amendment is part of another law. Passage of an amendment requires a two-thirds majority vote in the presence of at least one-half the members of the Nationalrat (National Council), parliament's lower house. Constitutional laws or provisions are accompanied

by a national referendum only if requested by one-third of the deputies of either the Nationalrat or the Bundesrat (Federal Council), parliament's upper house. In 1984 a constitutional amendment provided that amendments changing the division of responsibilities between the federal government and the provinces require the approval of two-thirds of the Bundesrat as well as two-thirds of the Nationalrat.

In addition to the amended constitution, two laws—a treaty and a constitutional law—are particularly important to the constitutional development of Austria because they concern the country's international status and reaffirm the people's basic rights. In April 1955, a stalemate over the restoration of full sovereignty to Austria was finally broken when the Soviet Union agreed to drop its insistence that a solution to the Austrian question be tied to the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany. This paved the way for the signing of the State Treaty in May 1955 by the Four Powers (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States) and Austria. The treaty established Austria's frontiers as those existing on January 1, 1938, and forbade economic or political union with Germany. Rights to a democratic government and free elections were guaranteed, and the document reiterated guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms, including equal rights for minorities. Specifically mentioned in this category were Slovenes and Croats. The second law of constitutional importance is the federal constitutional Law of October 26, 1955, on the neutrality of Austria. The law declared the country's permanent neutrality and prohibited it from entering into military alliances or allowing foreign countries to establish military bases within the borders of Austria.

Government Institutions

The Austrian system provides for a president who is popularly elected. The president functions as head of state and has little authority over the actions of the government. Political power is in the hands of Austria's head of government, the chancellor (prime minister), who, as in parliamentary systems elsewhere, is usually the leader of the party with the most seats in the lower house of the country's bicameral parliament, the Nationalrat (National Council). The chancellor and his cabinet have extensive executive powers and also are the authors of most legislation. Yet, however great the powers of the executive are, it is politically responsible to the Nationalrat and can govern only with its approval. The upper chamber of parliament, the Bundesrat (Federal Council), represents the interests of Austria's nine provinces. Its limited powers reflect the underdeveloped nature of Austrian federalism. The



Source: Based on information from Kurt Richard Luther and Wolfgang C. Müller (eds.), *Politics in Austria*, London, 1992, 101; and Melanie A. Sully, *A Contemporary History of Austria*, London, 1990, 155.

Figure 11. Structure of Government, 1993

chancellor and the cabinet, together with their party's representatives in the Nationalrat, are the main center of government activity and power (see fig. 11).

The Federal President

A 1929 amendment to the 1920 constitution introduced the concept of a popularly elected president. Because of the suspension of the constitution in 1934, however, the first popular election of a president did not take place until 1951. The president serves a six-year term and is limited to two consecutive terms. Candidates must be at least thirty-five years of age and eligible to vote in Nationalrat elections.

Political parties nominate presidential candidates, but it is customary, given the limited powers of the position, for the president

to serve in a nonpartisan manner. To win an election, a candidate must receive more than 50 percent of the votes. If no candidate succeeds on the first ballot, a runoff election is held between the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. The president serves as head of state. Presidential duties include convoking, adjourning, and, in rare cases, dissolving the Nationalrat. The president signs treaties, verifies that legal procedures for legislation have been carried out, and grants reprieves and pardons. Although he cannot veto legislation, the president is empowered to reject a cabinet proposal or delay enactment of a bill. Unless the constitution states otherwise, official acts of the president require the countersignature of the chancellor or the relevant minister.

The president plays an important, though largely formal, role in the political process of forming and dissolving governments. In the aftermath of a parliamentary election, the president invites the leader of the strongest party in the Nationalrat to form a government. This duty reflects the fact that both the government and parliament are responsible to the president in the sense that he can dismiss individual members of the government, including the chancellor, as well as dissolve the Nationalrat. The president, on the recommendation of the chancellor, also appoints individuals to cabinet positions and other important government positions, including that of vice chancellor. The president also can dismiss individual cabinet officials, but only on the recommendation of the chancellor. During the Second Republic (that is, since 1945), the president has dissolved the Nationalrat only twice, in 1971 and 1986, in both cases because the incumbent chancellor and his party wished to have a new election.

The president has emergency authority that gives him significant powers. Should an emergency arise when the Nationalrat is not in session, the cabinet can request that the president act on the basis of "provisional law-amending ordinances," as provided for in the constitution. Such ordinances require the countersignature of the cabinet. Emergency decrees must be sent to the Nationalrat. If it is not in session, the president must convoke a special session. The Nationalrat has four weeks either to enact a law to replace the decree or to void the decree.

Two procedures are outlined in the constitution for pressing charges against the president: one entails a referendum; the other entails a vote by a joint session of parliament, the Bundesversammlung (Federal Assembly). To set a referendum in motion, one-half of the Nationalrat deputies must be present and vote by a two-thirds majority to ask the chancellor to convoke the Bundesversammlung, which then must vote by a simple majority for a referendum. The

referendum is carried if a simple majority of voters vote in favor of it. If the referendum is defeated, then the president is regarded as reelected, the Nationalrat is dissolved, and new elections are scheduled. Under no circumstances, however, shall a president serve more than twelve years in office.

The second procedure for bringing charges against the president results from his being responsible to the Bundesversammlung, which is authorized to vote on his actions. Either house of parliament can ask the chancellor to convoke the Bundesversammlung for such a purpose. One-half of the members of each house must be present, and the Bundesversammlung must cast a two-thirds vote to press charges against the president.

If the president dies or if the office is vacated for any other reason, a new election is held. In the interim, the chancellor carries out necessary presidential duties.

Chancellor and Cabinet

The chancellor (prime minister) is the head of government as well as chairman of the cabinet. Executive political power formally rests in the hands of the cabinet. The chancellor, the cabinet, and their working majority in the Nationalrat are the real focal point of executive power in the political system. The chancellor is appointed by the president and can also be dismissed by him. The chancellor is usually the leader of the party that has won the most seats in the latest parliamentary election. At the very least, he or she is the choice of a majority of the new deputies. The chancellor must be eligible to serve in the Nationalrat but need not be a member of it. The chancellor also serves as head of the Federal Chancellery, which is staffed with civil servants.

In most respects, the chancellor functions as first among equals in the cabinet. He coordinates the work of the cabinet but is not entitled to give orders to individual ministers. However, the chancellor's power varies depending on political circumstances and his own political gifts. In a coalition government, the chancellor shares coordinating duties with the vice chancellor, who is the leader of the junior party in the coalition. If the chancellor heads a one-party government, his or her leeway to make decisions is increased. During the long period of rule under Chancellor Bruno Kreisky (1970–83), the public visibility of the chancellor was enhanced through the increased use of television. From the standpoint of the public, the chancellor had become the dominant figure of government.

On the recommendation of the chancellor, the president appoints individuals to the various cabinet positions. Cabinet members do

not have to be members of the Nationalrat, but they must be eligible to be elected to it. Persons chosen as cabinet ministers are usually leading members of a political party or interest group. Occasionally, however, a person has entered the cabinet from a high-level civil service position.

The number of ministries varies; in 1993 there were fourteen ministries. In a coalition government, the apportionment of the cabinet posts is roughly proportional to the parties' respective strengths in the Nationalrat. The awarding of particular posts is based on a coalition agreement reached between the two parties.

In keeping with the traditional Austrian principle of *Proporz* (the dividing of political offices according to the respective strengths and interests of the parties), parties name individuals to posts of particular concern to them. For example, if the SPÖ is a member of the coalition, at a minimum it names the minister for labor and social affairs, in keeping with the strong support it enjoys from the trade unions. By the same token, if the ÖVP is part of the coalition, it names the minister for agriculture and forestry because farmers are one of its main interest groups. The chancellor and vice chancellor do not have total control over the selection process for filling cabinet positions. For example, the SPÖ faction in the Austrian Trade Union Federation (Österreichischer Gewerkschaftsbund—ÖGB) usually chooses the minister for labor and social affairs, and the ÖVP is careful to allow its various auxiliary associations and provincial parties to make certain selections. Beginning in 1987, the ÖVP and SPÖ have followed a practice of selecting an independent to head the Ministry for Justice.

The cabinet is subject to dismissal by the president and the Nationalrat. The president can dismiss the entire cabinet without the concurrence of the chancellor, but removal of individual members requires the recommendation of the chancellor. If the Nationalrat passes a vote of no confidence—which requires that one-half of the deputies be present—concerning the entire cabinet or a minister, the cabinet or minister is removed from office.

State secretaries are appointed and leave office in the same manner as ministers, but each government ministry does not have a state secretary. State secretaries aid ministers in parliamentary business and are bound by their ministers' instructions. They are nonvoting participants in cabinet sessions. A state secretary is not necessarily a member of the same party as the minister he serves.

Nationalrat

The Nationalrat (National Council), the lower house of parliament, exercises all of the powers usually associated with a national

legislature. It has the power to remove the entire cabinet or individual members of it by a vote of no confidence. All legislation and treaties must be approved by the Nationalrat. Before a vote can take place, at least one-third of the Nationalrat's members must be present. A simple majority suffices for the passage of legislation. Sessions are public unless the deputies determine otherwise.

Deputies elect a president and second and third presidents from among their members to serve during the four-year legislative term. Party leaders who are members of their party's executive and of a parliamentary faction that serves as a liaison between parliament and a political party are most likely to be presidential candidates. The president and the third president belong to the same party, usually the party holding the most seats in the Nationalrat. The second president belongs to the other major party. Presidential duties include nominating employees of the Federal Chancellery, whose staff serves the three presidents. The three presidents preside over plenary sessions in two-hour shifts. They also join with the chairmen of the parliamentary factions to form the Presidial Conference, which directs the Nationalrat's activities and decides the time and agenda of plenary sessions and, to a lesser extent, the time and agenda of the committees. The Presidial Conference is one of the rare groups not affected by the custom of proportional representation. All parties holding seats in the Nationalrat are represented on the conference.

In 1993 the Nationalrat contained roughly fifteen committees in which legislative proposals are both prepared and examined and the results of parliamentary investigations considered. Each committee has various numbers of subcommittees assigned to deal with specific kinds of legislation. In addition to the committees, there are also the Main Committee and the Permanent Subcommittee, the members of which are elected at the start of each new legislative period. The Main Committee has responsibility for overseeing aspects of the state-run industries and for dispatching Austrian troops on international peacekeeping missions. It also participates in deciding the date for Nationalrat elections and setting rates for postal and telephone services. The president of the Nationalrat serves as chairman of the Main Committee. The Permanent Subcommittee plays a limited role because its main function is to fulfill the duties of the Main Committee in the case of the dissolution of the Nationalrat by the president.

Equally as important as the committees are the *Klubs* (factions), which all parties in the Nationalrat maintain. The factions usually have a leader and an executive committee, and they provide deputies with a behind-the-scenes setting to discuss political strategy

with like-minded colleagues. Individuals elected as deputies to the Nationalrat automatically become members of their party's faction. Faction leaders assign deputies to committees and decide on the questions that are to be asked during debates and the priority for legislative initiatives.

In addition to the work of the committees, another important function of the Nationalrat is to question the government regularly on its activities and legislative proposals. One device frequently employed is an "interpellation," which summons for questioning before the Nationalrat a particular cabinet minister or government official. A minimum of twenty deputies is required to set an interpellation in motion. Questioning a government official is the prelude to a parliamentary debate on the issue.

A 1970 amendment to the election laws increased the number of Nationalrat seats from 165 to 183. Seats in the Nationalrat are divided among the country's nine provinces according to population. Deputies serve a four-year term and are elected according to constitutional and other federal laws. Candidates must be at least twenty years old on January 1 of the election year and must also be eligible to vote.

The Nationalrat has only one session per year, beginning no earlier than September 15 and ending no later than July 15. An extraordinary session of the Nationalrat can be convoked either by order of the federal president, by request of the cabinet, or by request of one-third of the deputies. Once a request has been made, the extraordinary session must commence within two weeks. After a parliamentary election, the newly elected Nationalrat must be convened within thirty days.

The Nationalrat can be dissolved either by presidential action or by itself. The president can dissolve the Nationalrat at the chancellor's request, but he is limited to dismissing it only once for the same reason. New elections must be held soon enough to enable the new parliament to convene within 100 days of the dissolution. The Nationalrat is empowered to dissolve itself by a simple majority vote.

During the Second Republic, membership of the Nationalrat has been heavily weighted toward men who come from white-collar professions. Changes in the sociological profile of the deputies have occurred slowly. The Nationalrat elected in November 1990 contained a record 22 percent of female deputies. Prior to this election, female deputies had never accounted for more than 15 percent of the total number of deputies. The average age of the deputies elected in 1990 was forty-six. Almost 40 percent of the deputies elected in 1990 were university graduates, and 25 percent were

employees of political parties, politically oriented interest groups, or social welfare organizations.

The majority of legislative proposals originate in the executive. Legislation occasionally starts in the Nationalrat, but the close cooperation between the executive and the majority party in parliament makes such initiation unnecessary most of the time. During the Second Republic, governmental legislative proposals have outnumbered Nationalrat initiatives by three to one. Parliament's role in the legislative process is focused more on bringing to public attention the background of the government's legislative proposals and exposing any mistakes the government may have made. Opposition parties have the right to force the government to answer any questions about pending legislation.

Before a bill is introduced in parliament, it has already passed through an intensive process of examination. The government solicits comments from the various interest groups affected by the bill, especially the chambers of agriculture, commerce, and labor (see Principal Economic Interest Groups, ch. 3). During this stage, a bill frequently is modified to meet the objections of key interest groups and opposition parties in parliament. Changes to legislative proposals may also be made after a bill has been introduced in the Nationalrat, but the majority of changes are made before the bill is introduced officially. Bills are amended significantly by the parliament only 10 to 15 percent of the time.

By West European standards, the percentage of bills passed unanimously by the Austrian parliament is high. Unanimity prevailed anywhere between 38 and 49 percent of the time during the parliaments of the 1970s and 1980s. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, with the advent of the Greens in parliament and the increased power of the FPÖ, unanimity was on the decline.

As the complexity of the issues facing government has increased, so too has the importance of committees to the parliament's work. After a bill reaches the Nationalrat, it is assigned to a committee and frequently also to a subcommittee. Deputies typically spend twice as much time in committee hearings as in plenary sessions. The subcommittees hold even more hours of hearings than the full committees. Because of the unwieldy nature of plenary sessions, 80 percent of changes to government legislation occur in committee.

In 1975 the Nationalrat amended its procedures to give the opposition and smaller parties a greater role in the legislative process. Under the 1975 amendments, one-third of the deputies can request the Constitutional Court to review a law for constitutionality. Further, one-third of the deputies can request the government's accounting agency to conduct an audit of a government agency. These

changes reflect the intensification of political competition that occurred in the Nationalrat after the long period of grand coalition governments between the two major parties ended in 1966. The ÖVP, as the major opposition party during the era of SPÖ rule (1970–83), led the drive for greater rights for minority parties.

Bundesrat

The interests of Austria's nine provinces are represented at the federal level in the Bundesrat (Federal Council), the upper house of parliament. The Bundesrat has sixty-three seats, which are apportioned among the provinces on the basis of population. Each province is guaranteed at least three seats. As of late 1993, the breakdown of seats was as follows: Vienna and Lower Austria had twelve each; Styria and Upper Austria, ten each; Tirol, five; Carinthia and Salzburg, four each; and Burgenland and Vorarlberg, three each. The members of the Bundesrat are elected by the provincial legislatures on the basis of proportional representation. At least one seat must be given to the party having the second largest number of seats in the provincial legislature. If several parties have the same number of seats, the party that won the second largest number of votes in the last provincial election is awarded a seat in the Bundesrat.

The main purpose of the Bundesrat is to protect provincial interests, but its powers are restricted because the government is not answerable to it. All laws passed by the Nationalrat must be presented to the Bundesrat for review. However, the Bundesrat can at most delay the passage of laws by means of a suspensive veto. In such a case, the bill is sent back to the Nationalrat, which can override the Bundesrat's veto by reapproving the bill. Once this is done, the bill becomes law. In 1984 the body's powers were increased by a constitutional amendment that required approval by two-thirds of the Bundesrat to any proposed constitutional change in the distribution of competencies between the federal government and the provinces. Despite this change, the Bundesrat remains a weak institution.

Bundesversammlung

The two houses of parliament meet jointly as the Bundesversammlung (Federal Assembly) to witness the swearing in of the president, to bring charges against him, or to declare war. Usually, the Bundesversammlung is convoked by the president. If charges are brought against the president, the chancellor convokes the Bundesversammlung. Meetings are chaired alternately by the president of the Nationalrat and the chairman of the Bundesrat. If the

Bundesversammlung passes a resolution, its validity must be attested to by the chairman. The chancellor then countersigns and publishes the resolution.

Judicial System

The judicial system is independent of the executive and legislative branches. The constitution establishes that judges are independent when acting in their judicial function. They cannot be bound by instructions from a higher court (except in cases of appeal) or by another agency. In administrative matters, judges are subordinate to the Ministry for Justice. A judge can be transferred or dismissed only for specific reasons established by law and only after formal court action has been taken. The Austrian judiciary functions only at the federal level, and thus there is no separate court system at the provincial level.

The Constitutional Court

The Constitutional Court decides the legality of treaties and the constitutionality of laws and decrees passed at the federal, provincial, and local levels. Cases involving courts and administrative agencies or the Administrative Court and the Constitutional Court are heard in the Constitutional Court. Individuals can present cases to the court if they believe a decision of an administrative agency has violated their constitutional rights. Monetary claims against the state, provinces, administrative districts, or local communities that cannot be settled by a regular court or an administrative agency are brought to the Constitutional Court, as are claims regarding disputed elections. The court also decides questions of impeachment and hears cases charging the president with breaking a constitutional law or cases charging members of federal or provincial governments with breaking a law.

The court is composed of a president, vice president, twelve judges, and six alternates. The federal president, on recommendations from the cabinet, appoints the court's president, vice president, six judges, and three alternates. The federal president appoints six additional judges and three more alternates based on nominations from the Nationalrat (for three judges and two alternates) and the Bundesrat (for three judges and one alternate). The constitution requires that three judges and two alternates of the court, which sits in Vienna, live outside the city. The president of the court chairs its meetings and decides on the assignment of cases to individual judges, but he does not have voting rights. Cases are heard by five, nine, or all thirteen of the judges and are decided by majority vote.

The selection of judges for the Constitutional Court has been controlled by the ÖVP and the SPÖ. The two parties have applied the principle of *Proporz* to filling vacancies on the court. Between 1945 and 1970, the ÖVP was the larger of the two parties in terms of parliamentary strength, and it controlled seven of the judgeships with voting rights; the SPÖ controlled six of the judgeships. Beginning in 1970, the ratio was reversed when the SPÖ gained more seats in the parliament than the ÖVP.

The Administrative Court

The Administrative Court, located in Vienna, is the court of final appeal for cases involving administrative agencies. The court's specific purpose is to determine whether an individual's rights have been violated by an administrative action or omission. Individuals can also appeal to this court if an administrative agency fails to grant a decision in a case. The Administrative Court may not rule on matters that come under the competence of the Constitutional Court.

The Administrative Court is presided over by a court president who is assisted by a vice president and several other court officers. Appointments to the court are made by the federal president on the recommendation of the cabinet. Prerequisites for appointment are completion of law and political science studies and ten years of experience in a related field. At least one-third of the court's members must be qualified judges, and at least one-fourth must come from the provinces, preferably from civil service positions. Panels of three, five, or nine judges sit in court at any one time, depending on the importance of the case.

Ordinary Courts

The system of ordinary courts is headed by the Supreme Court in Vienna. This court is the court of final instance for most civil and criminal cases. It can also hear cases involving commercial, labor, or patent decisions, but constitutional or administrative decisions are outside its purview. Justices hear cases in five-person panels.

Four superior courts, which are appellate courts, are located in Vienna, Graz, Linz, and Innsbruck. They are usually courts of second instance for civil and criminal cases and are the final appellate courts for district court cases. Usually, a three-judge panel hears cases.

On a lower level are seventeen regional courts having jurisdiction over provincial and district matters. Boundaries of judicial districts may or may not coincide with those of administrative districts.

Regional courts serve as courts of first instance for civil and criminal cases carrying penalties of up to ten years' imprisonment and as appellate courts for some cases from district courts. Justices usually sit as a three-person panel, but some cases can be heard by only one judge. Vienna and Graz have separate courts for civil, criminal, and juvenile cases, and Vienna also has a separate commercial court.

At the lowest level are about 200 district or local courts, which decide minor civil and criminal cases, that is, those involving small monetary value or minor misdemeanors. Questions involving such issues as guardianship, adoption, legitimacy, probate, registry of lands, and boundary disputes are also settled at this level. Depending on the population of the area, the number of judges varies, but one judge can decide a case. Civil and criminal matters are heard in separate courts in Vienna and Graz. Vienna further divides civil courts into one for commercial matters and one for other civil cases.

Ordinary court judges are chosen by the federal president or, if the president so decides, by the minister for justice on the basis of cabinet recommendations. The judiciary retains a potential voice in naming judges, inasmuch as it must submit the names of two candidates for each vacancy on the courts. The suggested candidates, however, need not be chosen by the cabinet. Lay people have an important role in the judicial system in cases involving crimes carrying severe penalties, political felonies, and misdemeanors. The public can participate in court proceedings as lay assessors or as jurors. Certain criminal cases are subject to a hearing by two lay assessors and two judges. The lay assessors and judges decide the guilt or innocence and punishment of a defendant. If a jury, usually eight lay people, is used, the jury decides the guilt of the defendant. Then jury and judges together determine the punishment.

Special Courts

Cases outside the jurisdiction of these courts are heard in special courts. For example, labor courts decide civil cases concerning employment. Employers and employees are represented in labor court hearings. Cases involving the Stock and Commodity Exchange and the Exchange for Agricultural Products are decided by the Court of Arbitration, which is composed of members of the exchanges. Social insurance cases are heard by the provincial commissions for social insurance. The Patent Court decides appeals of patent cases.

The People's Attorney

The Office of the People's Attorney, which was created in 1977 and granted constitutional recognition in 1981, functions in a manner similar to an ombudsman's office. It is designed to assist citizens who believe that they have been improperly treated by government administration. The office can also initiate its own investigations if it suspects that particular government offices are engaged in corruption or fraud. After concluding its investigations, the office has the authority to issue binding recommendations to government offices to rectify abuses.

Legal Training

Attaining the title of attorney-at-law requires eleven years of training. Four years of this period consist of prescribed studies in law and political science at a university. On completion of a doctoral program, the candidate undergoes a seven-year apprenticeship, during which one year must be spent in a civil or criminal court and three years in an attorney's office. Finally, it is necessary to pass the bar examination.

Civil Service

Civil servants have held a position of respect in Austrian society since the formation of the civil service in the eighteenth century, when it was considered to be "carrying out a mission for the state." The civil service is highly regulated. Public servants take an oath of office, promise obedience to their superiors, and pledge to keep official matters secret. A civil servant may neither join an association nor be employed in another job that could be interpreted as unworthy of his or her position.

Besides the high esteem in which the civil service is held, job security is also an attractive feature. Periodic raises are automatic, and promotions are scheduled at regular intervals. The retirement pension is adequate. A civil servant may be dismissed only for serious misconduct.

During the grand coalition of 1945–66, the ÖVP and SPÖ introduced the system of *Proporz* into the civil service. Prior to the founding of the Second Republic, the civil service had been dominated by ÖVP members, and thus after 1945 special steps were taken to recruit persons with ties to the SPÖ. The two parties came to exercise almost complete control of the personnel of the ministries that they controlled in the cabinet. During the period of single-party rule (1966–83), the importance of political allegiance came to play a lesser role in the selection process of the civil service.

