Preface

For centuries the territory ruled from Vienna has been a stage upon which dramas of international importance have appeared. Among the most fateful of these dramas were those which took place in 1683, when the Turks were repulsed, and in 1914, when the First World War began. After the collapse of the Habsburg empire in 1918 the tiny country that had the name Austria forced upon her by the victorious Allies was pushed from the center of the stage, but during the intervening thirty years she has frequently returned to it, and now, in the spring of 1947, is again in the spotlight. As in 1683, the struggle over Austria is commonly thought of as one between East and West, or between two ways of life.

In the segment of the history of Austria treated in this study, 1918 to 1938, there was a similar struggle over her, this time between her northern and southern neighbors, Germany and Italy. But the conflict upon which these volumes center was internal. As Mr. Federn notes in his Foreword, I became interested in this conflict in 1930, and after it reached one climax in 1934 I decided to examine it because of my general interest in the rise of international Fascism and because of my special interest in comparative labor history.

Although Mr. Federn kindly praises my documentation, it is necessary to point out that the seizure of Austria by Hitler and the outbreak of the Second World War prevented me from securing certain printed sources that would have been useful and compelled me to piece together other sources. For examples, I was never able to acquire a complete file of the Vienna newspaper, the Reichspost; and I had to bridge the gap between the holdings of the labor daily, the Arbeiter Zeitung, in the Hoover Library at Stanford University and in the University of California Library by securing microfilms from the file in the New York Public Library. The acquisition by the University of California Library of a third Vienna paper, the Neue Freie Presse, for the years 1864–1938 partly, though not completely, compensated for the broken file of the Reichspost.

In the course of almost thirteen years' intensive work on this study I have become indebted for help of various sorts to hundreds of individuals and dozens of organizations and institutions. I am extremely
grateful to all of them and particularly regret that a few of the most important individuals can never see this acknowledgment because they died in exile or were murdered in Hitler's concentration camps. A few others must remain anonymous because even after the liberation of Austria it is unwise to name them in connection with the information they provided.

Of all my debts the greatest by far is to Dr. Alexander Gerschenkron, a former colleague in the Department of Economics at the University of California, Berkeley, and now Economist with the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Dr. Gerschenkron's intimate knowledge of the economic and political problems of the first Austrian republic, his analyses and interpretations of complex relationships, and his fruitful suggestions on innumerable points are integral parts of the book.

To three friends who read critically the entire manuscript I am also greatly indebted. Dr. Bruno Schonfeld, formerly a lawyer in Vienna, was an active participant in some of the most important events narrated and supplied facts and side lights available in no printed source.

Mr. Walther Federn gave me the benefit of his many years as editor of an important Austrian economic and political journal in addition to writing the Foreword.

Professor Ralph H. Lutz of the Department of History of Stanford University made numerous valuable suggestions for improvement of the manuscript, not only on strictly internal Austrian matters but also on international relations affecting Austria.

Of the major working-class leaders Dr. Karl Renner, now president of the second republic of Austria, was able to give me the most time. Dr. Otto Bauer, Dr. Robert Danneberg, Mr. Hugo Breitner, Dr. Max Adler, and his wife Dr. Jenny Adler were also very helpful during my fourteen months in Europe, 1936–1937. Subsequently, many other figures in the labor movement have coöperated by correspondence. Among these I would like to mention particularly Dr. Julius Deutsch and Mr. Heinrich Schneidmadl.

To scores of less prominent leaders and rank-and-file members of the Social Democratic organizations I am most grateful. Included in this group are Mr. Josef Afritsch, Mr. Anton Tesarek, Mr. Oliver Grover, Mr. Wilhelm Svatos, and Captain Rudolf Löw.
But it should be noted that some of the most interesting and enlightening information and comment came to me from streetcar-and railway workers, waiters, metalworkers, clerks, and various other representatives of manual and white-collar employees of different political orientations whom it is impossible to list.

Among the opponents of the Social Democratic working-class movement, and more or less enthusiastic supporters of the Dollfuss-Schuschnigg regime, I received the greatest assistance from Dr. Franz Hemala and Dr. Walther Peinsipp. Dr. Hemala was a prominent Catholic party leader and author of a history of trade unions. Dr. Peinsipp was the official in the Heimaidienst, the propaganda office of the Clerical-Fascist regime, to whom the head of that office, Colonel Walter Adam, referred most of my numerous questions.

Although he was able to see me only a few times, Mr. Leopold Kunshak, Catholic political and trade-union leader, gave me some of the most valuable information I secured during my last stay in Vienna. As is true of many other individuals named above, this information supplemented that contained in voluminous writings.

To Dr. Eugen Margaretha of the Austrian Association of Manufacturers I am grateful for giving me certain documents printed in limited quantities and reported as unavailable by Vienna bookdealers.

Dr. Ernst Karl Winter, appointed by Dollfuss as third vice-mayor of Vienna after February, 1934, was also generous with his time and