Chancellor Kreisky made sure that a large number of persons without party affiliation were appointed to high-level positions in the civil service.

Reforms also were introduced in this period to make the civil service better able to attract highly qualified people. In 1975 a civil service training academy was established, and after 1980 some top positions were changed to fixed-term appointments. Further changes were made to give equal opportunity for career advancement to all members of the civil service, regardless of their specialty. Traditionally, people with legal training had a decided advantage in rising to the top of the system. As of 1993, the government was working on a comprehensive reform of the civil service system.

Provincial Government

Each of the nine provinces has its own constitution, which prescribes its governmental organization. Common to each province is an elected Landtag (provincial legislature), which is popularly elected on the basis of proportional representation. According to the federal constitution, the number of deputies can range from thirty-six to sixty-five, depending on the population of the province. Vienna, which is simultaneously a province and a city, is in a special category—its legislature has 100 deputies. A Landtag is subject to dissolution by the federal president at the cabinet's request. This process requires the consent of the Bundesrat. One-half of the Bundesrat's deputies must be present and cast a two-thirds vote in favor of the action.

The Landtag elects an executive composed of a governor and councilors. A deputy is elected to serve in the absence of the governor. Candidates for these positions must meet eligibility requirements of the Landtag, although they need not belong to it. Elections to the Landtag occur every five years, except in Upper Austria, where they are held every six years. Legislative periods can be shortened and elections held if the Landtag votes to dissolve itself.

Provincial constitutions can be amended, provided that changes do not conflict with the federal constitution. Passage of a constitutional amendment requires the presence of at least one-half of the Landtag's members and a two-thirds majority vote. Regulations for passage of other provincial laws vary, but generally the procedure requires a vote by the Landtag, verification that the proper procedure has been followed, the countersignature of the prescribed official, and publication in the provincial law gazette. Before a law is published, the federal minister whose jurisdiction covers the area of the proposed law has to be informed of the province's action. The cabinet then has eight weeks to notify the province if the bill

interferes with federal interests. The Landtag can override the federal government's objections by voting again in favor of the bill with at least one-half of its members present. The federal government would probably appeal to the Constitutional Court if it strenuously objected to a provincial law.

The provinces have a restricted ability to raise taxes. They may not tax items already subject to federal taxation. Every four to six years, the federal government, the provinces, and the municipalities negotiate a Finance Equalization Law that determines how tax revenues raised at the federal and provincial levels are to be divided. This system ensures that the provinces are fully compensated for the many federal programs that they implement.

Article 15 (1) of the federal constitution states that matters not expressly reserved to the federal government come under the jurisdiction of the provinces. Matters in which the provinces have primary jurisdiction include local police, primary education, housing, health, and protection of the environment. If a provincial government believes that some federal action is infringing on its jurisdiction, it can appeal to the Constitutional Court for a ruling.

Provisions exist for interprovincial coordination of policies by means of compacts and treaties. Such coordination, however, is feasible only if the matters at hand are among the autonomous rights of the provinces. This manner of cooperation has rarely occurred. Instead, conferences of provincial officials are held to plan less formal methods of cooperation. The federal government must be notified of interprovincial action.

Local Government

Provinces are divided into districts and local communities. The primary function of district governments is to administer federal programs. They do not have the power of taxation. A district is headed by a district commissioner, usually a career civil servant, who is appointed by the provincial governor. Local communities are self-governing, having a popularly elected community council that is chosen by proportional representation on the basis of political party strength. The number of representatives ranges from seven to 100, depending on the population. Members serve a five- or six-year term as determined by provincial regulations. Community council meetings are presided over by a mayor, elected by and responsible to the community council.

The federal government or a province may delegate some functions to a local government. Otherwise, local communities deal with matters of local concern, such as safety, traffic, police, settlement

of disputes that are not dealt with by the courts, public utilities, cultural institutions, public housing, and health care services.

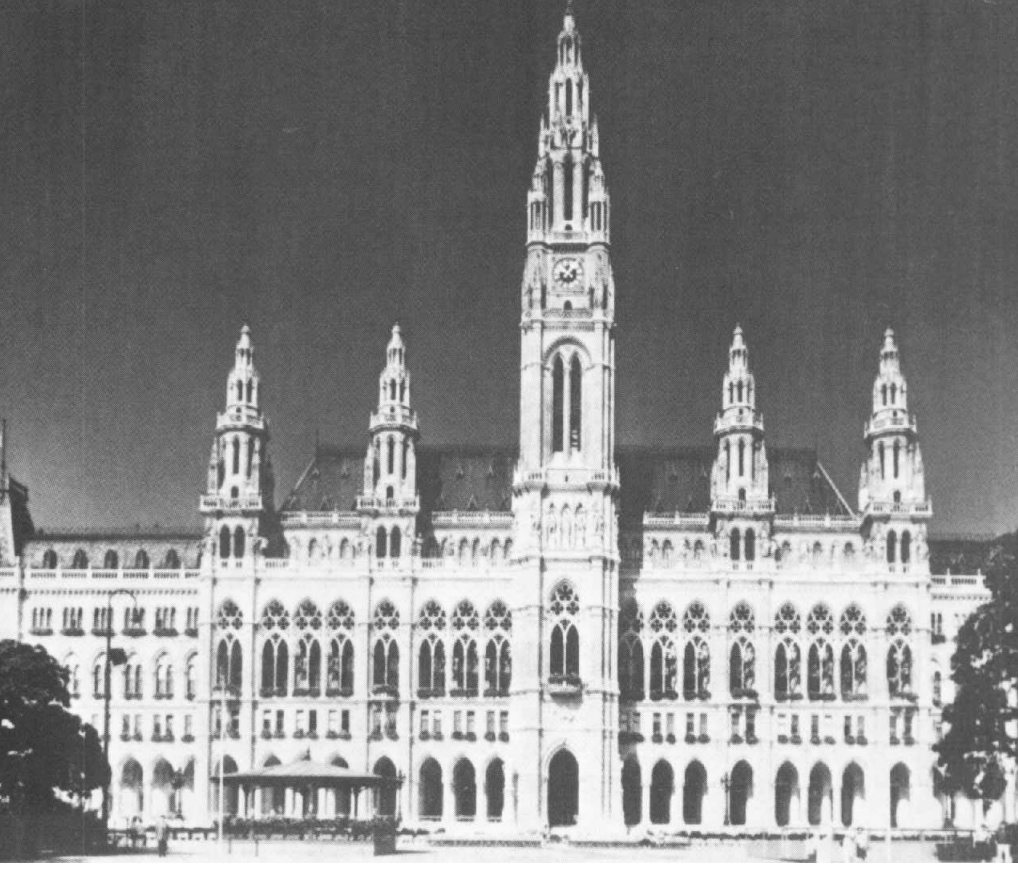
Local actions, whether autonomous or delegated, are in the long run usually subject to provincial or federal supervision or controls. Administrative and legal regulations on the provincial and federal levels are so pervasive that even decisions that are considered the sole responsibility of local communities are actually limited. Local communities, however, have recourse to the Administrative Court and the Constitutional Court if they believe that their rights are being infringed upon.

Electoral System

The electoral system is based on the principle of proportional representation. The system's basic outline was established in the constitution of 1920, although significant changes were made in 1970 and 1992. Among other changes, the amendments of 1970 raised the number of seats in the Nationalrat from 165 to 183.

The 1992 reform of the election law, which went into effect in May 1993, alters the electoral system for the Nationalrat in a number of significant ways. It divides the country into nine provincial electoral districts that correspond to the country's nine provinces. These districts contain a further forty-three regional electoral districts. The creation of the small regional electoral districts is intended to foster a greater feeling of connection between voters and those who represent them in parliament. The law also aims to personalize elections by giving voters greater power than before of electing individual candidates of the party of their choice by voting directly for them rather than for the party list of candidates as a whole. This reform may reduce the power of party leaders to impose their preselected candidates on the electorate. The law also modifies vote-counting procedures to ensure that the number of parliamentary seats won by a party will conform more closely with votes cast. Lastly, the law attempts to prevent a proliferation of small parties sitting in the Nationalrat by barring a party from that body if it has not won at least 4 percent of votes cast nationwide. However, a party can be represented in parliament by winning at least one seat in a regional electoral district.

According to the 1992 law, votes in Nationalrat elections are counted in three stages, although a voter casts only one ballot. On this ballot, the voter indicates the party of his or her choice and then may choose two candidates from this party, one to be elected from the regional voting district and one from the provincial voting district. Votes going to a preferred candidate are called preferential votes. In the first stage of counting votes, the returns



Vienna's city hall
Courtesy Austrian National Tourist Office, New York

from regional voting districts are examined; in the second stage, those from provincial voting districts are examined. In these first two stages, the Hare system (see Glossary) is used to determine the proportional allocation of seats. In the third stage of counting votes, candidates on the national party list are allocated seats according to the d'Hondt method (see Glossary).

A party must win a parliamentary seat in the first stage of vote counting in order to win seats in the second and third stages. A candidate who receives preferential votes amounting to at least one-sixth of the votes his party receives wins a parliamentary seat. This is also the case for a candidate who receives preferential votes amounting to at least one-half the electoral quota (*Wahlzahl*), that is, the number of valid ballots in a voting district divided by the number of parliamentary seats allotted to it. The vote tallying procedures established by the new law mean that about ninety parliamentary seats come from regional voting districts, about sixty-five from

provincial voting districts, and roughly twenty-five from the federal level. All persons aged nineteen and over by January 1 of the year in which the election is held are eligible to vote. Voter participation has traditionally been very high. In national elections, it has fallen below 90 percent only once (in 1990, when it stood at 86 percent). Voting always takes place on a Sunday.

Political Dynamics

Between the end of World War II and the late 1980s, when some new trends became evident, Austria's political system seemed stable and unchangeable. Most political scientists considered Austria a classic case of constitutional democracy, that is, a political system in which cohesive social groups are closely identified with political parties. According to this theory, Austrian politics, business, and society in general were decisively shaped by the influence of three major social camps, or subcultures (*Lager*)—the socialist, the Catholic-conservative, and the German-nationalist.

The most important factors in determining to which subculture a person belonged were geographic location (rural or urban), socioeconomic status, and professional occupation. The socialist camp had its basis in the urban working class of Vienna and other cities and in the intellectual class. The Catholic-conservative camp had its traditional base in the small towns and farming communities of Austria and was almost exclusively Roman Catholic. The German-nationalist camp was smaller than the other two subcultures and was founded on the enthusiasm for union with Germany that was prevalent during the years of the First Republic (1918–38). A high percentage of its members came from white-collar professions.

Austria's subcultures provided their members with a self-contained milieu in which to pursue their lives and a variety of occupations. In addition to the political parties aligned with the *Lager,* each camp featured professional and trade organizations that played an important role in party politics and in society as well.

This traditional system has continued into the 1990s. In 1993, in the socialist camp, the key organizations affiliated with the SPÖ were the Group of Socialist Trade Unionists (Fraktion Sozialistischer Gewerkschaftler—FSG), the Free Business Association of Austria (Freier Wirtschaftsverband Österreichs—FWB), and the SPÖ Farmers (SPÖ-Bauern). In the Catholic-conservative camp, the chief organizations of the ÖVP were the League of Austrian Workers and Salaried Employees (Österreichischer Arbeiter- und Angestelltenbund—ÖAAB), the League of Austrian Business (Österreichischer Wirtschaftsbund—ÖWB), and the League of Austrian

Farmers (Österreichischer Bauernbund—ÖBB). The German-nationalist camp, which is represented by the FPÖ, had only one auxiliary organization of note as of 1993, the Circle of Free Business Persons (Ring Freiheitlicher Wirtschaftstreibender—RFW).

A key source of influence for the professional and trade organizations is their control of the chambers of agriculture, commerce, and labor. In the Austrian corporatist system, the chambers are assigned responsibility for implementing certain aspects of economic laws and regulations. Moreover, membership in the chambers is obligatory for persons employed in a wide range of occupations. Thus, the professional and trade organizations and the chambers are assured a large amount of influence in the public realm. The ÖVP dominates the Chamber of Agriculture through the ÖAAB and the Chamber of Commerce through the ÖWB. The SPÖ has a controlling influence in the Chamber of Labor through the FSG.

The Austrian system of interests was dominated by the socialist and Catholic-conservative camps for virtually the entire postwar period. During the early years of the Second Republic, politicians of the SPÖ and ÖVP were adamant about the need for political consensus and compromise. One overriding reason for the emergence of a system designed to avoid conflict was the negative experience of the 1930s, when the political parties clashed so vehemently that they ended up fighting a short civil war in 1934. During the period of Nazi rule, many Austrian politicians found themselves imprisoned alongside their political opponents. This shared fate convinced the country's political elite of the imperative for consensus in postwar Austria. From 1945 to 1966, the country was ruled by the grand coalition formed by the ÖVP and the SPÖ, an astonishing duration of a series of governments composed of Austria's two main political competitors.

The cumulative effect of a variety of changes in Austrian society in the postwar era has led many political scientists to conclude that the strength of the political camps, or *Lager,* has weakened significantly. A major shift in the way people earn their livelihood—a decline in farming and manufacturing and a growth in the services sector—has weakened the hold of the *Lager* on voters. An increasingly secularized society has lessened the influence of the Roman Catholic Church. An increased sense of Austria's existence as a nation (up from less than 50 percent in the mid-1960s to 74 percent in one poll in 1990) has reduced the political potency of pan-Germanism. And the growth of the suburbs and the transformation of rural areas by tourism have reduced the homogeneity of traditional SPÖ and ÖVP enclaves.

The weakened hold of the *Lager* on Austrian society and politics has created opportunities for smaller parties. A 1990 poll showed that only 50 percent of respondents claimed some kind of identification with a political party; a mere 20 percent claimed strong identification. In the 1960s and 1970s, similar polls had shown that more than 30 percent of Austrians identified closely with a party. Services-sector, or white-collar, employees were often part of a block of so-called floating voters who did not identify with a particular party. This block can be the key to an electoral victory for the party that wins its votes.

The propensity toward what political scientists call electoral dealignment, that is, the breakdown of long-standing voter loyalties, was bound to have effects on Austrian voting behavior, and by 1986 the first signs of change were evident. In the parliamentary election of that year, the combined vote for the ÖVP and SPÖ fell to 84 percent, the first time since 1962 that it had dropped below 90 percent (see table 13, Appendix). The party benefiting the most from the losses by the major parties was the FPÖ, which doubled its vote. Moreover, for the first time ever, members of the Green political movement entered parliament.

The trend away from the dominance of the *Lager* system continued in the next parliamentary election in 1990, but this time it was the ÖVP alone that bore the brunt. Its share of the vote declined from 41.3 to 32.1 percent, a massive loss by the standard of Austria's ultrastable political system. The FPÖ had another striking success, and the environmentalists lost some votes but gained two seats in the Nationalrat.

Although the 1990 election did not lead to a change in government (because the ÖVP and SPÖ had renewed their grand coalition in 1987), it nevertheless marked a watershed in Austrian political history. For the first time in the Second Republic, the status of the ÖVP as a major party was placed in doubt. Whereas in the 1986 election the ÖVP received only 88,000 fewer votes than the SPÖ, in 1990 the difference ballooned to more than 500,000. Under its colorful leader, Jörg Haider, the FPÖ was changing the Austrian party system from one dominated by two parties to one with multiparty possibilities.

The Social Democratic Party of Austria

The Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ), until 1991 known as the Socialist Party of Austria (Sozialistische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ), has its roots in the original Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei—SDAP), founded in 1889 by Viktor Adler,

a young doctor. The SDAP supported revisionist Marxism and the use of democratic methods to establish working-class rule in a democratic government. The SDAP was responsible for pushing through universal voting rights for men in 1905 and for extending the same for women in 1919. From 1934 to 1945, during the regimes of Engelbert Dollfuss (1932–34) and Kurt von Schuschnigg (1934–38) and the takeover by the Nazis, the SDAP was outlawed. In 1945 it was reconstituted as the Socialist Party of Austria. In 1991 the party readopted the designation "Social Democratic."

Moderates such as Karl Renner and Adolf Schärf, each of whom eventually served as president of the Second Republic, led the postwar party (see table 14, Appendix). Their primary interests lay in increasing SPÖ power in the coalition government rather than in fostering Marxism. Between 1945 and 1957, the party supported democratic practices and intraparty cooperation, programs for higher wages and lower food prices, and increased government spending on social programs.

The election of Bruno Pittermann as party chairman in 1957 marked the beginning of major policy changes. The party had a strong following among industrial workers, but party officials wanted to expand SPÖ membership to the middle class and white-collar workers and to soften the party's anticlerical position in order to become acceptable to Roman Catholics. These changes were expressed in a new party program adopted in 1958. The program claimed that the SPÖ was "the party of all those who work for a living," and it stated the party's opposition to communism and fascism.

The late 1960s brought more changes in party doctrine. A new economic program in 1967 constituted a shift from concern for the distribution of wealth to concern for economic growth, including increasing foreign investment in Austria. Cultural and social reforms were demanded, and emphasis was placed on attending to the needs of young people. In line with its appeal to youth, the party supported a plan to shorten the term of military service.

Under Bruno Kreisky, who became chairman of the SPÖ in 1967, the party continued its move toward the center of the ideological spectrum. Although party platforms continued to refer to the classless society as an ideal, the SPÖ was careful to distinguish its brand of socialism from the centralized, inefficient version of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The party program of 1978 stressed the four principles of freedom, equality, justice, and solidarity. Central to the SPÖ's philosophy was a guarantee for all Austrians of freedom from fear, hunger, exploitation, and unemployment.

The freedom to pursue wealth had to be balanced by the government's guarantee of equal opportunity and social justice.

Under Kreisky the SPÖ triumphed at the polls in 1970, 1971, 1975, and 1979, and between 1971 and 1983 the party enjoyed an absolute majority in parliament. The Kreisky governments laid great emphasis on improving the social welfare system and achieving full employment. The Kreisky era also featured the flourishing of the technocrats—SPÖ politicians successful in business and banking whose lavish life-styles seemed incongruous in a party supposed to represent the interests of labor. In the parliamentary election of 1983, the SPÖ lost its absolute majority, and Kreisky decided to retire from politics rather than preside over a coalition government. Fred Sinowatz, Kreisky's minister for education, was chosen as chancellor in a coalition government with the FPÖ. The Sinowatz era, from 1983 to 1986, proved to be a short interregnum and was not distinguished by any great achievements (see Political Developments since 1983, this ch.).

Franz Vranitzky, born in 1937, became chancellor in June 1986 when Sinowatz resigned after the SPÖ lost the presidential election to Kurt Waldheim. Vranitzky replaced Sinowatz as party chairman in May 1988, becoming the first person from a working-class background to hold this position. Despite his working-class heritage, Vranitzky had had a successful career in banking before entering politics.

Under Vranitzky the SPÖ moved to restore its image among rank-and-file members by improving its methods of intraparty communication. Computers and direct mail technology were used to gauge the opinions of members in the provinces, and efforts were made to improve recruiting techniques by means of recreational groups. In the area of government policy, Vranitzky stressed that limits on state activity were necessary, although he noted that health care and education were fields where market forces had to be regulated.

Vranitzky displayed a more open attitude toward the question of privatizing government industries than Kreisky had. To a large extent, changes in this area were inevitable because of large losses in the state industrial sector that came to light in 1985. Vranitzky embraced the principle that privatization should be pursued if it would lead to greater operational efficiency. The press dubbed Vranitzky's approach "pinstripe socialism." The policy has proven to be a responsible one and has been fairly popular with Austrians.

In 1984 the SPÖ launched a program called Perspectives '90, designed to promote intraparty discussion on current issues. A major aim of the leadership was to show that the party was eager

Bruno Kreisky, federal chancellor, 1970–83
Courtesy Austrian National Tourist Office, New York

Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor, 1986–
Courtesy Austrian National Tourist Office, New York

to listen to grass-roots concerns. A series of nationwide debates eventually led to the issuance of a draft document in 1986 that incorporated the views of party members on issues such as the environment, controls on the development of technology, and democratization of society. Events that had embarrassed the party, such as the conflict over the Hainburg power plant in 1984 and Minister for Defense Friedhelm Frischenschläger's reception of Walter Reder in 1985, were also discussed (see Political Developments since 1983, this ch.).

An estimated 30,000 party members participated in the Perspectives '90 meetings, which took place in 1,000 local groups. The success of this project led the SPÖ to stage the Congress for the Future in Vienna in the summer of 1987, where 400 of the party's top leaders and intellectual luminaries discussed the outlook for social democracy. It was agreed that the SPÖ needed to formulate an alternative to the neoconservatism of the 1980s that would allow for greater codetermination in the workplace but also avoid the pitfalls of too much state control. After the success of this

conference, the SPÖ began planning another that would produce a Social Democratic Manifesto for the Year 2000.

Membership in the SPÖ is direct (unlike the ÖVP, where a person joins an organization affiliated with the party). SPÖ's membership grew rapidly in the postwar period—from 360,000 members in 1946 to its peak of nearly 720,000 members in 1979. With the loosening of the grip of the *Lager* on Austrian society, the SPÖ's membership has declined slightly. In the early 1990s, it was estimated at 700,000.

Party organization remained centralized as of the early 1990s. The main links between rank-and-file members and party leaders are the activists known as *Vertrauenspersonen,* who personally collect annual membership dues. At the local level, the SPÖ is represented by almost 4,000 groups in villages and towns. Every two years, the SPÖ holds a federal conference that elects the party executive, which has sixty-five members. Because of the executive's unwieldy size, a smaller group, known as the presidium, is selected from it and actually conducts most party business.

Delegates to the federal conference are drawn from the various suborganizations of the party. The party has two youth organizations, the Young Generation (Junge Generation—JG) and the Socialist Youth of Austria (Sozialistische Jugend Österreichs —SJÖ). The Group of Socialist Trade Unionists (Fraktion Sozialistischer Gewerkschaftler—FSG) sends fifty-two delegates to the conference. There is also a Women's Committee, which has representatives from each province. Over the years, women have consistently made up one-third of the SPÖ's membership. In 1985 the federal conference passed an amendment providing for greater representation of women in the party and larger numbers of female candidates. Progress toward this goal has been slow, however, and in 1989 only eleven of the SPÖ's deputies in the Nationalrat were female.

SPÖ candidates for parliamentary elections are determined by the Party Council, whose members come from the nine provincial party organizations. The party executive and the heads of the nine provincial parties have an input into the selection process. Roughly one-fifth of the places are reserved for high-ranking party officials, whose presence in the Nationalrat is considered imperative.

The Austrian People's Party

The Austrian People's Party (Österreichische Volkspartei—ÖVP) was created in Vienna in 1945 by leaders of the former Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei—CSP). The founders of the ÖVP made sure that the new party was only loosely tied to the Roman Catholic Church, unlike its predecessor. The ÖVP

emerged as a conservative, democratic party based on Christian values that sought to include diverse interests. From 1945 to 1966, ÖVP politicians filled the post of chancellor in a series of grand coalition governments with the SPÖ (from 1945 to 1947, KPÖ members were also in the cabinet). From 1966 to 1970, the ÖVP ruled alone and thereafter entered a long period of opposition to the SPÖ, which ended in early 1987 when the two parties formed a new coalition government (see table 15, Appendix).

The ÖVP periodically has revised its party program. During the 1945–55 period, the party advocated low taxes, reduced government expenditures, a balanced budget, and low wage increases. The ÖVP favored a limited government role in the economy. After much debate, in 1965 the party adopted the Klagenfurt Manifesto, which referred to the ÖVP as an "open people's party" of the "new center." The manifesto laid less emphasis than previous ones on the priority of personal property in a democracy. It also stressed the importance of expanding economic welfare and educational opportunities for all social groups.

After suffering losses in the 1970 parliamentary election, the ÖVP entered the opposition for the first time. A wide-ranging discussion of principles took place at all levels of the party. The outcome of this process was the 1972 Salzburg Program, which described the ÖVP as a "progressive center party" dedicated to integrating Austria's different social groups. The program reaffirmed the party's commitment to a free and independent country, a multiparty democracy, and a social market economy combining free enterprise and some government intervention. As of 1993, the Salzburg Program had not been replaced as the basic statement of ÖVP ideology.

The ÖVP had a less centralized form of party organization than the SPÖ as of the early 1990s. At the top is the party presidium, composed of the party chairman, the chancellor and vice chancellor (if they are members of the ÖVP), the general secretary, up to six deputies to the chairman, the leader of the party's parliamentary faction, and eight additional members drawn from the provinces and interest groups affiliated with the party. The party holds a national conference at least once every three years. Roughly 600 delegates from the provinces and the party's auxiliary organizations attend the conference, which elects the party chairman, the deputies, and the general secretary.

The auxiliary organizations play important roles in the ÖVP's internal workings. The key organizations are the League of Austrian Workers and Salaried Employees (Österreichischer Arbeiter- und Angestelltenbund—ÖAAB), the League of Austrian Business

(Österreichischer Wirtschaftsbund—ÖWB), and the League of Austrian Farmers (Österreichischer Bauernbund—ÖBB). These organizations represent the ÖVP in the chambers of labor, commerce, and agriculture, respectively. Until 1980 the leaders of these three groups were automatically placed on the party presidium. However, this practice was abandoned after many party members complained about undue influence by interest groups over ÖVP affairs. This reform was yet another indication of the erosion in the influence of the traditional *Lager* over Austrian society.

The majority of ÖVP members acquire party membership indirectly via one of the auxiliary organizations. Because of indirect membership, it is difficult to arrive at a precise figure for total membership in the ÖVP. At the beginning of the 1990s, the combined membership of the three leagues was about 800,000. Adding to this figure members of the women's, youth, and senior organizations, a total membership of 1.2 million was attained. However, the ÖVP's actual membership was about one-third smaller than this because many individuals belonged to more than one league or subgroup.

The independence of auxiliary organizations affiliated with the ÖVP means that there is a fairly high degree of intraparty disagreement over policies compared with the SPÖ and other Austrian parties. One major cleavage exists between the ÖAAB, which represents the interests of working people in the ÖVP, and the ÖWB, which speaks for business interests. The farmers' group, the ÖBB, has clashed with the ÖWB over the issue of whether Austria should join the European Union (EU—see Glossary). Tensions between the wings of the party remained high even in the early 1990s, despite numerous partywide discussions of ideology designed to bring about consensus. Some experts believe that the cohesion of the Catholic-conservative *Lager* will be endangered if the ÖVP does not achieve a higher degree of party unity than that prevailing in 1993.

Alois Mock, who comes from Lower Austria, one of the party's strongholds, held the position of party chairman from 1979 to 1989. As the party struggled with declining vote totals, many in the ÖVP concluded that his uncharismatic leadership style was a hindrance to a recovery at the polls. Mock withstood pressure for his ouster after the party's poor performance in the national election of 1986, and his stature temporarily increased when he became vice chancellor and foreign minister in the coalition government formed in early 1987 with the SPÖ. Discontent with Mock resurfaced quickly, however, and there were also disturbing signs of party disunity.

After the heavy losses incurred by the ÖVP in the provincial elections in the spring of 1989, Mock's opponents pressed again for his resignation. At an emergency summit in April 1989, Mock was finally convinced to step down as party chairman. He also relinquished the post of vice chancellor. His replacement in both positions was Josef Riegler, a member of the ÖBB from Styria.

Riegler had served as agriculture minister between 1987 and 1989 and was known as a consensus seeker who would be able to get along well with the SPÖ. Riegler was also interested in developing new approaches to environmental problems, and many in the party hoped this would help the ÖVP regain some of the voters who had deserted it for the environmental, or Green, parties.

However, the devastating results of the October 1990 national election, in which the ÖVP's share of the vote declined by 9 percent, proved that the party's problems went much deeper than who held the post of party chairman. In May 1991, Riegler decided not to run again for the party chairmanship. Erhard Busek, a well-known ÖVP politician who had headed the party's Vienna branch between 1976 and 1989, won the election to succeed Riegler. At the same time, the party conference voted to reduce the number of the chairman's deputies from six to two, a sign that party members wanted to curb the influence of the interest groups.

The Freedom Party of Austria

The Freedom Party of Austria (Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs—FPÖ) was founded in 1956 by Anton Reinthaller, who had served in the national socialist government of Arthur Seyss-Inquart formed in collaboration with Hitler after the Anschluss in 1938. Anticlerical and pro-German, the FPÖ was the party of persons who were uncomfortable with the domination of Austrian politics by the "red-black" (socialist-clerical) coalition governments of the SPÖ and ÖVP. The party had liberal and nationalist wings, which frequently disagreed over strategy. Although the FPÖ was not an extremist party, it attracted many former Nazis with its philosophy that Austrians should think of themselves as belonging to a greater German cultural community.

The FPÖ's stress on nationalism made it an atypical liberal party. Nevertheless, in 1979 the FPÖ was admitted to Liberal International, the worldwide group of liberal parties. The FPÖ's ideology emphasized the preservation of individual liberties in the face of the growth of the state's power. The party enthusiastically endorsed free enterprise and individual initiative and opposed a larger role for the state in the ownership of enterprises. The FPÖ was also

against the socialist idea of striving for greater equality among socioeconomic groups.

After Reinthaller's death in 1958, Friedrich Peter became the head of the FPÖ. Under his leadership, the liberal wing increased its influence, and ties to the SPÖ were developed. However, the FPÖ remained a minor party with a limited opposition role in the parliament. Between 1956 and 1983, the FPÖ's share of the vote stagnated between 5.0 and 7.7 percent. After the election of 1970, the FPÖ struck a deal with the SPÖ, which promised electoral reform in exchange for the FPÖ's support of Kreisky's minority government. The ensuing changes in the electoral laws helped the FPÖ increase its representation in parliament in subsequent elections, despite the fact that its vote totals did not rise at the same time. Peter's hope that he could make the FPÖ attractive to the SPÖ as a coalition partner was dashed by Kreisky's success in obtaining absolute majorities in the elections of 1971, 1975, and 1979. It was only in 1983, when the SPÖ lost its majority, that it turned to the FPÖ to form a government. The FPÖ's brief three-year experience in power in the SPÖ-FPÖ coalition of 1983-86 was mostly frustrating, as the government stumbled from one crisis to the next.

Norbert Steger was FPÖ party chairman between 1980 and 1986. A member of the party's liberal wing, Steger served as vice chancellor and minister for trade in the SPÖ-FPÖ coalition. He was not a charismatic politician, and, as the coalition's troubles mounted, he began to lose support among the party's rank and file. At an FPÖ convention in the spring of 1986, Jörg Haider, leader of the Carinthian branch of the party, launched a successful coup against Steger and became the new chairman.

Haider, born in 1950, is a handsome, dashing figure whose self-confidence strikes many observers as verging on arrogance. He comes from the nationalist wing of the party and has stirred controversy on many occasions by his remarks about Austria's proper place in the German cultural community. On one occasion in 1988, Haider referred to Austria as "an ideological deformity."

Since Haider took control of the FPÖ in 1986, the party has achieved dramatic gains at the polls in both national and provincial elections. In the March 1989 provincial election in Carinthia, the FPÖ displaced the ÖVP as the second strongest party, and Haider was elected governor of the province with votes from the ÖVP. This election marked the first time that a provincial governor was not from either of the two major parties. Haider's term as governor was cut short in June 1991 by the controversy unleashed by his remark during a parliamentary debate that the Third Reich's employment policy was a positive model. The ÖVP and SPÖ joined

together to pass a vote of no confidence against Haider, marking the first time in the history of the Second Republic that a governor was forced to step down. Haider did not allow this setback to create challenges to his leadership of the party. In three provincial elections in the fall of 1991, Haider led the FPÖ to outstanding showings, proving that Austrian voters were increasingly ready to vote for alternatives to the two major parties.

A less charitable interpretation of the FPÖ's rise under Haider is that Austrian politics has taken a turn to the right. At times in his career, Haider has given his critics ample reason for accusing him of neo-Nazi tendencies. He has frequently pandered to the sentiments of the far right, but his everyday political discourse is more moderate. Haider tailors his remarks to his audiences, and he resorts to the rhetoric of right-wing populism in order to inspire the conservative nationalists in the FPÖ.

A major element in Haider's prescriptions for Austria is his desire to cut down drastically on the number of foreigners allowed to live in the country. Haider consistently argues that immigration is excessive and is causing serious problems for Austrian citizens in the areas of jobs and housing. Haider's campaign against foreigners was a major reason for the passage of a 1991 law that decreed that foreign workers could not make up more than 10 percent of the work force. In 1993 this ceiling was reduced to 9 percent when a new law, the Resident Alien Law, went into effect. Early in the same year, Haider sponsored a referendum to further tighten the control over the number of foreigners in Austria. Although he got only half of the 800,000 signatures he sought, the language Haider used in his campaign was extreme enough to cause large counter-demonstrations.

The tensions between Haider and the liberal wing of the party caused five FPÖ members of the Nationalrat to leave the party in early 1993 and form a new party, The Liberal Forum (Das Liberale Forum). Led by the FPÖ's 1992 presidential candidate, Heide Schmidt, the group won seats in the Upper Austria provincial elections of May 1993. The new party was also recognized by Liberal International, which was expected to expel Haider's FPÖ from its ranks in 1994 because it advocated policies incompatible with traditional European liberalism.

Despite these setbacks, Haider is expected to remain a formidable force in Austrian politics. His sense for the issues that trouble many voters and his ability to enunciate views too extreme for the larger parties will likely win him a substantial following during the rest of the 1990s as the country struggles to adapt to post-Cold War conditions.

Membership in the FPÖ is direct (there is no tradition of joining an organization affiliated with the party, as with the SPÖ). The party's membership grew from 22,000 in 1959 to 40,000 in 1990. The membership-voter ratio declined as the party made dramatic gains at the polls. The FPÖ's share of the vote in national elections tripled between 1983 and 1990, when it achieved 16.6 percent. The FPÖ has a strong base of support in the provinces of Carinthia and Salzburg. The party draws much of its support from the middle class, salaried employees, and the self-employed. More than 60 percent of its voters are under the age of forty-four, and many are well educated. The party has few auxiliary organizations, in comparison with the ÖVP and the SPÖ. In addition to an organization for people in business, it has groups for academics, students, and retired persons. The FPÖ's party structure is decentralized, and provincial organizations play an important role in party affairs. The party chairman, who is elected by the party conference, chooses the party manager and general secretary. The general secretary acts as a liaison between federal leaders and provincial organizations.

The Green Parties

Another clear sign that the Austrian party system is loosening up was the emergence during the early 1980s of organized environmental, or Green, parties. A major catalyst in the birth of the Green movement in Austria was the narrow defeat of the November 5, 1978, national referendum on nuclear energy. The Kreisky government, seeking to build a nuclear power plant in Zwentendorf near Vienna, decided to let the people decide on the question of nuclear energy (see Domestic Issues, ch. 1).

The victory of the antinuclear forces encouraged environmental activists to run in local elections, and in 1982 two national Green parties were formed. The more moderate of the two, the United Greens of Austria (Vereinigte Grüne Österreichs—VGÖ), had a strong commitment to working within the existing political system to change environmental policies. The Alternative List of Austria (Alternative Liste Österreichs—ALÖ), founded in 1982 on the fourth anniversary of the Zwentendorf referendum, was more willing to challenge the political status quo. In addition to championing radical changes in environmental policy, the ALÖ also advocated a guaranteed national income, a thirty-five-hour workweek, and greater government ownership in certain areas of the economy.

The prospects of the Green parties are limited by their frequent inability to form alliances for the purpose of contesting elections. When the ALÖ and VGÖ have campaigned on a common ticket,

they usually have won seats in parliament. In 1983, the first national election in which the Green parties participated, the two groups ran on separate lists, and both failed to gain representation in the Nationalrat. The Green cause received a strong boost in 1984 from the confrontation between the SPÖ–FPÖ government and environmental activists opposed to the plan to build a hydroelectric plant in a wetland forest at Hainburg in eastern Austria. The government backed down from its plan, and the incident led to an increase in support for the Green parties from disillusioned SPÖ voters, intellectuals, and others with strong views on the environment.

Green activist Freda Meissner-Blau ran in the May 1986 presidential election, taking a surprising 5.5 percent of the vote, which necessitated a runoff between the ÖVP and SPÖ candidates. Encouraged by this showing, the ALÖ and VGÖ, after long negotiations, agreed to participate in the November 1986 national election on a single list, named the Green Alternative—Freda Meissner-Blau List. The Green Alternative took 4.8 percent of the vote and won eight seats in parliament. This marked only the second time in the history of the Second Republic that a fourth party had entered the Nationalrat. (The KPÖ had been in the parliament between 1945 and 1959.) The harmony between the two groups was short-lived, however, as they clashed over how to divide the federal financing that became available to the Green movement. In the 1990 national election, the VGÖ put up its own list of candidates, and the ALÖ ran as the Green Alternative/Greens in Parliament (Grüne Alternative/Grüne in Parlament—GAL). The VGÖ polled only 1.9 percent of the vote and failed to win any seats. The GAL took 4.5 percent of the vote and increased the number of Green deputies to ten.

As of the early 1990s, the future of Green politics in Austria remained uncertain because of the strong differences between the GAL and VGÖ over political strategy. The VGÖ was committed to developing a centralized party structure along the lines of the ÖVP and SPÖ, while the GAL preferred to allow complete autonomy for its affiliated organizations in the provinces. There were also questions about the longevity of the Greens' appeal to voters. Studies indicated that only 50 percent of Green voters had close ties to a Green party, and roughly 35 percent of Green votes came from floating voters who had abandoned the two major parties. However, many Austrians felt a lack of confidence in the abilities of the ÖVP and SPÖ to fashion constructive policies, and as long as this doubt persists, the Green parties will have opportunities to elect deputies to parliament.

Political Developments since 1983

In 1983 a thirteen-year period of single-party rule by the SPÖ came to an end. The period had been dominated by Bruno Kreisky, who served as chancellor for the entire time (see The Kreisky Years, 1970–83, ch. 1). With Kreisky as its leader, the SPÖ had emerged from the election in 1970 as the strongest party. This election marked a turning point in Austrian history because never before had a socialist party been given such a mandate by the voters. The outcome was conclusive proof that most Austrians had lost their fear of the SPÖ's being too leftist to govern alone.

SPÖ–FPÖ Coalition, 1983–86

In the election of 1983, the SPÖ lost its absolute majority in the Nationalrat, although it remained the largest party (see End of the Kreisky Era, ch. 1). Kreisky fulfilled his pledge to resign as chancellor if the SPÖ lost its undisputed position in parliament. Fred Sinowatz, a rather colorless figure who had been minister for education under Kreisky, was selected as the new chancellor. The SPÖ decided to form a coalition with the FPÖ, marking the first time ever that the FPÖ had joined the government. Norbert Steger, the moderate chairman of the FPÖ, was named vice chancellor and minister for economic affairs, and other members of his party became minister for defense and minister for justice.

The SPÖ–FPÖ coalition lasted only three years and was not very productive. It faced a series of crises that never allowed it to become firmly established. Although the coalition had made progress on environmental protection a high priority, its decision to build a hydroelectric plant at Hainburg in a wetland forest east of Vienna provoked a storm of opposition from environmental activists. In the end, the government decided to cancel the project (see The Green Parties, this ch.).

The coalition's image received another black mark in 1985 when FPÖ Minister for Defense Friedhelm Frischenschläger staged a welcoming ceremony at the airport for Walter Reder, a former Waffen SS member who had been serving a life sentence for executing civilians during World War II before being pardoned by the Italians. Some SPÖ members of the cabinet threatened to resign over this affair, but Frischenschläger was allowed to remain in his post. This incident hurt the SPÖ's standing among its own members, as well as among independent voters.

Austria received further unpleasant jolts in 1985. First came the news that diethylene glycol, a chemical used in antifreeze, had been

added to Austrian wines in potentially lethal amounts. The wines affected came from Burgenland, the home province of Chancellor Sinowatz. Even more damaging to the country's self-image, however, was the crisis in the state-run industrial sector that came to light at roughly the same time. The government announced that it had uncovered a financial scandal at the United Austrian Iron and Steel Works (Vereinigte Österreichische Eisen- und Stahlwerke—VÖEST; commonly known as VÖEST-Alpine) in Linz. Public funds were required to cover large losses incurred through risky and unauthorized speculation in oil ventures. Moreover, the entire state industrial sector required streamlining, and jobs had to be cut.

The method of staffing these industries was a prime example of the ÖVP and SPÖ's *Proporz* system, which created fiefdoms in which political affiliations were the main criteria for filling high-level management positions. The crisis in this sector of the economy revealed that the Kreisky governments had been guilty of serious mismanagement. The confidence of the SPÖ in particular was shaken as it faced the need for privatization and layoffs. The government abolished the *Proporz* system at VÖEST-Alpine and appointed new management to rectify the problems.

Election of Kurt Waldheim as President

In 1986 Austrians prepared to elect a new president. The race featured two major candidates, Kurt Waldheim for the ÖVP and Kurt Steyrer for the SPÖ, plus two less well-known candidates, a Green party activist and a former member of the FPÖ. Waldheim was one of Austria's best known citizens by virtue of his having served two terms as secretary general of the United Nations in the 1970s. Waldheim had joined the ÖVP only in early 1985 when the party decided to offer him its presidential candidate's spot. He was presented to the voters as "the man the world trusts." Steyrer was the minister for health and the environment in the SPÖ-FPÖ government. His campaign stressed his role as a family man and a humanitarian.

The 1986 presidential campaign would have taken place without many people outside Austria taking note of it, except that it focused on an issue that proved extremely sensitive for audiences inside and outside of the country. In March 1986, *Profil,* a Vienna-based magazine specializing in investigative reporting, began to publish a series of articles claiming that Waldheim had left out crucial details about his service in the army, the German Wehrmacht, during World War II. In an autobiography published a few months before, Waldheim had glossed over most of his wartime service,

alleging that he had spent much of the war in Vienna studying law while recuperating from wounds he had received. *Profil,* foreign newspapers, and the World Jewish Council in New York unearthed evidence that Waldheim had spent considerable time on duty in the Balkans and in Salonika, Greece. The German army had carried out brutal occupations of these areas, murdering thousands of Yugoslav partisans and deporting Greek Jews to the concentration camps in Central Europe. Waldheim, while not accused of personally participating in any atrocities, made the unbelievable claim that he had not heard of any misdeeds by the German armed forces in the Balkans or Greece until he had read the current newspaper accounts. He stuck by his account that he had been on leave when atrocities were committed, and he defended himself by saying he "had only done his duty as a soldier."

As the scrutiny of Waldheim intensified, Austrians became polarized over whether to defend or criticize him. Many older Austrians, particularly those who had served in the German army, agreed with his self-defense that he had merely done his duty in a war that Austria had not wished for. Others became more suspicious of Waldheim when documentary evidence was produced suggesting that he may have joined the Nazi Party to further his chances for a diplomatic career. The presidential campaign degenerated into a mudslinging affair, and the ÖVP launched attacks against the character of the SPÖ candidate.

Despite the furor surrounding him, on May 4, 1986, Waldheim outpolled Steyrer by 49.7 to 43.7 percent. He fell only 16,000 votes short of the absolute majority required for victory, and thus a runoff between the two top candidates was scheduled for June 8. Waldheim won the runoff handily, garnering 54 percent of the vote. Steyrer's candidacy had been handicapped by his membership in a government burdened by financial mismanagement of state industries and other scandals. Waldheim benefited from a wave of sympathy from certain segments of the Austrian electorate, who viewed him as a victim of unfair attacks.

The Waldheim presidency proved to be a major burden for Austria. In April 1987, after a one-year study of the matter by the United States Department of Justice, the United States placed Waldheim on its "watch list" of undesirable aliens. The department had concluded that there was "a prima facie case that Kurt Waldheim assisted or otherwise participated in the persecution of persons because of race, religion, national origin, or political opinion." Waldheim became the first active chief of state ever to be placed on the list of 40,000 subversives, terrorists, and criminals. Waldheim became isolated internationally and found support only from the Soviet

Union, some of the communist governments of Eastern Europe, and Arab states such as Jordan, one of the few countries he was to visit during his presidency.

In June 1987, the Viennese branch of the SPÖ passed a resolution calling for Waldheim to resign. Chancellor Vranitzky and Sinowatz, the chairman of the SPÖ, defended Waldheim, arguing that he had been elected democratically. Strains were beginning to appear within the ÖVP-SPÖ coalition over the affair, and somehow a resolution needed to be brought about. In an effort to achieve this resolution, the Austrian government announced that it would appoint an international panel of historians and human rights experts to examine the whole matter.

The panel presented its findings in February 1988. The panel found no direct evidence that Waldheim had participated in war crimes during his military service in the Balkans and Greece. However, it concluded that he must have had some knowledge that atrocities were taking place. Predictably, Waldheim took the panel's report as his exoneration, as did most ÖVP leaders. The president gave a speech in which he said he believed it to be in the best interests of Austria that he remain in office.

The release of the panel's report came one month before the fiftieth anniversary of the Anschluss of March 1938. At a public commemoration of this event in Vienna, Vranitzky solemnly informed the Austrian people that it was time for all of them to face up to the fact that their country had been not only the first victim of Nazi aggression but also a participant in Hitler's military conquests. Waldheim gave a television address in which he described the Holocaust as one of the greatest tragedies of history and admitted that Austrians had played a role in it. He condemned fanaticism and intolerance and expounded on Austria's dual role as victim and culprit. For Waldheim's critics, it was a respectable performance, but woefully late. Austrian emotions had been rubbed raw by the Waldheim affair, but at least it presented Austrians with an opportunity to discuss openly issues that had effectively been taboo for fifty years.

The National Election of 1986 and the Grand Coalition of 1987–90

The election of Waldheim had a large impact on Austrian domestic politics as well. After Waldheim's victory, Sinowatz, the SPÖ chancellor who had been perceived as ineffective, resigned, and the SPÖ turned to Franz Vranitzky to fill the top position. Vranitzky decided to dissolve the SPÖ-FPÖ coalition when the leadership of the junior party was usurped in September 1986 by Jörg Haider. Haider was prone to making controversial remarks

about Austria's place in the greater German cultural identity, and Vranitzky had little hesitation in cutting the SPÖ's ties to the FPÖ under its new leader. This action led to a premature parliamentary election in November 1986. Pressures for an early election also came from the financial failures in the state industrial sector that had embarrassed the SPÖ-FPÖ government.

The outcome of the election was a shock to both major parties, as the FPÖ attained its highest vote total since 1953, receiving 9.7 percent. The SPÖ lost ten seats in the Nationalrat, dropping to eighty, and the ÖVP lost four, declining to seventy-seven. After lengthy negotiations, in early 1987 the two major parties decided to form a grand coalition for the first time since 1966. Vranitzky remained chancellor, and Alois Mock, leader of the ÖVP, became vice chancellor and foreign minister. The two parties agreed to split the remaining cabinet posts, with the Ministry for Justice going to a person with no party affiliation. Former Chancellor Kreisky complained loudly about Vranitzky's giving the foreign ministry portfolio to the ÖVP, and he resigned as honorary chairman of the SPÖ in protest.

The new grand coalition was not able to function in the cozy way the old grand coalition had because media scrutiny was much greater in the 1980s than it had been between 1945 and 1966. Further, one of the coalition's top priorities was to address the problems in the state industrial sector and the budget deficit in general. The government carried out job cutbacks and early retirement programs at VÖEST-Alpine, the state-run iron and steel conglomerate, and also reduced subsidies to farmers. These policies hurt key interests of both parties' core constituencies, but ÖVP and SPÖ leaders saw little alternative to tackling these problems head on. Austrian politics had entered a new stage that was short on the optimism of the Kreisky era and focused on pragmatic and hard-headed solutions to economic problems.

The ÖVP-SPÖ government benefited from improving economic conditions, especially from 1988 onward. Economic growth for the years 1988–90 averaged around 4 percent annually. Other economic indicators were also positive, with unemployment averaging around 5 percent and inflation running at 2.5 percent. In the political realm, however, the coalition was plagued by numerous scandals involving primarily high-ranking officials of the SPÖ. In late 1988 and early 1989, two of these officials were forced to resign for large-scale tax evasion. Chancellor Vranitzky, who had replaced Sinowatz as party chairman in May 1988, initially was hesitant to fire his friend Günther Sallaberger, who had failed to pay taxes on S1.8 million (for value of the schilling—see Glossary). Pressure to remove

Sallaberger became intense after party members were shocked to learn that he was an example of a trend in which holders of multiple posts within the SPÖ were actually earning more money than the chancellor.

An even larger scandal emerged when the SPÖ became embroiled in an insurance scandal centering on Udo Proksch, the notorious former owner of Demel's, Vienna's most famous coffee house and meetingplace for SPÖ bigwigs. A ship commissioned by Proksch, the *Lucona,* had sunk in 1977 with the loss of six crew members. Proksch claimed that the ship had been carrying a uranium processing plant, but documents describing the ship's cargo were found to have been forged, and Proksch was accused of deliberately sinking the vessel. The investigation into the affair moved at a snail's pace. By early 1989, a parliamentary committee that had been formed to look into the case began to focus on two leading SPÖ officials, Minister for Interior Karl Blecha and Leopold Gratz, the first president of the Nationalrat.

The committee's investigations provided some of the most dramatic political theater ever seen in the Second Republic. After tough cross-examinations of subordinate officials, the committee and the public began to suspect that Blecha had deliberately slowed up the *Lucona* investigation in the early 1980s. Blecha's denials of any wrongdoing were unconvincing, and Vranitzky forced him to resign.

Gratz, who had been foreign minister at the time the forged documents relating to the *Lucona*'s cargo had arrived in Vienna, was suspected of even greater complicity in the affair. As the committee did its work, it appeared increasingly clear that Gratz had covered up important details of the affair to protect Proksch. Gratz resigned his position when, like Blecha, he had lost all support within the SPÖ. In the face of a very bleak ethical situation, Vranitzky could at least claim that he had acted relatively quickly to clean house.

The Parliamentary Election of 1990

The ÖVP and SPÖ approached the parliamentary election of 1990 with trepidation. In 1989 the political landscape had been shaken by Haider's FPÖ, which had racked up impressive gains in provincial elections in Carinthia, Salzburg, and Tirol. Even though questions had been raised about Haider's honesty, he continued to entice voters to leave the major parties. The FPÖ scored a spectacular success in Carinthia, where it displaced the ÖVP as the second largest party, and it caused the ÖVP to lose its absolute majority in Salzburg.

In the October 1990 national election, the FPÖ again shocked the political establishment by increasing its share of the vote from 9.7 to 16.6 percent. This gain came almost completely at the expense of the ÖVP, whose share of the vote declined from 41.3 to 32.1 percent. The SPÖ's share of the vote remained essentially the same, which surprised everyone. The party, realizing that its strong suit was the popularity of Vranitzky, employed a new electoral strategy that probably explains its ability to avoid the ÖVP's fate. With Vranitzky as the top candidate in all nine electoral districts, the SPÖ urged voters to cast preference votes for Vranitzky, which could be done without selecting the SPÖ box on the ballot (these votes would count toward the SPÖ's total number of seats in the Nationalrat, however). A nonpartisan committee was organized to carry out this campaign, and it succeeded in attracting support from sources that otherwise might not have voted for the SPÖ in the regular manner. Because of disagreements between the two Green parties, they did not run on a united ticket as they had in 1986. The Green Alternative/Greens in Parliament (Grüne Alternative/Grüne in Parlament—GAL), formerly known as the Alternative List of Austria, received 4.5 percent and increased its seats in the parliament from eight to ten. The United Greens of Austria (Vereinigte Grüne Österreichs—VGÖ) received only 1.9 percent and won no seats.

Given the antipathy that Vranitzky felt for Haider, there was no chance of a revival of an SPÖ-FPÖ coalition. After a period of negotiations, the SPÖ and ÖVP agreed to continue the grand coalition. Because economic conditions were much improved in comparison with 1986, the new coalition planned to focus on issues such as social welfare, health care, science, and research. Attention would also be given to reforming the country's electoral system and its chambers of commerce and labor. Increasing numbers of Austrians regarded the former as unrepresentative and resented the latter's requirement of compulsory membership. The coalition partners decided to upgrade the position of state secretary for women's affairs to full cabinet rank, and the new Ministry for Women's Affairs was created to oversee these matters.

Events of 1991-93

The trend toward the dissolution of the two-party system was confirmed by the outcomes in four provincial elections held in 1991. The FPÖ increased its share of the vote in all four elections, and in Styria and Upper Austria it tripled its vote to 15.4 and 17.7 percent, respectively. In Vienna the FPÖ displaced the ÖVP as the second most powerful party in the provincial legislature, a

particularly embarrassing result for the ÖVP. The ÖVP lost ground in all four elections, while the SPÖ lost seats in three elections. With its showing in Vienna, the FPÖ became the second strongest party in two of Austria's nine provinces, having achieved the same status in Carinthia in 1989, also displacing the ÖVP.

In June 1991, President Kurt Waldheim announced that he would not seek reelection in 1992. ÖVP leaders were relieved that Waldheim had decided to retire from politics because they feared the eruption of another bitter controversy over his wartime record if he had chosen to run. Waldheim became the first incumbent Austrian president not to seek reelection. Initially, the ÖVP and SPÖ looked into the possibility of nominating a joint candidate for the 1992 election. However, the two parties were unable to agree on a candidate, and in November 1991 they and the FPÖ each announced separate candidates. The ÖVP selected Thomas Klestil, a career diplomat and former ambassador to the United States. The SPÖ candidate was Rudolf Streicher, head of the Ministry for National Industry and Transportation. The FPÖ candidate was Heide Schmidt, who was also third president of the Nationalrat. The Green candidate was the scientist Robert Jungk.

No candidate was able to win an absolute majority in the first balloting on April 26, 1992. Streicher polled 41 percent, compared with Klestil's 37 percent, but far ahead of Schmidt's 16 percent and Jungk's 6 percent. In the run-off elections four weeks later, when only the top two candidates were on the ballots, Klestil scored an easy victory over Streicher with 57 percent of the total vote. Controversy about his opponent's war record, a series of scandals connected to the SPÖ, and Klestil's skill in dealing with the media contributed to his easy victory in the second round of voting. Perhaps most important, however, was his career as a diplomat abroad, which had kept him out of politics (although he was an ÖVP member) and made him seem well suited for leading the country into the post-Cold War era.

The collapse of the Soviet empire and the former Yugoslavia increased the number of foreigners coming to Austria. The influx of asylum seekers and illegal immigrants posed a challenge to Austrian authorities. In 1992 and 1993, new laws went into effect that sought to reduce the number of those coming to the country for asylum and to more strictly control the large foreign community already present in Austria. The laws resulted both from serious practical problems of caring for foreigners in need of food and fears of many Austrians that their country was in danger of *Überfremdung,* that is, being submerged by ever-increasing waves of foreign

immigrants. Some politicians, most notably Haider, sought to profit politically from these fears.

In early 1993, a referendum sponsored by Haider was held to determine popular support for further tightening the laws regulating foreigners. More than 400,000 signatures were collected, half of what Haider had sought but still a significant response. Large counterdemonstrations were held to protest Haider's suggested policies, but it was clear that Haider had tapped into widespread fears and resentments. Haider's extremism resulted in some FPÖ members leaving the party and forming their own party, The Liberal Forum (Das Liberale Forum). Led by Heide Schmidt, the FPÖ presidential candidate in 1992, the group won three seats in the May 1993 Landtag election in Upper Austria. Additional successes for the new party were its being recognized both by the Nationalrat as a political party and by Liberal International.

Apprehension about joining—or not joining—the European Union (EU—see Glossary) was another force driving Austrian politics. As the economy slumped and headed to an overall negative growth rate for 1993, Haider modified his previous endorsement of EU membership, sensing a chance to profit from fears about what Austria's participation in a larger Europe might bring. The ÖVP and SPÖ remained strongly in favor. After much delay, Austria will join the European Economic Area (EEA—see Glossary) on January 1, 1994. The EEA will then consist of EU and European Free Trade Association (EFTA—see Glossary) countries, with the exception of Switzerland, and will form a free-market economy of sixteen nations and 380 million inhabitants.

Mass Media

The Austrian press operates freely under the constitution of 1920, which guarantees all citizens freedom of expression in speech, writing, and print. The constitution also forbids any government censorship of the press or electronic media. Austria has a well-developed system of print and electronic media that provides its citizens with a wide variety of news sources and entertainment.

Newspapers and Periodicals

The Austrian newspaper market is one of the most concentrated in Europe. Three dailies, the *Neue Kronen-Zeitung, Täglich Alles,* and *Kurier,* account for more than half of the newspapers sold in the country. By 1993 their daily circulations were 1.1 million, 500,000, and 390,000, respectively, with higher circulations on Sundays. All three specialize in tabloid-style journalism, with a tendency toward sensationalism. Better educated Austrians, especially in the

larger cities, read either *Die Presse* or *Der Standard,* both high-quality newspapers published in Vienna with circulations of less than 100,000.

As of the early 1990s, a total of seventeen daily newspapers were published in Austria, and thirteen regional editions of some of these papers were published. Since the early 1970s, the importance of political party newspapers has declined precipitously. The SPÖ publishes one newspaper and the ÖVP two, all of which have circulations of less than 100,000. The SPÖ's venerable newspaper, *Arbeiterzeitung,* established in 1895, was sold to private interests in the late 1980s when the party decided it no longer wished to cover the newspaper's massive losses.

Austria also has many periodicals and magazines. Among the weekly periodicals, *Profil,* with a circulation of more than 100,000 in 1993, has emerged as one of the best practitioners of investigative journalism in the country. Another weekly magazine, *News,* has a circulation of more than 200,000, although it was only founded in October 1992. Other periodicals of note include *Wochenpresse,* a weekly; *Trend,* a monthly journal devoted to economic news; and *Wiener,* a monthly.

Rising concern over financial difficulties faced by small publishers led the Austrian government to decide in 1975 that subsidies should be made available to newspapers and magazines meeting certain criteria. For a daily newspaper to receive government funds, it must have a minimum circulation of 10,000 and regional distribution. Weekly newspapers are required to have a minimum circulation of 5,000. Magazines are eligible for funds if they publish between four and forty issues a year. To be considered for funding, a newspaper or magazine must file a formal application with the government. Specific allocations are decided on a case-by-case basis, and various formulas are used to spread the funds among a large number of publications. No single newspaper can receive more than 5 percent of the total budget earmarked for support of the daily press.

In 1982 Austria brought its press laws up to date with the passage of the Federal Law on the Press and Other Journalistic Media, which clarifies the rights of individuals to sue for damages when they believe they have been slandered or defamed by the press. The law establishes maximum amounts of S50,000 for defamation of character and S100,000 for slander. The law stipulates that damages are not to be awarded if it can be shown that the public interest was served by the publication of the material or of allegations in dispute. The law also grants individuals and corporations the right to respond in print to published reports they regard as

defamatory. However, a newspaper can refuse to publish a rejoinder if it can prove that the report is not factual. Individuals and corporations may respond only to factual reporting; articles containing editorial opinions and value judgments are not covered by this provision of the press law.

Other provisions of the 1982 law strengthened the rights of journalists. Journalists are guaranteed the right to refuse to collaborate in assignments they regard as incompatible with their ethical convictions. The law also affirms the right of journalists not to divulge their sources in a court of law. The law further states that the government may not place the communications facilities of an organ of the press under surveillance unless it has reason to believe that a crime carrying a sentence of at least ten years may have been committed.

Radio and Television

As of late 1993, radio and television programming in Austria was provided exclusively by Austrian Radio and Television (Österreichischer Rundfunk—ORF). This state monopoly is expected to end in the mid-1990s because such monopolies are no longer seen by many European jurists as compatible with the free exchange of information and ideas. ORF was formed as a public corporation in 1945 and reorganized in 1967 for greater political and financial independence. In 1974 a constitutional law was passed giving ORF complete financial autonomy from the government and guaranteeing it freedom from attempts by the government or any state body to exert influence on programming. Additional laws passed in that year required ORF to present objective reporting, a variety of opinions, and balanced programming.

As of 1993, ORF had two television channels and three radio channels. FS 1 and FS 2, the two television channels, feature a wide variety of programs, including news, entertainment, education, and music. In 1988 the nine regional ORF studios began broadcasting local programs. Various groups attempted to make the case for allowing independent television in Austria, but, as of 1993, they had not persuaded the government to lift the monopoly enjoyed by ORF. During the 1980s, cable television became available, and by 1990 roughly 15 percent of Austrian homes received cable programming. One of the major cable programs, 3 Sat, is a joint venture of ORF, the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation, and one of Germany's television networks.

ORF has four radio channels. The first channel, Österreich 1, features culturally oriented programs devoted to music, literature, science, and news. The second channel, Österreich Regional, carries

programming produced by the nine regional ORF stations, with an emphasis on popular entertainment and local events. Österreich 3 is an entertainment channel, which also carries hourly news broadcasts. The fourth network, Blue Danube Radio, is also an entertainment channel but differs in that it broadcasts mainly in English. Its news programs are in German, English, and French.

Foreign Relations

Since 1955 the guiding principle of Austrian foreign policy has been neutrality. As part of an agreement reached that year with the Four Powers (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States), Austria passed an amendment to its constitution declaring that it would forever remain neutral. Specifically, Austria pledged that it would never join any military alliances or allow foreign troops to be stationed on its soil. The commitment to neutrality was seen by virtually all political groups as a sensible step to achieve the complete removal of occupying forces from the country.

However, Austria chose to pursue a looser model of neutrality than that followed by other states, such as Switzerland. Austria joined the United Nations (UN) in 1955, shortly after making its neutrality pledge. Austria did not take neutrality to mean that it should occupy a moral middle ground between the democratic countries of the West and the totalitarian states of the East during the Cold War period. In terms of political and social ideology, Austria was firmly within the community of democratic nations.

A second important principle of Austrian foreign policy is internationalism. Austria is active in many international organizations, such as the UN and its subsidiary agencies. The country is a long-time participant in UN peacekeeping operations. An Austrian medical team served in the Congo (present-day Zaire) between 1960 and 1963, and medical teams and soldiers have served continuously in Cyprus since 1964 and at various times in Egypt and Israel since 1968. Vienna is the home of two UN entities, the International Atomic Energy Agency and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. During the Cold War period, Austria consistently supported all attempts at fostering détente between the United States and the Soviet Union. Austria's leaders pursued this policy because they realized that heightened tensions between the superpowers would make the maintenance of their country's neutrality more difficult.

Foreign Policy During the Kreisky Era

Bruno Kreisky, who had served as foreign minister between 1959

The Vienna International Center is also known as United Nations City because numerous United Nations offices are located there. Courtesy Embassy of Austria, Washington

and 1966, laid great emphasis on an active, internationalist foreign policy during his tenure as chancellor (1970–83). Kreisky's vision of foreign policy was based on the notion that Austria, as a neutral country, should seek to mediate conflicts between countries and stake out independent and innovative policies on various issues. He offered Vienna as a site for many series of negotiations on nuclear arms reductions and other international matters.

Among Kreisky's more controversial policies was his decision to grant informal diplomatic recognition to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1980. This was an outgrowth of Kreisky's conviction that Israel was stubbornly refusing to recognize the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people. The fact that Kreisky was Jewish gave him a certain credibility in becoming so involved in trying to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Kreisky further surprised the world by receiving Libyan leader Muammar al Qadhafi in Vienna. He also showed his independent approach with his decision that Austria should participate in the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow, despite the boycott of the games orchestrated by United States president Jimmy Carter in response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Austria also did not adhere to the economic boycott of Iran organized by the United States after the seizure of its embassy in Tehran in 1979.

During the 1970s, Austria collaborated extensively with other neutral and nonaligned countries in the UN. Austria developed an independent voting profile, frequently joining with other neutrals such as Sweden to press for action on issues ignored by countries belonging to military alliances. Austria also pursued this kind of diplomacy with the nonaligned countries belonging to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

New Focus on Europe

After Kreisky's departure from the political scene in 1983, Austrian foreign policy became more focused on European matters and less on global issues. This shift was caused partly by the increase in tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, as United States diplomacy under President Ronald Reagan became more confrontational. In this climate, Austria's room to pursue a foreign policy of mediation was more constricted. Concern that the country faced exclusion from the increasing political and economic integration of Europe being pursued by the European Community (EC) was another factor that came to exert strong influence on Austrian diplomacy. The traditional concept of Austrian neutrality had held that membership in the EC was not possible or desirable, even though the EC was not a military alliance. The idea

of ceding even limited areas of political and economic sovereignty to a supranational organization was seen as incompatible with neutrality.

As an alternative to the EC, Austria had joined with Britain, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland to form the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) in 1960. EFTA was restricted to facilitating trade among its members and did not involve the ceding of sovereign powers. Austria also negotiated a special economic arrangement with the EC in 1972 that allowed for the duty-free exchange of industrial manufactured goods.

By the mid-1980s, the opinion of Austria's political elites had changed in favor of seriously considering the advantages and disadvantages of EC membership. Many argued that Austria could not expect to guarantee its economic future if it remained outside the EC. Two-thirds of Austria's trade was with members of the EC, with the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) by far its largest trading partner. There was also a fear that the country could become isolated within Europe as ideological barriers between East and West were lowered.

A long period of debate among the major parties over EC membership began in 1987, and the cabinet established a working group to examine the issue. It gradually became clear that, despite some misgivings over the expected impact of EC membership in certain areas, the two major parties, the ÖVP and SPÖ, favored applying for entry. The trade unions had some concerns about EC membership's diminishing their strong bargaining powers in the Austrian system of social partnership, but they, too, generally favored joining (see Social Partnership, ch. 3). There was also widespread concern that the high volume of highway traffic passing through Austria en route to West Germany and Italy was damaging the country's environment (see Ecological Concerns, ch. 2). Many Austrians believed that their country's environmental laws were stricter than those of the EC. The priority of protecting the environment led the Green deputies in parliament to oppose joining the EC.

Within the two major parties, there was little concern over the neutrality issue, and government leaders pointed out that although the EC might someday add a military dimension to its structure, for the foreseeable future it would remain primarily an economic union with aspirations of developing greater political unity. The new climate of *glasnost* in the Soviet Union ushered in by Mikhail Gorbachev led Austrian leaders to expect no objection from Moscow to an Austrian decision to seek EC membership, and this expectation proved true.

The government reached an internal consensus in favor of applying for membership in June 1989, and the following month, Foreign Minister Alois Mock delivered the application to the EC Commission in Brussels. Chancellor Vranitzky emphasized to his countrymen that during the upcoming negotiations with Brussels his government would seek clear understandings on the maintenance of environmental standards and the preservation of Austria's advanced social welfare system. Vranitzky also asserted that the issue of limiting the volume of motor vehicle traffic passing through Austrian territory would be handled separately from the application to join the EC. Austria's application met with a chilly reception from some quarters in Europe, especially from a few politicians who argued that the admission of a neutral country could hinder efforts at coordinating the foreign policies of the EC's members. However, the momentous events of late 1989 and 1990—the freeing of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland from Soviet domination and the unification of Germany—made it clear to all observers that Austrian neutrality would take on a new dimension and might even be jettisoned altogether. The disintegration of the communist system in the Soviet Union in late 1991 further reinforced the impression that neutrality was of little relevance in the new Europe.

In August 1991, after an examination of the Austrian application, the EC issued an initial assessment that was predominantly favorable. By late 1993, negotiations between Austria and the European Union (EU), the organization's name as of November 1993, were continuing over the terms of membership. Most observers expected that the EU and Austria would be able to reach an agreement on Austrian entry and that the country would join the EU in January 1995. The main issues involved limiting international road traffic through Alpine regions because of environmental concerns, subsidies for Alpine farming, and foreign ownership of residences in some parts of Austria. A less certain matter was whether the Austrian government could convince a majority of Austrians to support EU membership. The question of joining the EU will be voted on in a popular referendum because any governmental action that changes the constitution must pass this test. Many opinion polls taken in the early 1990s showed Austrians evenly divided over the merits of joining the EU. In order to ensure approval by the electorate, the Austrian government will have to gain significant concessions from the EU in the negotiations and mount an effective public relations campaign in favor of a yes vote.

Regional Issues

Austria has generally enjoyed good relations with its neighbors, although there have been exceptions. The most notable exception has been its relationship with Italy, which was strained by the issue over South Tirol during the 1960s. This largely German-speaking region, which belonged to Austria-Hungary prior to World War I, was ceded to Italy in 1919 as a result of the peace negotiations. Until 1992 ethnic Germans in South Tirol, in the present-day region of Trentino-Alto Adige, had to struggle to maintain the measure of autonomy promised to them by the Italian government. Acts of terrorism directed against Italian targets became a serious problem in the 1960s, and Italy accused Austria of not doing enough to capture terrorists whom it claimed were using Austrian territory as a sanctuary. Austria and Italy eventually reached an agreement in 1969 on a timetable for satisfying the demands of the German-speaking South Tiroleans for cultural autonomy. Progress was slow, but in June 1992 an agreement was finally realized that granted the German speakers a greater degree of autonomy. Although not allowed the right to secede from Italy, the cultural rights of German speakers in Trentino-Alto Adige were enhanced with guarantees of education in their own language, greater representation in the civil service, and the right to go to the International Court of Justice in The Hague without permission from the government in Rome. Both Italian and Austrian authorities have declared themselves satisfied with the agreement.

Austria became concerned as the political stability of its neighbor to the south, Yugoslavia, began to unravel in 1991. As it became clear that the republics of Slovenia and Croatia were preparing to break away from the Yugoslav federation, a disagreement arose within the ÖVP–SPÖ coalition over when to grant diplomatic recognition to the new states. In September 1991, Foreign Minister Mock advocated immediate recognition, but Chancellor Vranitzky preferred that Austria wait until other European governments were ready to take the same step. In the end, Vranitzky prevailed in this debate, and recognition was delayed until January 1992, after the EC recognized the newly independent states.

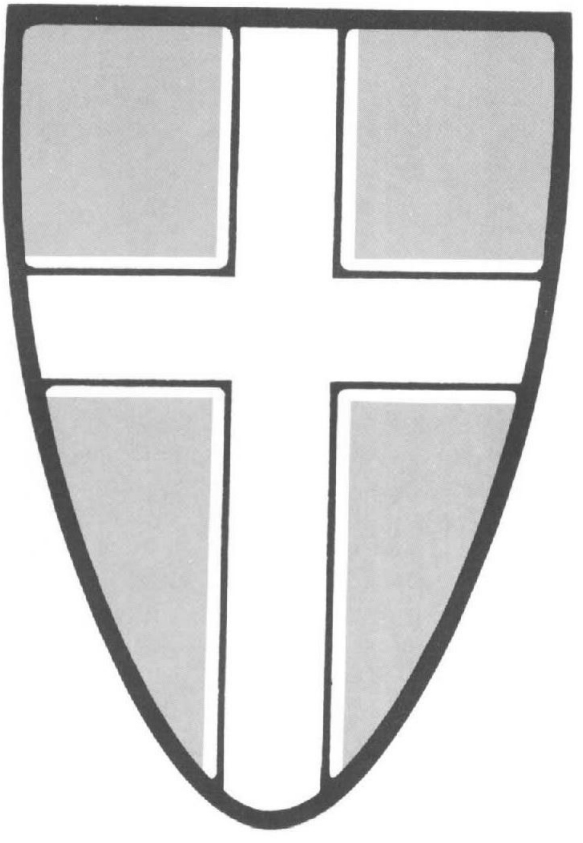
On other important aspects of policy toward the breakup of Yugoslavia, greater unanimity existed between the ÖVP and SPÖ. Foreign Minister Mock was an early advocate of sending a UN peacekeeping force to prevent bloodshed as the various Yugoslav republics sought to establish their independence. In August 1991, Austria became the first UN member to bring to the attention of the Security Council the fact that large numbers of civilians in

Bosnia and Hercegovina and in Croatia were being killed by Serbian forces. Despite their deep concern about the tragedy unfolding in the former Yugoslavia, both Mock and Vranitzky are in agreement that Austria's neutrality and its proximity to the fighting preclude the inclusion of Austrian troops in any UN peacekeeping force.

* * *

During the 1980s and early 1990s, the literature on Austrian politics in English grew considerably. *Austria: A Study in Modern Achievement,* edited by Jim Sweeney and Josef Weidenholzer, contains a useful collection of articles on Austria's political system and political parties. *Modern Austria,* edited by Kurt Steiner, covers roughly the same ground, in some cases in more detail, but is somewhat dated because it was published in 1981. Melanie A. Sully's *A Contemporary History of Austria* is an excellent treatment of Austrian politics during the 1980s. It is particularly good on the interaction between the parties and their internal problems. John Fitzmaurice's *Austrian Politics and Society Today* covers roughly the same ground as Sully's book and is a readable introduction to Austrian politics. *Politics in Austria,* edited by Kurt Richard Luther and Wolfgang C. Müller, contains a collection of essays by Austrian political scientists examining the sociological changes in Austria during the postwar era and their impact on the political system. Readers with a knowledge of German should consult *Handbuch des politischen Systems Österreichs,* edited by Herbert Dachs et al., which contains a wealth of articles on political parties, political institutions, trade unions, foreign policy, and many areas of government policy. Also in German is the very useful *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Politik,* which contains articles by noted specialists and politicians about recent political developments. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 5. National Security



Coat of arms of the province of Vienna

IN 1993 THE AUSTRIAN DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT was in the process of restructuring, from a force intended to defend Austria's territory against threats arising from hostilities between North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Warsaw Pact countries to a force that could react rapidly to local crises. Under the restructuring plan, both the standing army and reserves are to be scaled back but are to maintain individual units in a rapid-response status, enabling the army to intervene quickly with appropriate forces to prevent instability in Austria's border areas. In view of the civil warfare in the former Yugoslavia and the breakup of Czechoslovakia into two states, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, as well as the possibility of overwhelming movements of refugees fleeing violence in nearby states, Austria considers itself to be in a highly exposed position in spite of the end of East-West confrontation in Europe. The intervention of the Yugoslav army in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 prompted the largest mobilization of the Austrian army since it was reconstituted in 1956.

The Austrian armed forces consist of only one branch, the Bundesheer (Federal Army), of which the air force (Fliegerdivision) is a component. There is no navy. Ground forces consist of 46,000 men on active duty, 19,500 of whom are conscripts who serve for six months, followed by sixty days of refresher training with their mobilization units spread over a ten-year period. There are 6,000 men in the air force, 2,400 of whom are conscripts. (There are no women in the Austrian armed forces.) The main active combat units are three mechanized brigades equipped with M-60 main battle tanks and Saurer armored personnel carriers. Two squadrons (twenty-four aircraft) of Draken fighter aircraft acquired from Sweden defend Austrian air space. Including activated reserve infantry brigades and regiments, total mobilized strength is about 200,000, but the mobilization level will decline to 120,000 under the reorganization plan, the New Army Structure, announced in late 1991 and to be completed in 1995.

Weapons of mass destruction and guided missiles were prohibited under the State Treaty of 1955. Also in 1955, parliament enacted a constitutional law prohibiting participation in any military alliance and specifying that the armed forces were to be used only for the defense of the country. However, neutrality, according to the Austrian interpretation, did not preclude contributing to peacekeeping operations under United Nations (UN) auspices. As of 1993,

Austria had battalion units serving the UN in Cyprus and on the Golan Heights in Syria. Austria did not, however, participate in the UN-supported coalition against Iraq after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

Austria's Federal Police function in fourteen of the largest cities; the federal Gendarmerie functions in the remainder of the cities and towns and in most rural areas except for a few that maintain their own police forces. The Criminal Investigative Service, the Administrative Police, and the State Police (secret service) are also nationally organized under the federal Ministry for Interior.

Austrians are generally peaceful people; domestic politics are rarely violent, and the level of crime is moderate. Criminal codes and criminal procedure codes are enlightened. Practices relating to criminal justice and the penal system are considered fair by European standards, although questionable conduct by the police and the secret service has been investigated and reforms have been instituted.

Historical Background

The Habsburg Military

From the time the Habsburgs established hereditary rule over Austrian lands in the thirteenth century until the fall of the Habsburgs at the end of World War I, their armies were among the largest and most significant in Europe. For 200 years, Habsburg forces formed a bastion defending the continent against repeated Ottoman campaigns to overrun Europe. In 1529 and again in 1683, the Turks were turned back only after reaching the gates of Vienna. Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg, who commanded the imperial troops in the city, broke the siege in 1683 with the aid of German and Polish forces under the Polish king, Jan Sobieski, then drove the Turks back into the Balkans, finally ending the Ottoman threat.

One of Austria's greatest military commanders, Prince Eugene of Savoy, in concerted operations with Britain's Duke of Marlborough, won a series of victories over the France of Louis XIV in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14). Wars fought with the Prussia of Frederick the Great over Silesia in 1740–48 (the War of the Austrian Succession) and 1756–63 were less successful. The monarchy's military potential during the eighteenth century was limited by the emperor's dependence on provincial diets for recruits and tax receipts. The nobles of the imperial lands who controlled the enserfed peasantry had no fixed obligation to provide soldiers to the Habsburgs.

Austria was prominent in the coalitions that tried to check Napoleon Bonaparte's ambitions but was forced to accept humiliating peace conditions after being decisively defeated in 1800, again in 1805 when Napoleon occupied Vienna after the Battle of Austerlitz, and finally after the Battle of Wagram in 1809. Yet Austria joined with the other great powers in the final campaign resulting in Napoleon's downfall in 1814.

Habsburg armies displayed their loyalty to the monarchy in 1848 and 1849, suppressing the revolutionary regimes that had swept into power in Vienna, Budapest, Milan, and Prague. In 1859 Austria was provoked into war with Piedmont and its supporter, the France of Napoleon III. The Austro-Piedmontese War lasted only three months, but both sides mobilized large armies. The Austrians were defeated after bitter fighting at Magenta and Solferino, the young emperor, Franz Joseph, assuming personal command during the battle at Solferino.

Prussia established its domination over other German states by its victory over Austria in the Seven Weeks' War in 1866. The critical battle was waged at Königgrätz (Hradec Králové in the present-day Czech Republic). The Austrians, armed with muzzle-loading rifles, suffered 20,000 casualties and 20,000 prisoners. The battle overshadowed Austria's victories over Prussia's Italian allies at Custozza and in the naval Battle of Lissa (Vis) off the Dalmatian coast in which a smaller Austrian fleet of ironclads overcame the Italians by bold use of ramming tactics. Following the end of the Seven Weeks' War, Austria experienced fifty years of peace until World War I broke out in 1914.

In spite of their size and distinction in individual engagements, Habsburg armies of the nineteenth century had known little but defeat in encounters with other major powers of Europe. The armed forces were often handicapped by uninspired or timid battlefield leaders. The principal cause of their failure, however, was the fact that, among the five great powers, which also included Britain, France, Prussia, and Russia, Austria allocated the lowest proportion of its revenue to its military establishment. Various political groups blocked adequate expenditures on the army. For example, the Prussian infantry, using breech-loading rifles in 1866, had four to five times the effective firepower of the Austrian infantry. The constant economizing was also reflected in the poor training of conscripts and in the quality of the notoriously underpaid company-grade officers. Their tactics, based on frontal assault with fixed bayonets, were outdated. The quartermaster corps had a reputation for inefficiency and corruption.

The standing army of twelve corps had 240,000 men as of 1854. At its mobilized strength of 800,000, it was the largest in Europe, but the speed of mobilization and the capacity to move troops to the scene of battle were much inferior to those of the Prussians, who made full use of their growing rail system. As a matter of policy, conscripts were assigned to regiments far from their homes. A call-up involved slow train journeys for reservists; mobilization required eight weeks, nearly twice as long as mobilization of the Prussian army, which was organized by region.

The creation of Austria-Hungary (also seen as the Austro-Hungarian Empire) under the Compromise (Ausgleich) of 1867 separated the Hapsburg Empire into independent Austrian and Hungarian governments. Only the army, foreign affairs, and related budgetary matters remained joined under the emperor, who held supreme command of all forces in time of war. A new army law decreed universal three-year conscription followed by a ten-year reserve obligation. In practice, only about one in five of those liable to service were called up, and many were sent on leave after two years. The army of Austria-Hungary has been described as a state within a state. In an empire of ten nationalities and five religions, marked by ethnic conflict and sharp political and economic divisions, the army formed the only real bond among the emperor's subjects and the sole instrument through which loyalty to him could find expression.

Nevertheless, Austria-Hungary gave the impression of being a highly militarized nation. British historian Edward Crankshaw noted that not only the emperor but most males in high society never wore civilian clothes except when hunting. Select regiments of the army were splendidly outfitted, but, with a few dedicated exceptions, the officers, so magnificent on the parade ground, "shrank . . . from the arbitrament of arms as from an unholy abyss."

Regiments were organized along linguistic lines, although German was the language of command. Ethnic factors did not prevent recruitment of non-German speakers to the officer corps or their regular promotion. Hungarians, Croats, Serbs, Poles, Italians, Czechs, Slovenes, and Romanians could be found in senior positions. In the more prestigious units, most field-grade officers owed their ranks to birth or wealth. As of 1900, a majority of the officer corps in the Austro-Hungarian army were native German speakers, although only one-fourth of the empire's total population was German speaking.

Two World Wars, 1914–18 and 1939–45

Although Austria-Hungary's aim in 1914 was to fight a limited

war to punish Serbia after the assassination of the heir to the Habsburg crown, Franz Ferdinand, the crisis quickly flared out of control as European powers mobilized their mass armies in accordance with their treaty commitments. Although poorly prepared for conflict and lacking essential weapons and unit cohesiveness, the Austro-Hungarians were immediately faced with a two-front war against Serbia and Russia. Their fifty-nine divisions (which included hastily raised reserve units) had to secure a front running from the Adriatic Sea to central Poland. The superior Russian army drove the Austro-Hungarians back with immense losses in Polish Galicia. The Russian front was stabilized only after German officers assumed command. Although Austria-Hungary had expected to conquer Serbia quickly, Serbia was not defeated until late 1915 after terrible fighting in Bosnia. The campaigns against Italy, which had entered on the side of the Allies in May 1915, were somewhat more successful, the Habsburg armies fighting with stubbornness and at times with great skill. In spite of rebellious secession movements among some non-Germans, the bulk of the army remained loyal, holding together until the last months of the war. Only among Czech soldiers affected by Slavic nationalism were there serious defections to the Russians. At the last, however, front-line troops in Italy abandoned their guns, and the revolt spread as even German-speaking troops refused to obey orders. Austro-Hungarian military casualties of 1.4 million killed or died in captivity and 3.6 million wounded were greater than those of Germany on a proportional basis.

Truncated Austria, reduced to some 6.5 million primarily German speakers after the war, was to some degree divided even against itself between a conservative population in the rural western areas of the nation and the urban socialists of Vienna and other industrial centers of the east. A regular Austrian army of 30,000 men was established in 1922, and, although free from political involvement, it had conservative leanings in the imperial tradition. Both police and army were weak; they could not prevent the formation of paramilitary groups by rival political blocs. The Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei—SDAP) formed the Republican Defense League (Republikanischer Schutzbund), and the right-wing Christian Social Party (Christlichsoziale Partei—CSP) had links with the various rightist militias that sprang up after the war. Both groups had impressive arsenals. In 1934, reacting to pressures by the CSP chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss, and to provocations by rightist militias, the SDAP called a general strike and the Republikanischer Schutzbund rose in a number of cities. The uprising was put down in four days after the army

used artillery against workers' apartment blocks in Vienna where the socialist revolt was centered. Although the army's actions were approved by Dollfuss, the episode seemed to attest to the army's alignment with rightist elements and its antagonism to the interests of the urban industrial workers.

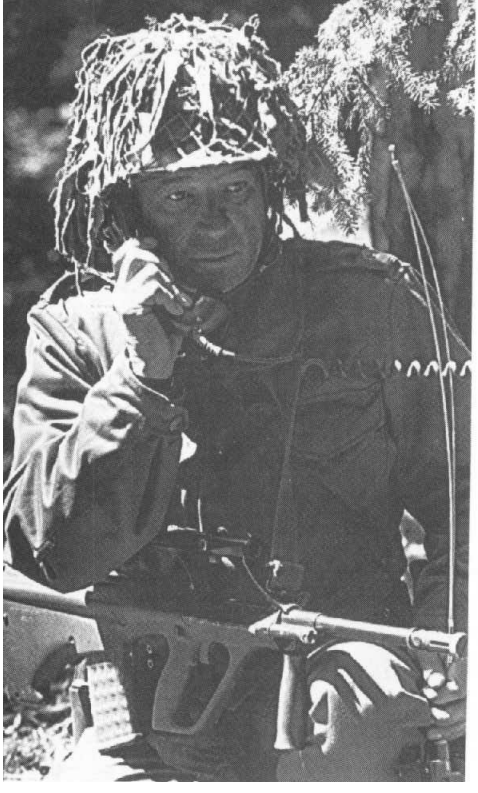
Germany's annexation (Anschluss) of Austria in 1938 was accomplished without resistance under orders of the government. The armed forces suffered from low morale and were infused with pro-Nazi sentiment. Austrian troops in Salzburg and Innsbruck reportedly put themselves immediately under German command and participated in joint victory parades. The troops were dispersed throughout the army, the German Wehrmacht; no purely Austrian units were retained. Most of the generals and many field-grade officers were purged or were shifted to administrative posts. The thirty-five divisions raised on Austrian territory following the outbreak of World War II were composed mainly of Austrians. For the most part, they were assigned to the Russian front.

Austria suffered tremendous losses in the war, yet its 247,000 military deaths were fewer proportionately than German losses. A further 750,000 were made prisoners of war, the last of these returning from the Soviet Union as late as 1955.

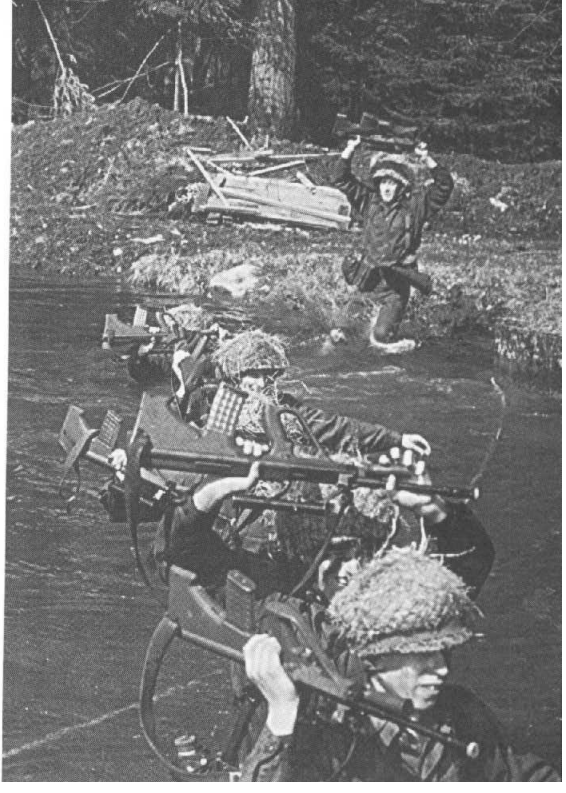
During the postwar occupation (1945–55) by the Four Powers (Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States), the three Western occupying powers permitted the Austrian government to equip a mobile regiment of the Gendarmerie, organized into "shock battalions." Their primary mission was to control communist-inspired disturbances. Headquartered in Linz, the First Battalion was responsible for the provinces of Salzburg and Upper Austria south of the Danube (the American Zone), the Second Battalion for Styria (the British Zone), and the Third Battalion for Tirol and Vorarlberg (the French Zone). (The Russian Zone consisted of Lower Austria, Burgenland, and Upper Austria north of the Danube. Vienna was occupied by the Four Powers.) Surplus equipment and vehicles were transferred to the Austrian battalions by the Western powers. In 1956 when the Austrian army, the Bundesheer (Federal Army) was reconstituted, 6,500 officers and enlisted men of these special units formed its nucleus.

Strategic Concepts and Missions of the Austrian Armed Forces

The withdrawal of the Allied forces as a result of the State Treaty of 1955 dramatically affected the general strategic situation in Central Europe. The presence of two neutral countries—Switzerland and Austria—in effect split the defenses of the North Atlantic Treaty



A noncommissioned officer armed with a 5.56mm Steyr assault rifle
Courtesy United States Department of Defense



Trainees in a tactical field exercise
Courtesy United States Department of Defense

Organization (NATO) into northern and southern tiers. Links between NATO forces in southern Germany and northern Italy had to be routed through France. Moreover, if Warsaw Pact forces had chosen to violate Austrian neutrality by driving westward through the Danube Basin, they would have been able to outflank strong NATO defenses on the central front and avoid a contested Danube River crossing in Bavaria. A second line of potential Warsaw Pact attack ran across the southern flanks of the main Alpine range from the Hungarian Plain leading into northern Italy.

The early years of the Bundesheer were directed by military leaders whose experience reflected their service as mid-level officers in the German army, the Wehrmacht. The army's structure resembled that of European NATO powers but on a smaller scale. Its combat units were filled with permanent cadre and nine-month conscripts. It lacked sufficient manpower and air cover.

In 1956 the Bundesheer was called on to handle the first of two border crises. It was in that year that the Hungarian uprising was

crushed by the Soviet Union and 170,000 Hungarians fled into Austria. The second was in 1968 when Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Austria's experiences during the Hungarian and Czechoslovak crises helped clarify the nature of the potential threat to the nation's neutrality and led to a reorientation of defense policy and a revised definition of the military's mission.

After 1970, under the influence of a majority of the Socialist Party of Austria (Sozialistische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ) in parliament, military service was deemphasized and conscription reduced to six months. However, with the system of refresher training for former conscripts, the basis for a large militia program was established, and there was more total manpower available. The example of Switzerland's reliance on mobilization units to uphold its neutrality provided a useful lesson. However, strict budgetary limits continued to delay the acquisition of modern supersonic combat aircraft until the late 1980s.

Until the early 1990s, Austria's security policy centered on a strategy of *Abhaltestrategie* (deterrence or dissuasion). Its aim was to convince a prospective invader that any possible advantages derived from an attack on or across Austria would easily be offset by a loss in time, personnel, and equipment. The Austrian version of deterrence flowed from the philosophy of Comprehensive National Defense, also embraced by such other European neutrals as Switzerland, Sweden, and Finland. This concept encompasses the psychological, civil, economic, and military defense of the homeland. Military defense is based on an area defense combat doctrine that uses Austria's geography—its mountains and forests—to the utmost. Austrian forces would use hit-and-run tactics to slow and wear down the aggressor, while avoiding pitched battles. Defense of preselected key zones and strong points along or near primary areas of approach would be used to channel the enemy's advance to make it more susceptible to both commando and limited armor counterattacks.

Austrian military planners concluded that the least likely threat scenario was one in which Austria would be involved in an all-out nuclear war, a role that in any event was beyond the capability of such a small country. Rather, the problem was how Austria could best use its limited military capacity to deal with the range of threats with which the country might realistically be faced. Three levels of threat were identified. The first was a localized political crisis near Austria's borders, such as the case of Czechoslovakia in 1968 or the Slovenian assertion of independence from Yugoslavia in 1991. These situations could be faced by rapidly shifting armored and mechanized standing forces to the border area where trouble could

break out. Austrian military leaders stressed that their purpose would be to avoid hostilities and to give credence to their determination to prevent, as one former army commander expressed, "wanton or negligent disregard of Austria's neutrality."

A second level of threat might arise in the case of hostilities between neighboring states. In such an event, Austria might have to deny right of passage, prevent Austrian territory from being used as a base or refuge, or defend the integrity of its air space. In this situation, reserves would have to be partially or fully deployed. In the other situation contemplated, defense against clear aggression threatening the state, the nation's entire military potential would be deployed.

In the third level of threat, it was assumed that the aggressor would consider Austrian territory useful only as a base of operations against a primary enemy. Thus, the purpose of an Austrian military buildup would be to compel a potential aggressor to conclude that the advantages of mounting an attack against Austria were out of proportion to the price that would have to be paid and the delay encountered.

To deal with these contingencies, Austria developed the area defense (*Raumverteidigung*) concept in the mid-1970s. Under this plan, all of Austrian territory was denoted as either a key zone (*Schlüsselzone*) or an area security zone. The key zones were those having prime value as military routes of advance, such as the Danube and Inn river valleys and the mountain passes of southern Austria. Austria's combat strength was to be concentrated in the key zones, where enemy forces could be funneled and then destroyed by armored and mechanized units. Main lines of communication were to be defended by static defenses consisting of fortified gun positions and prepared demolitions positioned around or near natural obstacles. Rear-echelon units of the enemy were to be simultaneously harried by reserve light infantry forces. In the area security zones (*Raumsicherungszonen*), the objective would be to deny unchallenged use of the terrain by the use of prepared artillery positions, antitank obstacles, and guerrilla-type actions (*Jagdkämpfe*) on the enemy's flanks and rear, forcing the invader to deploy combat troops to protect service and support operations.

The breakup of the Warsaw Pact and the subsiding of East-West tensions in 1990 and 1991 necessitated a fundamental reappraisal of Austrian security policy. Austrian planners no longer expected a large-scale invasion requiring defense of the entire territory. Therefore, changes in the security policy were undertaken in 1993 with the New Army Structure (Heeresgliederung Neu). This policy, to be completed in 1995, is intended to meet local crises arising

from internal instability in countries on Austria's borders that would precipitate large refugee flows and spillover violence. Contemplated structural changes emphasize the immediate availability of reaction forces that could deal with particular situations without the need for mobilization.

Commenting in 1992, Defense Minister Werner Fasslabend said that although the collapse of the Soviet empire had put an end to East-West confrontation, the dramatic changes had contributed to new risks in the form of local and ethnic conflicts. Although the danger of world conflagration had diminished, Austria was in one of the regions where instability had actually increased.

Austria's miliary leadership saw a continuing mission to defend the country's border to prevent the Yugoslav civil war from spilling into Austrian territory. The breakup of Czechoslovakia into two states in 1993 also raised threats of instability on the nation's northern flank. Control over refugees attempting to flee fighting or economic hardship could also necessitate intervention of the armed forces.

Neutrality and the Armed Forces

Under the State Treaty of 1955, a number of restrictions were imposed that affected the buildup of the Bundesheer. Under Article 13 of the treaty, Austria was prohibited from possessing "any self-propelled or guided missiles or guns with a range of more than thirty kilometers." On October 26, 1955, the government passed a law in which Austria declared of its own free will its permanent neutrality. The law further specified that "Austria will never in the future accede to any military alliances nor permit the establishment of military bases by foreign states on her territory." The Austrian government asserted that it alone was competent to define Austrian neutrality.

Austria has interpreted its posture as a neutral state in Europe in somewhat the same terms as Switzerland. It has deliberately adopted a more active policy of involvement in international peacekeeping and humanitarian matters, in particular those it could perform in conjunction with other members of the UN or at the behest of the UN. In 1960 the army sent a medical team to the Congo (present-day Zaire) and has provided other medical units, military police, and observers to Cyprus and other areas in the Middle East since 1964. By the early 1990s, some 30,000 Austrians had served in UN missions. As of 1993, one battalion of 350 troops was deployed with the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) patrolling the buffer zone between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish forces. Another battalion of 450 troops was

on the Golan Heights in Syria as part of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF). Seven observers were with the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM), and seventeen observers were attached to the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) in Cambodia.

Austria did not participate directly in the UN-backed action in 1991 to drive the Iraqi invasion forces out of Kuwait. It did, however, provide financial assistance to states suffering from dislocation caused by the invasion. In addition, the United States was granted expanded overflight authority for troops and supplies in connection with Operation Desert Shield and Operation Desert Storm. This action, a departure from Austria's former posture of strict neutrality, was interpreted as a gesture to help demonstrate that Austria's neutral status need not be a barrier to future membership in the European Union (EU—see Glossary). In the same vein, Austria announced that it would grant NATO permission to use its airspace for airborne warning and control system (AWACS) aircraft as "an expression of solidarity within the framework of pan-European security."

With the exception of the prohibition on guided missile systems, restrictions in the State Treaty on the acquisition of particular weapons have not prevented Austria's defense buildup. Austria refrained for many years from the purchase of modern antiaircraft and antitank guided missiles in spite of the fact that such weapons have been accepted as essential elements of defense in all modern armies. Short-range weapons of this type had not been developed when the treaty was concluded. Nevertheless, in 1988 when Austria sought a reinterpretation of Article 13 by the other signatories to justify purchasing such weapons, its attempt was not successful.

In 1989, however, Austrian authorities reached a decision to acquire surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) and antitank missiles on the understanding that they were intended solely for defensive purposes. The changed security situation in Europe made it possible for Austria to take such a step without fear of provoking countries that belonged to the Warsaw Pact. As of 1993, Austria was accepting delivery of BILL (Bofors, Infantry, Light and Lethal) antitank missiles from Sweden and was also planning to purchase larger antitank missiles from France or the United States. Its Draken interceptor aircraft will be armed with Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, and its ground-based antiaircraft missile defense will be equipped with French Mistral missiles.

National Defense

Under the constitution, the president is the nominal commander

in chief of the armed forces. In reality, the chancellor has operational authority, exercised through the minister for national defense. The chancellor also chairs the National Defense Council, which has as its members a vice chairman, the minister for national defense, an appointee of this minister, the general troop inspector of the armed forces, and a parliamentary representative. The minister for national defense, acting in cooperation with the minister for interior, coordinates the work of the four major committees under the National Defense Council: the Military Defense Committee; the Civil Defense Committee; the Economic Defense Committee; and the Psychological Defense Committee. The general troop inspector acts as the senior military adviser to the minister for national defense, assists the minister in the exercise of his authority, and, as head of the general staff, is responsible for planning. However, the army commander exercises direct operational control of the Bundesheer in both peacetime and wartime.

Article 79 of the constitution, as amended in 1985, states that the army is entrusted with the military defense of the country. Insofar as the legally constituted civil authority requests its cooperation, the army is further charged with protecting constitutional institutions and their capacity to act, as well as the democratic freedoms of the inhabitants; maintaining order and security in the interior; and rendering aid in disasters and mishaps of extraordinary scope. In administering the armed forces, the Ministry for National Defense is organized into four principal sections and the inspectorate general: Section I deals with legal and legislative matters; Section II handles personnel and recruitment matters, including discipline and grievances; Section III is concerned with troop command, schools, and other facilities, and it also comprises departments G-1 through G-5 as well as a separate department for air operations; and Section IV deals with procurement and supply, quartermaster matters, armaments, and ordnance (see fig. 12).

The general troop inspectorate is a separate section of the ministry with responsibility for coordination and fulfillment of the missions of the armed forces. It encompasses a general staff department, an attaché department, and planning and inspection groups.

The armed forces consist solely of the army, of which the air force is considered a constituent part. As of 1993, the total active complement of the armed forces was 52,000, of whom 20,000 to 30,000 were conscripts undergoing training of six to eight months. The army had 46,000 personnel on active duty (including an estimated 19,500 conscripts), and the air force had 6,000 personnel (2,400 conscripts).

Army

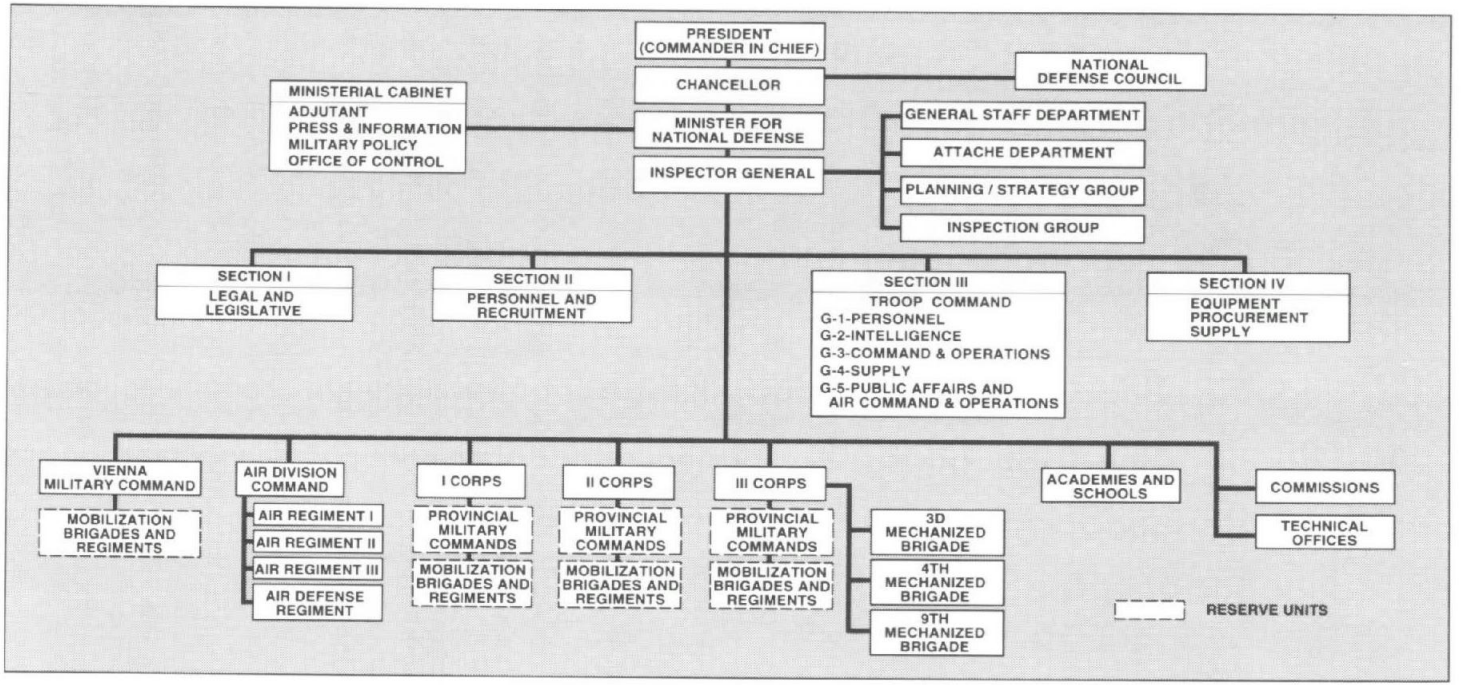
Under the area defense strategy, which had determined the army's organizational structure until 1993, the army was divided into three principal elements: the standing alert force (Bereitschaftstruppe) of active units, including the air division; the mobile militia (Mobile Landwehr), organized as eight mechanized reserve brigades to be deployed to key danger spots in the event of mobilization; and the stationary militia (Raumgebundene Landwehr) of twenty-six reserve infantry regiments organized for territorial defense. Both the mobile militia and the stationary militia were brought up to strength only in times of mobilization or during periods allotted for refresher training, usually three weeks in June. Training of conscripts was conducted by twenty-eight training and equipment-holding regiments (*Landwehrstammregimenten*). On mobilization, these regiments would disband, with their cadre reassigned to lead reserve units or form replacement regiments and battalions.

At the army level were a headquarters, guard, and special forces battalions and an artillery battalion at cadre strength. Two corps headquarters, one in the east at Graz and one in the west at Salzburg, would, on mobilization, command the provincially organized units in their respective zones. Each corps included artillery, antitank, antiaircraft, and engineering battalions and a logistics regiment, all on a cadre basis.

Each of the nine provincial military commands supervised the training and maintenance activities of its training and equipment-holding regiments. On mobilization, these nine commands would convert to a divisional headquarters commanding mobile militia, stationary militia, and other independent units.

The only active units immediately available in an emergency were those of the standing alert force of some 15,000 career soldiers supplemented by conscripts. The force was organized as a mechanized division consisting of three armored infantry brigades. Each brigade was composed of one tank battalion, one mechanized infantry battalion, and one self-propelled artillery battalion. Two of the brigades had antitank battalions equipped with self-propelled weapons. The divisional headquarters was at Baden near Vienna; the three brigades were based in separate locations, also in the northeast of the country.

The New Army Structure—the reorganization plan announced in late 1991 and scheduled to be in place sometime in 1995—replaces the previous two-corps structure with one of three corps. The new corps is headquartered at Baden, with responsibility for the two northeastern provinces of Lower Austria and Upper Austria



Source: Based on information from *Jane's Defence Weekly* [London], 17, No. 4, January 25, 1992, 117–24.

Figure 12. Organization of National Defense, Planned 1995

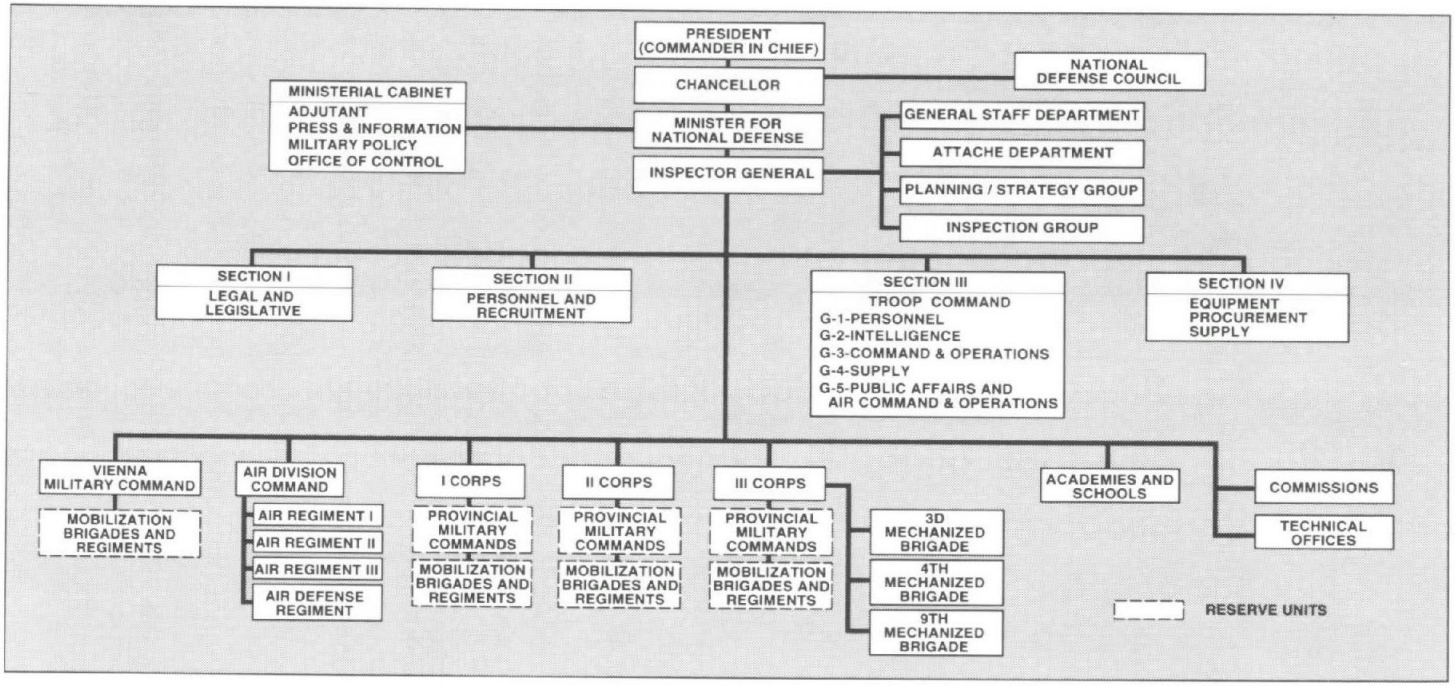
(see fig. 13). Army headquarters will be eliminated, as will the divisional structure for the three standing brigades. The three corps—in effect, regional commands—will be directly subordinate to the general troop inspector. The three mechanized brigades will be placed directly under the new Third Corps at Baden, although in the future one brigade may be assigned to each of the three corps. The mobile militia will be reduced from eight to six mechanized brigades. Each of the nine provincial commands will have at least one militia regiment of two to six battalions as well as local defense companies.

Total personnel strength—both standing forces and reserves—is to be materially contracted under the new plan. The fully mobilized army will decline in strength from 200,000 to 120,000. The standing alert force will be reduced from 15,000 to 10,000. Reaction time is to be radically shortened so that part of the standing alert force can be deployed within hours to a crisis zone (for example, one adjacent to the border with Slovenia). A task force ready for immediate deployment will be maintained by one of the mechanized brigades on a rotational basis. Separate militia training companies to which all conscripts are assigned will be dismantled; in the future, conscripts will undergo basic training within their mobilization companies. Conscripts in the final stages of their training could supplement the standing forces by being poised for operational deployment at short notice.

Personnel, Conscription, Training, and Reserves

Until 1971 Austrian males were obligated to serve nine months in the armed forces, followed by four days of active service every two years for training and inspection. In 1971 the period of initial service was reduced to six months, followed by a total of sixty days of refresher training in the reserves. In the early 1990s, about 45,000 conscripts completed their initial military training every year, and 80,000 reservists participated in some form of exercises each year.

Reducing the mobilization strength of the army to 120,000 under the New Army Structure plan is to be accomplished in part by limiting initial training of recruits to six months, followed by reducing the period allotted for refresher training from twenty years to ten years. Each reservist is to receive training over a twelve-day period every second year during his first ten years of reserve duty, generally not extending beyond the time he reaches his mid-thirties. The reduced need for conscripts corresponds to a lower pool of young men because of a declining birth rate. The existing availability of about 40,000 fit trainees annually as of 1993 is expected to fall to barely 30,000 by the year 2000 and to 26,000 by 2015.



Source: Based on information from *Jane's Defence Weekly* [London], 17, No. 4, January 25, 1992, 117-24.

Figure 13. Major Military Installations, Planned 1995

Conscripts can choose to serve seven months instead of six, and they have a shorter reserve obligation. Some may serve their full obligation of eight months at one time and have no reserve obligations, but this may occur only at the army's discretion. Under a 1974 law, conscientious objectors can be assigned work as farm laborers, medical orderlies, or other occupations in lieu of military service. Exemptions from service are liberally granted—in 1992 about 12,000 persons were exempted, a great increase over the 1991 total of 4,500. The increase occurred after a new law, valid only for 1992 and 1993, no longer required young men to present their objections to the military in a credible way. Previously, that had not been the case. In 1990, for example, two young men rejected by the alternate service commission on the grounds that they did not present their beliefs in a credible manner were sentenced to prison terms of three months and one month, respectively.

Conscripts usually attain the rank of private first class by the completion of initial training. Those with leadership potential may serve a longer period to obtain noncommissioned officer (NCO) status in the militia. Those volunteering for the career service can, after three to four years, apply to attend the NCO academy and later a senior NCO course to qualify as warrant officers. Both regular and militia officer candidates undergo a one-year program of basic training. After a further three years, regular officer candidates attending the military academy at Wiener Neustadt and militia officer candidates undergoing periodic intensified refresher training qualify as second lieutenants. The reserve obligation of conscripts generally ends by the time they reach their mid-thirties; NCOs and officers usually end their reserve status at a later age depending on their rank and specialization. By the early 1990s, some 1.3 million men had completed their initial service and refresher training obligations and had no further active-duty commitment.

The military personnel system is an integral part of a comprehensive civil service system. The nine officer ranks from officer candidate through general correspond to grades I through IX of the civil service system. The highest grade, IX, may be occupied by a section chief (undersecretary), a career ambassador, or a three-star general. A grade VIII position may be held by a departmental counselor, a career minister, or a brigadier general. Salary levels are the same for both civil and military personnel in the equivalent grades, although various allowances may be added, such as flight pay or hazardous-duty pay.

Promotion is not based solely on merit but on position attained, level of education, and seniority. Officers with advanced degrees (for which study at the National Defense Academy qualifies) can

expect to attain grade VIII before reaching the retirement age of sixty to sixty-five. Those with a baccalaureate degree can expect to reach grade VII (colonel), and those without university training will retire as captains or majors. Career NCOs form part of the same comprehensive personnel structure. It is common for NCOs to transfer at some stage in their careers to civilian status at the equivalent grade, either in the Ministry for National Defense or in the police or prison services after further training.

The system of promotion in the Austrian military, which offers no incentive for early retirement, means that the military is top-heavy with senior officers. The New Army Structure, which is intended to result in many fewer active-duty and reserve commands, compounds the difficulty. Personnel changes can be implemented only gradually, as the surplus of officers shrinks by attrition. As of 1991, the army had four officers of general rank, fifty-nine at the rank of brigadier general (one star), 155 colonels, and 254 lieutenant colonels. The education of career officers is conducted at the Maria Theresa Military Academy at Wiener Neustadt, thirty kilometers south of Vienna, which was founded in 1752. Young men who have completed their university entrance requirements are eligible to compete for places. The three-year course graduated 212 students in 1990. At the National Defense Academy in Vienna, which has a curriculum comparable to those of the National Defense University and the Army War College in the United States, operational and troop commanders of field-grade rank study for three years in preparation for general staff and command positions. The NCO school is located at Enns near Linz. Troop schools provide continuous specialized courses for officers and NCOs in artillery, air defense, armor, combat engineering, communications, and the like.

Women have never been accepted for service in the Austrian armed forces. In a public opinion survey in 1988, about 66 percent of those polled approved of opening the military to voluntary service by women; only 9 percent favored obligatory service. Although consideration had been given to opening certain specialties to female volunteers, the question is apparently in abeyance in an army already facing retrenchment.

According to data published by the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Austria had 5.6 persons in uniform in 1991 per 1,000 population. Two other neutral countries of Europe, Sweden and Switzerland, with populations comparable to that of Austria, had 7.3 and 3.2 persons in the standing military, respectively, per 1,000 population. However, the mobilization strengths of both countries were far higher than that of Austria: 700,000 for Sweden, and 625,000 for Switzerland.

Army Equipment

The principal armored weapons in 1993 were 169 M-60 main battle tanks of United States manufacture in service with the tank battalions of the three readiness brigades. Beginning in 1986, the M-60s were upgraded to A3 standard by the installation of new engines, fire-control systems with laser-range finders, and a stabilization system. The modernization was carried out by the Austrian firm of Steyr-Daimler-Puch, often referred to as Steyr. A light tank, the Kürassier SK-105, was developed by Steyr in the late 1960s. It carries a French-made 105mm gun that has been modified to fire more powerful fin-stabilized ammunition. The SK-105 serves in effect as an armored tank destroyer. The army's armored personnel carrier (APC) is the Saurer 4K-4E/F, an early version of a Steyr design that has been exported to a number of countries. Considered obsolete, the Saurer is expected to be replaced by a newly developed Steyr APC in the late 1990s.

The most modern artillery weapons are fifty-four 155mm self-propelled howitzers purchased from the United States in 1988. The army is planning to upgrade all fifty-four to A5 standards, and it has placed an order to purchase twenty-four additional howitzers. The remaining guns in the artillery inventory are forty-year-old towed 105mm and 155mm howitzers, considered to be obsolete in terms of range and accuracy. A 130mm truck-mounted rocket launcher of Czechoslovak manufacture, in the inventory since the 1960s, is of limited range and rate of fire.

Austria relies heavily on fixed artillery installations for defense of key points. In addition to twenty-four SFK 155mm guns in "fortress" configuration, Austria purchased 200 obsolete Centurion tanks from the Netherlands and converted their turrets into fixed-gun emplacements.

The army's most serious shortcomings are in air defense and antitank weaponry. Without improved protection against enemy tactical aircraft and attack helicopters, Austrian armored units are highly vulnerable. The primary air defense weapon is the 40mm self-propelled antiaircraft gun. A radar-directed 35mm system, with limited mobility and range, is used principally for static defense. Optically sighted 20mm guns, some mounted on all-terrain vehicles, are the only form of air defense for infantry forces but give little protection against modern combat aircraft. Austria is evaluating various low-level air defense missile systems with the intention of purchasing one battery of twelve launchers for each brigade beginning about 1994.

The announcement in 1989 that Austria considered the State Treaty limitation on short-range defensive missiles outdated and void has cleared the way for the army to acquire its first antitank missile system to replace obsolete guns, recoilless rifles, and rocket launchers. After trials of several weapons, Austria purchased the Bofors RBS-56 BILL, a man-portable system, from Sweden. The army is reportedly also considering purchase of either the United States TOW (tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided) or the French HOT (high-subsonic, optically guided, tube-launched) system as longer-range antitank missiles to be mounted on a wheeled armored vehicle. As many as 200 systems are expected to be purchased initially, enough for twelve launchers for each mechanized or infantry brigade.

Air Force

Austria's air force (Fliegerdivision) is headquartered at Tulln-Langenlebarn Air Base twenty-five kilometers northwest of Vienna. The air force has as its missions the defense of Austrian air space, tactical support of Austrian ground forces, reconnaissance and military transport, and search-and-rescue support when requested by civil authorities.

Until 1985, when the first of twenty-four Saab J-350e Drakens were delivered, the country had remained essentially without the capacity to contest violations of its airspace. The Drakens, reconditioned after having served the Swedish air force since the early 1960s, are armed only with a cannon, in accordance with the restrictions on missiles in the State Treaty of 1955. However, following Austria's revised interpretation of its obligations under the treaty, a decision was made in 1993 to procure Sidewinder air-to-air missiles. The first of these missiles will be purchased used from the Swedish air force. A higher performance model of the Sidewinder will be purchased directly from the United States; deliveries may begin in 1995. French Mistral surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) were purchased to add ground-based protection against air attack. The first of the French missiles arrived in Austria in 1993; deliveries are to be concluded in 1996.

Phaseout of the Drakens is scheduled to begin about 1995, and studies are under way to select a replacement, probably one that can be configured for both air defense and ground support missions. Possible replacements for the Draken are the United States F-16 and F-18. In addition to the two squadrons of Drakens, the air force has thirty-one Saab 105Oe fighters available for reconnaissance and close air support of ground troops; however, eight Saabs, borrowed from the combat squadrons, are regularly employed as

Over rugged, snowy terrain, horses still provide mobility. An officer briefs two noncommissioned officers on the next phase of a tactical field problem.
Courtesy United States Department of Defense

jet conversion trainers. Acquired in 1970–72 after service in the Swedish air force, the subsonic Saabs are of limited value in a combat role. The helicopter fleet includes Agusta-Bell (AB) 204s (mainly medical evacuation), AB-206s (training and liaison), and AB-212s (used by air-mobile troops and for light transport). French Alouettes are available for search-and-rescue tasks, including high mountain operations. The Bell OH-58 Kiowa, a scout helicopter, is mounted with a rapid-firing machine gun, but the air force lacks a true attack helicopter. Most of the helicopters, except the AB-212s, are becoming obsolete (see table 16, Appendix).

The air transport fleet is seriously deficient, a fact underscored by its inability to support the armed forces in their UN peacekeeping and humanitarian activities. The air force has at its disposal two Short Skyvans and twelve Pilatus PC-6s that can handle only light cargoes. Among air force priorities—unfulfilled because of budgetary constraints—is the procurement of three to six medium-transport aircraft.

The air force is organized into a division of three flying regiments and one radar (air defense) regiment. Air Regiment I at Tulln-Langenlebarn consists of the light transport squadron plus one helicopter wing of AB-206s and OH-58s. Air Regiment II at Graz-Thalerhof, Aigen in Ennstal, and Zeltweg consists of the air interceptor wing of Drakens and a wing of two Alouette helicopter squadrons. Air Regiment III at Linz-Hörsching consists of the fighter-bomber wing of Saab 105Oes and a helicopter wing of AB-204s and AB-212s. An air defense battalion equipped with 20mm and 35mm antiaircraft guns and a variety of radar systems is attached to each air regiment.

The Central Flying School at Zeltweg is equipped with Saab 91D Safirs and Saab 105Oes, while transport pilots train on PC-7s. Austrian pilots are sent to northern Sweden for training in operation of the Drakens.

Uniforms, Ranks, and Insignia

The service and dress uniform of the Austrian army is gray; for formal occasions, a white uniform may be worn. The air force uniform is identical, with the addition of wings worn on the right jacket breast—gold for officers and silver for enlisted personnel. Branches of service are identified by beret colors: scarlet for artillery; green for infantry; black for armor; cherry for air force; and dark blue for quartermaster. Insignia of rank are worn on the jacket lapel of the dress uniform (silver stars on a green or gold shield) and on the epaulets of the field uniform (silver or gold stars on a gray field).

Of the eight enlisted ranks, only a sergeant (Wachtmeister) or above is considered an NCO. There are two warrant officer ranks—Offiziersstellvertreter and Vizeleutnant. The lowest commissioned rank of officer candidate (Fähnrich)—is held by cadets at the military academy and by reserve officers in training for the rank of second lieutenant. To maintain conformity with grade levels in the civil service, there are only two ranks of general in the personnel system—brigadier general (one star) and lieutenant general (three stars). However, the ranks of major general (two stars) and full general (equivalent to four stars) are accorded to officers holding particular military commands (see fig. 14).

Military Justice

Sections 533 to 684 of the national criminal code deal with military offenses; there is no separate military code of justice, and there is no legal (judge advocate) organization in the armed forces. All actions in serious criminal cases involving military personnel, except those related to breaches of military discipline, are remanded to civil courts. The same holds true in wartime, although specific courts would be designated for military cases. Although no military person can be tried twice on the same charge, he can appear before an all-military disciplinary commission to be judged on purely military aspects of a crime.

For example, if a military person is accused of murder on an army base, military authorities notify the civil police, and the accused is taken into civil custody and tried before a civil court. The investigation, court, judges, and legal personnel are the same as those involved had the incident occurred among civilians. If the court finds the defendant guilty, it may sentence him to life imprisonment. The defendant is then called before a military disciplinary commission made up of military personnel. Commission members include, among others, servicemen of the same rank and from the same branch as the accused. The commission does not reconsider evidence relating to the crime, but it divests the defendant of his military rank, dishonorably discharges him from the service, and forfeits his pay and allowances up to the time of the action. Disciplinary commissions at the level of the Ministry for National Defense have professional lawyers on, or acting as advisers to, the commission; those at lower organizational levels ordinarily do not.

Unit discipline complies with accepted practice in nearly all armed forces. Infractions of the code of military discipline (military-specific offenses such as absence without leave or insubordination) are taken care of by company commanders if the appropriate punishment

OFFICERS

AUSTRIAN RANK	LEUTNANT	OBER-LEUTNANT	HAUPTMANN	MAJOR	OBERST-LEUTNANT	OBERST	BRIGADIER	DIVISIONÄR	KORPS-KOMMANDANT	GENERAL
ARMY										
U.S. RANK TITLE	2D LIEUTENANT	1ST LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER GENERAL	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL

ENLISTED PERSONNEL

AUSTRIAN RANK	JÄGER	GEFREITER		KORPORAL	ZUGSFÜHRER	WACHTMEISTER	OBER-WACHTMEISTER	STABS-WACHTMEISTER	OBERSTABS-WACHTMEISTER	OFFIZIERSSTELL-VERTRETER	VIZELEUTNANT
ARMY											
U.S. RANK TITLE	BASIC PRIVATE	PRIVATE	PRIVATE 1ST CLASS	CORPORAL / SPECIALIST		SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	SERGEANT 1ST CLASS	MASTER SERGEANT/ FIRST SERGEANT		SERGEANT MAJOR/ COMMAND SERGEANT MAJOR

NOTE - Officer insignia have gold piping; enlisted insignia have silver piping.

Figure 14. Military Ranks and Insignia, 1993

is a reprimand, extra duty, confinement to quarters, or the like. Battalion and brigade commanders can hand down somewhat more severe punishments, such as reduction in grade or confinement to base guardhouses for short periods.

The Defense Budget

Austrians traditionally have been reluctant to allocate significant sums for improving the nation's defense. This attitude, combined with a sluggish economy and uncertainties over the shape of the armed forces in the post-Cold War era, has forced the military to postpone equipment acquisitions and to accept compromises in performance levels, operational readiness, and maintenance standards.

Set at S18.3 billion (for value of the schilling—see Glossary) in 1992, and climbing to S19.0 billion in 1993, the defense budget was higher than in 1989 (S17.2 billion) and 1990 (S17.5 billion) but was roughly the same in terms of real growth. Having reached a peak in 1986, the defense budget declined between 1987 and 1989 to level off at approximately the 1982 spending rate in real terms.

The government expects to maintain a relatively constant defense budget during the remainder of the 1990s. However, anticipated lower expenditures on personnel will permit some expansion in equipment procurement and improvement of facilities and infrastructure. In 1986 personnel costs absorbed 51 percent of the budget; operations, 32 percent; and investment, 17 percent. A downward trend in the investment budget has since been reversed. In 1992 new procurements were expected to reach S6.5 billion, or more than one-third of the entire budget. Part of these funds was to be allocated to renovating housing and barracks, much of which dates from the occupation period after World War II. Some S1.3 billion was earmarked for SAMs and air-to-air missiles.

Austria's defense spending as a proportion of the gross national product (GNP—Glossary) is the lowest in Europe, except for Luxembourg. During the 1981–91 decade, annual defense outlays were in the range of 1.0 to 1.3 percent of GNP, with the lowest percentage occurring recorded in 1991. Sweden and Switzerland, neutral countries often compared with Austria, had defense spending in 1991 that amounted to 2.8 and 1.9 percent of GNP, respectively. The Austrian defense budget in 1991 was 2.9 percent of total central government expenditure. The corresponding levels for Sweden and Switzerland were 6.4 and 19.4 percent, respectively. Military expenditures per capita amounted to US$213 in Austria in 1991, compared with US$751 in Sweden and US$667 in Switzerland in the same year. In defending the level of defense spending,

an Austrian defense minister asserted that although it was not generous, it was sufficient to achieve high standards for the ground forces, although air defense remained inadequate. He rejected the comparison with Switzerland, because the Swiss have adopted the more ambitious goal of the absolute capability of defending their country against attack from any source.

Domestic and Foreign Sources of Military Equipment

Austria-Hungary was one of the world's major manufacturers of arms. The Skoda company in Bohemia was the largest single arms producer, fully meeting the empire's requirements with considerable output available for export. Under the Second Republic, from 1945 to the present, the largely privately owned firm of Steyr-Daimler-Puch has accounted for the bulk of Austria's production. Its manufacturing facilities are divided among three divisions. The first, Steyr-Mannlicher, produces small arms, notably the 5.56mm assault rifle, the standard weapon for both readiness and militia forces and a popular export item to military and police forces in many countries of the world. It is also available in carbine and light machine gun versions. The second, Steyr-Allradtechnik in Graz, is a producer of all-wheel-drive vehicles and trucks. The third Steyr division, Spezialfahrzeuge AG, has developed the Austrian Spanish Cooperative Development (ASCOD) family of mechanized infantry combat vehicles in conjunction with a Spanish firm. The basic version is equipped with a 30mm machine gun and carries eight infantry soldiers in addition to a three-man crew. The firm has also designed the Pandur armored vehicle for the Austrian army as an antitank-missile-launcher platform.

Noricum, previously a subsidiary of the state-owned United Austrian Iron and Steel Works (Vereinigte Österreichische Eisen- und Stahlwerke—VÖEST; commonly known as VÖEST-Alpine), manufactures artillery ordnance as well as the GHN-45 155mm gun. In 1991 fourteen defendants, including leading executives of Noricum and VÖEST-Alpine, were sentenced to prison terms for violating Austrian neutrality laws by selling 200 GHN-45 howitzers and large quantities of munitions to Iran during the Iran-Iraq War of 1980–88. Noricum is also reported to have marketed the guns illegally to Iraq. Noricum and Hirtenberger Patronenfabrik, another state-owned company implicated in the transactions, were later sold to the private firm of Emmerich Assmann, ending the government's involvement in arms manufacture.

The Austrian armaments industry is heavily dependent on export markets because the requirements of the country's forces are limited, and domestic procurement is open to competition from

foreign suppliers. Production has to be set at far higher levels than can be absorbed domestically in order for manufacture to be economically feasible. Shrinking world demand and mounting sophistication of weaponry impose serious pressures on the industry. The United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has estimated that during the 1981–91 period, arms exports peaked in 1981 at US$430 million. They declined minimally until 1987, when they dropped sharply to US$60 million and later declined further to US$10 million. In only one year, 1981, did arms exports amount to as much as 2 percent of total exports. In 1987 and 1988, they amounted to 0.2 percent of total exports and to even less in the next three years.

During the first years after its formation in 1955, the Austrian army depended heavily on the United States for light weapons, trucks, uniforms, and even helmets, with some additional equipment transferred from the former British occupation forces as well. The first aircraft were older Soviet models. The army was initially supplied with American M-24 light tanks, which were replaced by the M-47. Since the 1970s, the main battle tank has been the M-60, which Steyr modernized to the A3 standard beginning in 1986, using engines and other equipment from the United States. Austria also made a major purchase of self-propelled howitzers from the United States. Nevertheless, the importance of the United States as an arms supplier declined in the 1980s. During the 1985–89 period, estimates suggested that Austria imported military equipment valued at US$240 million. The United States was the source of US$70 million worth of equipment, and Western Europe accounted for US$160 million worth of equipment. Very little came from France and Britain, and restrictions in the State Treaty precluded arms imports from Germany. Sweden—the primary source of aircraft and missiles—was believed to be the predominant supplier. Austria's purchases of Saab and Draken fighters from Sweden were largely offset by Swedish orders for Austrian munitions.

Internal Security

Respect for the law and devotion to social tranquillity are engrained in the Austrian character. Domestic groups committed to violence or terrorism play no significant political role. No major strikes, unruly demonstrations, or public unrest have threatened the stability of the Second Republic. Because of a high standard of living and minimal unemployment, crime remains relatively low. Assaults and other crimes involving violence are particularly uncommon, although crimes against property have risen more than

10 percent in some years. Law enforcement agencies are efficient and are regarded with respect. Since the late 1980s, however, instances of mistreatment of arrested persons and improper activities of the organs of security have made necessary measures to restore the public's confidence in the police.

Austria has been the country of first asylum for 2 million refugees from Eastern Europe since the end of World War II. Austria's hospitality toward refugees underwent a change in the early 1990s as political refugees were outnumbered by economically motivated immigrants seeking work. Feeling it necessary to stem the flow, Austrian authorities tightened entry requirements and reinforced regular border guards with armed forces, mainly to prevent illegal Romanian immigrants from entering the country through Hungary. Beginning in mid-1991, thousands of Yugoslavs were allowed into Austria as a result of civil war in their country, although more than 100,000 were turned back at the point of entry. As of May 1993, about 65,000 refugees had been admitted from the former Yugoslavia.

Austria is a frequent setting for international negotiation and conciliation, and individuals representing a wide spectrum of beliefs are permitted to carry out political activities without interference within its borders. In addition to being the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Vienna is the site of major East-West negotiations. Austria has traditionally maintained good relations with many Middle Eastern states, and various Arab groups are allowed to operate freely in Austrian territory.

There is perhaps a price to be paid for this tolerance, however. Several terrorist incidents have been linked to situations in the Middle East, one of the worst occurring at an OPEC meeting in Vienna in 1975 when three men were killed, many were wounded, and thirty-three hostages were taken from among the Arab leaders attending. Attacks against Jewish targets in 1981 and among passengers awaiting a flight on El Al, the Israeli airline, at the Vienna airport in 1975 led to the imprisonment of several Arab terrorists. In 1987 the former Libyan ambassador to Austria, who was an opponent of Muammar al Qadhafi's regime in Libya, was wounded in an assassination attempt. In 1989 three Kurdish activists, including the leader of the Iranian Kurdish Democratic Party, were assassinated during a meeting with three Iranian officials. Criticism was leveled against Austrian authorities for their failure to curb the activities of the Libyan and Iranian diplomatic missions, whose personnel were implicated in the attacks.

An Austrian-manned United Nations checkpoint on the Golan Heights
Courtesy United States Department of Defense

Prior to the adoption of an autonomy agreement in 1969, agitation among German-speaking residents of South Tirol (in the region of Trentino-Alto Adige) for its return to Austrian control from Italy was accompanied by a campaign of terrorist bombings. In 1967 army units were moved to the border area to support the Gendarmerie and border police in preventing Austrian territory from being used as a sanctuary and source of explosives. Terrorist incidents dropped off sharply thereafter, although, after an unsuccessful attempt to derail a train in 1988, a South Tirolean was sentenced by an Austrian court to a five-and-one-half-year prison term (see Regional Issues, ch. 4).

According to public opinion surveys, anti-Semitism continues to exist in Austria to some extent, and some Austrians remain pro-Nazi (see Attitudes Toward Minorities, ch. 2). Although freedom of assembly and association are provided for in the constitution, the State Treaty of 1955 and previous legislation made an exception in the case of Nazi organizations and activities. In early 1992, the security authorities cracked down on the neo-Nazi network after one group, the Trenck Military Sports Group, was found to have handguns and automatic weapons and to engage in paramilitary training. Police intelligence discovered that the groups had

received funds and propaganda material from the United States and Canada. Moreover, thousands of names of sympathizers had reportedly been found in the files of Gottfried Küssel, a central figure in the neo-Nazi movement.

Penal Codes

Early criminal codes merely listed crimes—their definitions were considered self-evident or unnecessary—and provided for the extreme punishments characteristic of the Middle Ages. The codes did not presume to list all possible crimes, and a judge was authorized to determine the criminality of other acts and to fix sentences at his discretion. The first unified crime code was enacted in 1768, during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa. Investigation, prosecution, and defense were all in the hands of a judge. The code contained illustrated directions for the application of "painful interrogation"; that is, torture, if the judge entertained suspicions regarding a defendant. Torture was outlawed a few years later, however. The Josephine Code of 1787, enacted by Joseph II, declared that there was "no crime without a law"; thus, an act not defined as a crime was not a crime. Although it was a humanitarian document, the code had shortcomings that were remedied to a considerable extent by the codes of 1803 and 1852. A modern code of criminal procedure adopted in 1873 provided that ordinary court proceedings had to be oral and open. Capital punishment, which was prohibited for a time after 1783, was reinstituted and remained a possible punishment until 1950. Imprisonment in chains and corporal punishment were abolished in the mid-1800s.

The Austrian criminal code and code of criminal procedure were riddled with Nazi amendments between 1938 and 1945 after the Anschluss, but each code was restored to its 1938 status when the country regained independence. Revisions of the criminal code in the mid-1960s, based on ten years of work by a legal commission, give strong emphasis to the principle of government by law and allow unusual latitude in determining appropriate punishment and its implementation. Austria attempts to distinguish among lawbreakers whose crimes are committed on impulse, those who are susceptible to rehabilitation, and those who are addicted to crime and are incorrigible. Further reforms of the criminal code in 1974 emphasized the importance of avoiding jail sentences whenever possible because of the potentially antisocial effects of even a short prison term. Vagrancy, begging, and prostitution are specifically decriminalized. In large communities, prostitution is regulated by health authorities, and prostitutes and brothels are registered. Individual local jurisdictions retain the authority to prohibit prostitution,

however. Provisions in the 1974 law modified the punishment for business theft and shoplifting and restricted the definitions of riotous assembly and insurrection.

Criminal Court Proceedings

Persons suspected of committing a crime can be held in investigative or pretrial detention for no more than forty-eight hours. Persons held on charges of "aggressive behavior" can be held for up to seven days before appearing before a magistrate. With the agreement of a magistrate, an accused may be held for up to a maximum of two years pending completion of an investigation. Domestic critics of the provisions concerning pretrial detention have pointed out that of those detained in Vienna, only 57 percent were eventually found guilty of crimes justifying prison sentences. The basis for investigative detention is set forth in law, as are conditions for release on bail.

Criminal offenses are categorized either as crimes—those cases in which the possible sentence is from three years to life imprisonment—or misdemeanors, covering all other cases. Misdemeanor cases for which the jail sentence cannot exceed six months are heard by one judge in district courts. Cases where the possible sentence is no more than three years (five years for burglaries) are heard in courts of first instance before one judge; if the punishment is in excess of three years, the case is heard before two judges and two lay assessors. Assize courts consist of three judges and eight lay assessors and hear cases where the potential sentence is of five years to life imprisonment. They also rule on such special crimes as high treason.

Members of the judiciary are appointed for life and are independent of the other branches of government. Trials are open to the public. The accused are provided with a written statement of the charges against them and have the right to be represented by counsel.

Police

The earliest urban police force was Vienna's City Guard of 1569, consisting of 150 men. By the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), the City Guard consisted of 1,000 men organized as a regiment, individual companies of which took part in military campaigns. The soldiers of the guard were subject to the authority of the Imperial War Council, and the city was required to pay for their services. In 1646 the city set up its own Public Order Watch; serious frictions between the two bodies resulted in their replacement by a new service under a commissioner of police in 1776.

Its personnel were still made up of soldiers, either volunteers or assigned, but they failed to meet the city's needs because of a lack of training and continuity of service. Police functions were organized in a similar form in other large cities of the empire. It was not until a series of reforms between 1850 and 1869 that military influence over the police force was finally ended with the introduction of an independent command structure, a permanent corps of police professionals, training of officers in police skills, and distinctive uniforms and symbols of rank.

The Gendarmerie was created by Emperor Franz Joseph I in 1850 after the disorder and looting that accompanied the uprising of 1848. Initially composed of eighteen regiments and part of the army, its operational command was transferred to the Ministry for Interior in 1860 and wholly severed from the armed forces in 1867. Nevertheless, training, uniforms, ranks, and even pay remained patterned after the army. A special Alpine branch was formed in 1906, mainly to protect the part of Tirol that bordered Italy. Alpine rescue operations and border patrols have remained an important Gendarmerie function.

As of 1993, the more important law enforcement and security agencies were organized under the General Directorate for Public Security of the federal Ministry for Interior. The directorate is divided into five units: the Federal Police; the Gendarmerie central command; the State Police (secret service); the Criminal Investigation Service; and the Administrative Police. Security directorates in each of the nine provinces are also under supervision of the General Directorate for Public Security. Each of these is organized into a headquarters division, a state police division, a criminal investigation division, and an administrative police division.

Contingents of the Federal Police (Bundespolizei) are stationed in Vienna and thirteen of the larger cities. As of 1990, approximately one-third of the population of Austria lived in areas receiving Federal Police protection. The Gendarmerie accounts for nearly all of the remaining areas. A few small Austrian localities still have their own police forces separate from the Federal Police or the Gendarmerie. The Federal Police are responsible for maintaining peace, order, and security; controlling weapons and explosives; protecting constitutional rights of free expression and assembly; controlling traffic; enforcing environmental and commercial regulations; enforcing building safety and fire prevention rules; policing public events; and preventing crime. A mobile commando group is organized in each city directorate, in addition to a four-platoon "alarm group" in Vienna and a special force to maintain security

at the international airport. In early 1992, it was announced that 150 officials would be assigned to special units reporting directly to the Ministry for Interior to fight organized crime.

As of 1990, the Federal Police had a personnel complement of 10,000 in the regular uniformed service (Sicherheitswache—Security Watch) and 2,400 plainclothes police in the Criminal Investigation Service. Federal Police contingents are armed with Glock 17 9mm pistol and truncheons. These can be supplemented with the standard army weapon, the Steyr 5.56mm automatic rifle, as well as various kinds of riot-control equipment. A separate women's police corps serves in the cities, principally to oversee school crossings and to assist with traffic control. As of 1990, about twenty-four women served in the Gendarmerie and sixty-six in the Federal Police, mostly to deal with cases involving women, youth, and children.

The secret service branch of the Federal Police, the State Police (Staatspolizei; commonly known as Stapo) specializes in counterterrorism and counterintelligence. It also pursues right-wing extremism, drug trafficking, illicit arms dealing, and illegal technology transfers. It performs security investigations for other government agencies and is responsible for measures to protect national leaders and prominent visiting officials. Members of the State Police are chosen from volunteers who have served for at least three years in one of the other security agencies.

Numbering 11,600 in 1990, the Gendarmerie has responsibilities similar to the Federal Police but operates in rural areas and in towns without a contingent of Federal Police or local police. There is one member of the Gendarmerie for each 397 inhabitants in the areas subject to its jurisdiction and one member of the Federal Police for each 316 residents in the cities it patrols.

The Gendarmerie is organized into eight provincial commands (every province, except Vienna), ninety district commands, and 1,077 posts. A post can have from as few as three to as many as thirty gendarmes; most have fewer than ten. The provincial headquarters is composed of a staff department, criminal investigation department, training department, and area departments comprising two or three district commands. Basic Gendarmerie training is the responsibility of the individual provincial commands, each of which has a school for new recruits. Leadership and specialized courses are given at the central Gendarmerie school in Mödling near Vienna. The basic course for NCOs is one year; that for Gendarmerie officers lasts two years.

The Gendarmerie has its own commando unit, nicknamed *Kobra,* as do the separate provincial commands employing gendarmes with

previous experience in *Kobra*. Alpine posts and high Alpine posts are served by 750 Gendarmerie Alpinists and guides. In 1988 more than 1,300 rescue missions were conducted, many with the aid of Agusta-Bell helicopters in the Gendarmerie inventory. Members of the Gendarmerie are armed with 9mm Browning-type semiautomatic pistols. They also have available American M-1 carbines and Uzi machine pistols.

The Administrative Police, in addition to maintaining the bulk of routine police records and statistics, work on import-export violations, illegal shipments of such items as firearms and pornographic materials, and alien and refugee affairs. Customs officials are ordinarily in uniform; other Administrative Police dress according to the needs of their assignments.

The late 1980s witnessed a growing incidence of complaints alleging police misconduct and unnecessary use of force. The minister for interior reported that there had been 2,622 allegations of ill-treatment by the police between 1984 and 1989, of which 1,142 resulted in criminal complaints leading to thirty-three convictions against police officers. In addition, 120 disciplinary investigations were carried out, and disciplinary measures were taken against twenty-six police officers. However, victims of police misbehavior were liable to be deterred from pressing their complaints because of the risk of being charged with slander by the accused officers. A new police law that went into effect in May 1993 stipulates more clearly the limitations on police conduct and imposes restrictions on holding persons on charges of aggressive behavior without an appearance before a magistrate. In addition, leaflets are to be given to detained or arrested persons setting out their rights, including the right to call a lawyer and to have their own doctors if medical examinations are required.

In 1990 it was disclosed that the State Police had extensively monitored the activities of private citizens without sufficient justification. Security checks had been carried out for private companies on request. Of some 11,000 citizens who inquired whether they had been monitored, some 20 percent were found to have State Police files. These actions appeared to be in violation of laws protecting personal data collected by the government, public institutions, and private entities, as well as constitutional protection of the secrecy of the mail and telephone. These revelations gave rise to a restructuring of the State Police, including the reduction of its staff from 800 to 440. The new police law that came into effect in 1993 also introduces parliamentary control over the State Police and the military secret police, with oversight to be exercised by separate parliamentary subcommittees.

Incidence of Crime

The Austrian police recorded 400,000 cases of criminal conduct during 1988; some 79,000 were defined as crimes, an increase of nearly 10 percent over 1987. The number of misdemeanors—21,000—represented an increase of less than 1 percent. By far the largest category of crimes consisted of offenses involving property (74,343). Only 283 crimes against life and limb were recorded, and 1,167 moral offenses of a criminal nature were recorded. Among misdemeanors, offenses against property totaled over 202,000, and offenses against life and limb totaled nearly 80,000. The police reported that 4,963 persons were accused of narcotic offenses and that fifty kilograms of heroin, 215 kilograms of marijuana, and fourteen kilograms of cocaine had been seized. In the battle against the drug trade, Austria maintains contact with drug authorities in the United States and Canada as well as with authorities in other European countries and coordinates its enforcement efforts through the International Criminal Police Organization (Interpol). There is considerable evidence that international drug dealers are taking advantage of Austria's laws on banking anonymity to launder drug receipts. New restrictions were announced in early 1992 that require the identity of customers for all transactions above S200,000 and for all currencies, not just for dollars as had previously been the case.

Responding to an Interpol questionnaire on the kinds of infractions recorded, Austria reported the following offenses in 1988: homicides, 139; sexual crimes, 2,834, of which 336 were rapes; serious assaults, 120; all categories of theft, 189,794; armed or violent robbery, 2,317; and fraud, 19,904. Of those arrested, 11.0 percent were women, and 4.5 percent were juveniles between the ages of fourteen and seventeen. Noncitizens accounted for 15 to 20 percent of most criminal acts but were responsible for 23.5 percent of armed or violent robberies and 36 percent of counterfeiting cases.

The police reported that nearly 95 percent of crimes and misdemeanors involving threats to life and limb had been successfully resolved. Only 25 percent of thefts of all categories were solved; arrests occurred in 71 percent of sex offenses.

Penal System

All prisons from local jails to maximum security institutions are regulated by the Ministry for Interior. Revisions to penal statutes adopted in 1967 emphasize rehabilitation, education, work, prison

wages, and assistance to prisoners on their return to society. Programs stress the humane treatment and rehabilitation of inmates, but program implementation is often inhibited by restricted prison budgets and lack of facilities.

Regulations stipulate that all able-bodied prisoners will be put to useful work. If proceeds from an individual's work exceed the cost to the state of his maintenance, the prisoner is paid a wage. Part can be used for pocket money, and the remainder is paid to the offender after release. Where facilities are inadequate or the situation justifies work or education beyond what is available on the prison grounds, those not considered dangerous or likely to attempt to escape can work or attend classes in the nearby area.

The penal system in Austria includes seven penitentiaries (Garsten, Graz, Hertenberg, Schwarzau, Stein, Suben, and Vienna-Simmering); three institutions of justice; two special institutions; and eighteen jails at the seats of courts of first instance. In spite of the rising crime rate, the prison population fell steadily from 7,795 in 1987 to 5,975 at the end of 1989. The average prison population of 6,318 in 1988 was composed of 6,054 males and 264 females. The rate of incarceration was seventy-seven per 100,000 population, typical for Europe as a whole but higher than some Scandinavian countries. Those on supervised probation numbered 4,930—2,762 adults and 2,168 juveniles.

The number held in investigative detention also declined, from 1,666 in 1987 to 1,466 in late 1989. This reduction was attributed to implementation in 1988 of the law easing the requirements for conditional release. According to Austrian authorities, the number of detainees had been reduced to a level corresponding to the European average.

* * *

Much of the information in the foregoing chapter on the Austrian army's strength and equipment is based on *The Military Balance, 1993-1994*. Under the heading "JDW Country Survey: Austria" in *Jane's Defence Weekly,* several articles describe the New Army Structure plan of the defense establishment, with charts showing the proposed organizational pattern. The concepts underlying Austria's defense policies prior to the New Army Structure are set forth in "Defense Policy from the Austrian Point of View" by Emil Spannocchi. Detail on the army's structure, weaponry, and strategic plans as of 1986 is included in Friedrich Wiener's *Die Armeen der neutralen und blockfreien Staaten Europas.*

The annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* produced by the United States Department of State summarizes the operation of the criminal justice system and the internal security agencies. *Das grosse Buch der Polizei und Gendarmerie in Österreich* by Friedrich Jäger gives an account of the functioning of the various police organizations from the Middle Ages to the present day. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

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1 Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors
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Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m^2)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	1.8 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Population, Selected Years, 1600–1991
(in thousands)

Year	Population	Year	Population
1600	1,800	1960	7,047
1700	2,100	1970	7,467
1800	3,064	1980	7,549
1850	3,650	1985	7,558
1900	6,004	1990	7,718
1930	6,684	1991	7,796

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1993,* Vienna, 1993, 13.

Table 3. Population by Province, 1951, 1981, and 1991
(in thousands)

Province	1951	1981	1991
Burgenland	276	270	271
Carinthia	475	536	548
Lower Austria	1,400	1,428	1,474
Salzburg	327	442	482
Styria	1,109	1,187	1,185
Tirol	427	587	631
Upper Austria	1,109	1,270	1,333
Vorarlberg	194	305	331
Vienna	1,616	1,531	1,540
TOTAL *	6,934	7,555	7,796

* Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1993,* Vienna, 1993, 13.

Table 4. Population of Official Ethnic Groups, Selected Years, 1910–81

Year	Croats	Slovenes	Czechs and Slovaks	Hungarians
1910	44,243	74,210	119,447	26,570
1951	34,427	42,095	4,118	5,566
1971	28,084	23,579	7,967 [1]	14,815 [2]
1981	22,371	18,371	5,168	12,415

[1] Increase caused by naturalization of Czech and Slovak asylum seekers after Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968.

[2] Increase caused by naturalization of Hungarian asylum seekers after failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Source: Based on information from Jim Sweeney and Josef Weidenholzer (eds.), *Austria: A Study in Modern Achievement,* Aldershot, United Kingdom, 1988, 252.

Table 5. Overview of Education System, Academic Year 1990–91

Type of Institution	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Students
Preschool and kindergarten	4,715	16,794	217,414
Elementary and middle schools	5,074	68,953	648,719
Basic vocational school	238	4,530	149,806
Middle vocational school	747	—	67,207
Vocational high school	299	18,292 *	99,109
Teacher-training high school	44	7,121	10,227
Academic high school	325	17,999	83,801
Vocational college	44	155	2,863
Teacher-training college	27	1,715	6,281
University	18	11,511	192,928

* Includes teachers at middle vocational schools.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1992*, Vienna, 1992, 75.

Table 6. Enrollment of Students Aged Ten to Fourteen, Selected Academic Years, 1960–61 to 1990–91

Year	AHS [1]	HS [2]	Ratio AHS:HS
1960–61	50,773	205,965	1:4.1
1970–71	81,232	308,935	1:3.8
1980–81	102,743	367,611	1:3.6
1990–91	92,818	238,953	1:2.6

[1] *Allgemeinbildende Höhere Schule* (higher school of general education). Provides schooling leading to university study or advanced technical training.

[2] *Hauptschule* (middle school). Provides compulsory general education.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991*, Vienna, 1991, 80.

Table 7. University Attendance, Selected Academic Years, 1955-56 to 1991-92

Year	Students Enrolled	Percentage of Males	Percentage of Females	Degrees Awarded
1955-56	19,124	80	20	2,970
1960-61	38,533	77	23	3,257
1970-71	53,152	75	25	6,025
1980-81	115,616	60	40	8,047
1990-91	192,928	56	44	9,694
1991-92	201,615	56	44	n.a.

n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1992,* Vienna, 1992, 80.

Table 8. Principal Causes of Death by Gender, 1989 and 1990 (per 100,000 of the same gender)

Cause	1989		1990	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Cardiovascular diseases	505.4	329.7	477.9	317.2
Cancer	263.5	160.9	262.7	159.5
Accidents	99.5	37.9	94.8	35.2
Respiratory diseases	58.2	25.2	58.7	26.3
Cirrhosis of the liver	42.7	13.1	41.9	13.2
Suicide	35.6	12.5	33.8	11.5
Other	69.4	68.6	70.4	69.7
TOTAL	1,074.3	647.9	1,040.2	632.6

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991,* Vienna, 1991, 441; and Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1992,* Vienna, 1992, 453.

Table 9. Gross Domestic Product by Sector, Selected Years, 1960–90
(in percentages)

Sector	1960	1970	1980	1990
Agriculture and forestry	11.1	6.9	4.4	3.1
Mining and manufacturing	36.6	34.4	28.3	26.6
Power and water supply	2.8	2.8	3.1	2.5
Construction	7.6	8.2	8.2	7.0
Trade and tourism	15.5	18.1	16.8	16.4
Transportation and communications	6.0	5.9	5.8	6.2
Property administration	6.2	8.4	12.0	16.7
Other services	2.9	3.0	3.2	4.0
Less imputed bank service charges	– 2.3	– 3.1	– 4.5	– 5.8
Other	10.9	11.9	13.7	13.8
Import levies	2.7	3.5	0.6	0.7
Value-added tax	n.a.	n.a.	8.5	8.8
TOTAL *	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

n.a.—not available.
* Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991*, Vienna, 1991, 210.

Table 10. Labor Force by Sector, 1970, 1980, and 1990
(in percentages of total work force)

Sector	1970	1980	1990
Agriculture and forestry	18.8	10.5	7.9
Mining and quarrying	1.0	0.6	0.4
Manufacturing	30.0	29.5	27.0
Electricity, gas, and water	1.1	1.3	1.2
Construction	8.2	8.8	8.4
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants, and hotels	14.2	17.1	18.6
Transportation, storage, and commerce	6.3	6.3	6.4
Finance, insurance, and business services	3.4	5.0	6.5
Communal, social, and personal services	16.5	20.8	23.7
Activities not adequately defined	0.3	0.1	—
TOTAL *	100.0	100.0	100.0

— means negligible.
* Figures may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991*, Vienna, 1991, 108; and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, *OECD Economic Surveys, 1991–1992: Austria*, Paris, 1992, 160–61.

Table 11. Distribution of Trade, 1970, 1980, and 1990
(in percentages)

	1970	1980	1990
Exports			
EC [1]	39.4	55.2	64.5
EFTA [2]	25.3	12.4	10.1
Eastern Europe [3]	12.9	12.1	8.5
OPEC [4]	n.a.	5.6	2.7
West Germany	23.4	30.8	36.7
Switzerland	10.4	7.5	6.9
Italy	9.7	11.0	9.8
Britain	6.1	3.7	3.9
United States	4.1	2.2	3.2
Netherlands	2.9	2.6	2.9
Soviet Union	2.9	2.7	2.2
France	2.2	3.5	4.8
Japan	0.5	0.8	1.6
Imports			
EC	56.0	62.4	68.3
EFTA	19.1	7.9	7.1
Eastern Europe	9.3	9.7	6.0
OPEC	n.a.	7.1	2.1
West Germany	41.2	40.8	43.7
Switzerland	7.4	5.0	4.3
Britain	6.8	2.7	2.6
Italy	6.5	9.1	9.1
France	3.5	3.9	4.2
United States	3.4	3.4	3.6
Netherlands	2.9	2.7	2.8
Soviet Union	2.2	4.2	1.8
Japan	1.0	2.4	4.5

n.a.—not available.

[1] European Community. In November 1993, it became known as the European Union.

[2] European Free Trade Association.

[3] Does not include the Soviet Union.

[4] Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1972,* Vienna, 1972, 196-97; Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1982,* Vienna, 1982, 369; and Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991,* Vienna, 1991, 310.

Table 12. Balance of Payments, 1989 and 1991
(in millions of United States dollars)

	1989	1991
Merchandise exports, f.o.b. *	31,832	40,136
Merchandise imports, f.o.b.	- 38,437	- 52,186
Trade balance	- 6,605	- 12,050
Exports of services	18,814	26,064
Imports of services	- 10,931	- 12,524
Other income received	6,876	9,893
Other income paid	- 7,965	- 11,693
Private unrequited transfers (net)	- 57	166
Official unrequited transfers (net)	- 72	- 108
Current account balance	59	- 252
Direct investment (net)	- 66	- 768
Portfolio investment (net)	1,197	574
Other capital (net)	- 300	211
Capital account balance	831	17
Errors and ommissions (net)	106	1,107
Overall balance	996	872

* f.o.b.—free on board.

Source: Based on information from *The Europa World Year Book, 1993,* 1, London, 1993, 412.

Table 13. Selected Nationalrat Election Results, 1945–90
(in percentages of valid votes and number of seats)

Year	SPÖ [1]		ÖVP [2]		FPÖ [3]		KPÖ [4]		Greens [5]	
	Percentage	Seats	Percentage	Seats	Percentage	Seats	Percentage	Seats	Percentage	Seats
1945	45	76	50	85	—	—	5	4	—	—
1949	39	67	44	77	12	16	5	5	—	—
1953	42	73	41	74	11	14	5	4	—	—
1956	43	74	46	82	7	6	4	3	—	—
1959	45	78	44	79	8	8	3	0	—	—
1962	44	76	45	81	7	8	3	0	—	—
1966	43	74	48	85	5	6	1	0	—	—
1970	48	81	45	78	6	6	1	0	—	—
1971	50	93	43	80	6	10	1	0	—	—
1975	51	93	43	80	5	10	1	0	—	—
1979	51	95	42	77	6	11	1	0	—	—
1983	48	90	43	81	5	12	1	0	0	0
1986	43	80	41	77	10	18	1	0	5	8
1990	43	80	32	60	17	33	0	0	5	10

— means not applicable.

[1] Sozialistische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Party of Austria).

[2] Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party).

[3] Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party of Austria).

[4] Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Communist Party of Austria).

[5] Greens are those environmentalist groups elected to the Nationalrat. The various groups that make up the Greens were formed in the 1980s. They gained their first seats in 1986.

Source: Based on information from Austria, Österreichisches Statistisches Zentralamt, *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 1991,* Vienna, 1991, 424.

Table 14. Presidents of Austria, 1945-

Name	Years in Office	Party Allegiance
Karl Renner	1945-50	SPÖ [1]
Theodor Körner	1951-57	-do-
Adolf Schärf	1957-65	-do-
Franz Jonas	1965-74	-do-
Rudolf Kirchschläger	1974-86	-do-
Kurt Waldheim	1986-92	ÖVP [2]
Thomas Klestil	1992-	-do-

[1] Sozialistische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Party of Austria). In 1991 the name changed to Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ).
[2] Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party).

Table 15. Governments of Austria, 1945-

Period in Power	Chancellor and Party Affiliation	Parties in Government
1945	Karl Renner (SPÖ) [1]	SPÖ, ÖVP [2], KPÖ [3]
1945-49	Leopold Figl (ÖVP)	-do-
1949-53	-do-	SPÖ, ÖVP
1953-56	Julius Raab (ÖVP)	-do-
1956-59	-do-	-do-
1959-61	-do-	-do-
1961-64	Alphons Gorbach (ÖVP)	-do-
1964-66	Josef Klaus (ÖVP)	-do-
1966-70	-do-	ÖVP
1970-83	Bruno Kreisky (SPÖ)	SPÖ
1983-86	Fred Sinowatz (SPÖ)	SPÖ, FPÖ [4]
1986-	Franz Vranitzky (SPÖ)	SPÖ, ÖVP

[1] SPÖ—Sozialistische Partei Österreichs (Socialist Party of Austria). In 1991 the name changed to Social Democratic Party of Austria (Sozialdemoktatische Partei Österreichs—SPÖ).
[2] ÖVP—Österreichische Volkspartei (Austrian People's Party).
[3] KPÖ—Kommunistische Partei Österreichs (Communist Party of Austria).
[4] FPÖ—Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs (Freedom Party of Austria).

Source: Based on information from Jim Sweeney and Josef Weidenholzer (eds.), *Austria: A Study in Modern Achievement,* Aldershot, United Kingdom, 1988, 278-79.

Table 16. Major Military Equipment, 1993

Type and Description	Country of Origin	In Inventory
Army		
Main battle tanks		
M-60A3	United States	169
Armored personnel carriers		
Saurer 4K-4E/F	Austria	465
Tank destroyers		
Kürassier SK-105	-do-	285
Self-propelled artillery		
M-109A2 155mm howitzers	United States	54
Towed artillery		
IFH (M-2A1), 105mm	-do-	108
M-114, 155mm	-do-	24
Fortress artillery		
SFK M-2, 155mm	Sweden	24
Mortars		
M-2, 107mm	United States	102
M-43, 120mm	Austria	274
Multiple rocket launchers		
M-51, 130mm	Czechoslovakia	18
Antitank guided missiles		
RBS-56 BILL	Sweden	118
Antitank guns		
M-52/-55, 85mm	Czechoslovakia	240
M-47 tank turrets, 90mm	United States	60
Centurion tank turrets, 105mm	Britain	200
Air defense guns		
M-58 Oerlikon, 20mm	Switzerland	560
Oerlikon twin, towed, 35mm	-do-	74
M-42 twin, self-propelled, 40mm	United States	38
Air force		
Fighter/ground attack aircraft		
Saab 1050	Sweden	30
Fighter aircraft		
Draken J-350e	-do-	24
Helicopters		
Agusta-Bell AB-212, medium, transport	Italy	23
Agusta-Bell AB-204, light, transport	-do-	8
Bell OH-58B Kiowa, reconnaissance	United States	12
A-316B Alouette III, search and air rescue	France	24
Light transport/liaison		
Short Skyvan 3M	Britain	2
Pilatus PC-6B Turbo Porter	Switzerland	11
Air defense weapons		
M-65 twin Oerlikon, 35mm guns	-do-	18

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1993-1994,* London, 1993, 72.

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Glossary

Bretton Woods system—Established in 1944, the system aimed at stabilizing exchange rates by fixing the price of gold at US$35 per troy ounce. Other currencies were linked to the system according to their exchange rates with the United States dollar. The system was replaced by one of floating exchange rates in the early 1970s. *See also* European Monetary System (EMS).

d'Hondt method—Also known as the highest-average method of determining the allocation of seats to political parties after an election. The d'Hondt method was devised by a Belgian, Victor d'Hondt, to be used in electoral systems based on proportional representation. In addition to Belgium, the method has been adopted by Austria, Finland, Portugal, and Switzerland. Under this method, voters do not choose a candidate but vote for a party, each of which has a published list of candidates. The party winning the most votes in a constituency is awarded the area's first seat, which goes to the candidate at the top of the winning party's list. The total vote of this party is then divided by two, and this amount is compared with the totals of the other parties. The party with the greatest number of votes at this point receives the next seat to be awarded. Each time a party wins a seat, its total is divided by the number of seats it has won plus one. The process continues until all the seats in a constituency are awarded. The d'Hondt method slightly favors large parties.

European Community (EC)—*See* European Union (EU).

European Economic Area (EEA)—An economic area encompassing all the members of the European Union (EU—*q.v.*) and the European Free Trade Association (EFTA—*q.v.*), with the exception of Switzerland. Created in May 1992, the EEA went into effect on January 1, 1994. The EEA is a single market for the free movement of labor, services, capital (with some restrictions on investments), and most products. EFTA members have agreed to accept EU regulations in many areas, including company law, education, environmental protection, mergers, and social policy.

European Economic Community (EEC)—*See* European Union (EU).

European Free Trade Association (EFTA)—Founded in 1960, EFTA aims at supporting free trade among its members and increasing the liberalization of trade on a global basis, particularly

within Western Europe. In 1993 the organization's member states were Austria, Finland, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway, Sweden, and Switzerland.

European Monetary System (EMS)—Established in 1979 by the European Economic Community (EEC—*q.v.*), the EMS was created to stabilize currency values because the Bretton Woods system (*q.v.*) proved not fully satisfactory.

European Monetary Union (EMU)—The EMU is a plan for a single European central bank and for a single European currency to replace national banks and currencies for those European states that qualify.

European Union (EU)—Until November 1993, the EU was known as the European Community (EC). The EU comprises three communities: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC), and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). Each community is a legally distinct body, but since 1967 they have shared common governing institutions. The EU forms more than a framework for free trade and economic cooperation: the signatories to the treaties governing the communities have agreed in principle to integrate their economies and ultimately to form a political union. Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) were charter members of the EU; Britain, Denmark, and Ireland joined on January 1, 1973; Greece became a member on January 1, 1981; and Portugal and Spain entered on January 1, 1986.

exchange rate mechanism (ERM)—Mechanism established in 1979 to regulate currency exchange rates in the European Monetary System (EMS—*q.v.*). Member currencies are permitted to fluctuate in value only within a narrow margin (the so-called snake).

gross domestic product (GDP)—The total value of goods and services produced by the domestic economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Most GDP figures in this book are based on GDP at factor cost. Real GDP is the value of GDP when inflation has been taken into account.

gross national product (GNP)—Obtained by adding the gross domestic product (GDP—*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents, less payments remitted abroad to nonresidents. Real GNP is the value of GNP when inflation has been taken into account.

Hare system—Also known as the single transferable vote formula. The Hare system was developed in the nineteenth century by Thomas Hare, a British political reformer, to create constituencies with multiple representatives in electoral systems based on proportional representation. Ballots are used on which a voter may rank his or her choices in order of preference. Any candidate who has received enough first-preference votes to meet a quota wins a seat. Votes above this quota are transferred to the candidates with second-preference votes, and each of those who meet the quota is awarded a seat. The process continues until all seats in a constituency are filled.

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)—Established in 1961 to replace the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), the OECD is an international organization composed of the industrialized market economy countries (twenty-four full members as of 1993). The OECD seeks to promote economic and social welfare in member countries, as well as in developing countries, by providing a forum in which to establish and coordinate policies.

Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC)—*See* Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development (OECD).

schilling (S)—National currency. Consists of 100 groschen. In relation to the United States dollar, the average annual exchange rate was S13.2 in 1989, S11.4 in 1990, S11.7 in 1991, S11.0 in 1992, and S11.4 in 1993.

Western European Union (WEU)—Founded in 1948 to facilitate West European cooperation in economic, social, cultural, and defense matters. Reactivated in 1984 to concentrate on the defense and disarmament concerns of its members, the WEU is headed by a council consisting of its members' ministers of foreign affairs and defense. The council meets twice a year; lower-level WEU entities meet with greater frequency. In late 1993, WEU members included Belgium, Britain, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Spain.

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550-72	Philippines
550-162	Poland
550-181	Portugal
550-160	Romania
550-37	Rwanda and Burundi
550-51	Saudi Arabia
550-70	Senegal
550-180	Sierra Leone
550-184	Singapore
550-86	Somalia
550-93	South Africa
550-95	Soviet Union
550-179	Spain
550-96	Sri Lanka
550-27	Sudan
550-47	Syria
550-62	Tanzania
550-53	Thailand
550-89	Tunisia
550-80	Turkey
550-74	Uganda
550-97	Uruguay
550-71	Venezuela
550-32	Vietnam
550-183	Yemens, The
550-99	Yugoslavia
550-67	Zaire
550-75	Zambia
550-171	Zimbabwe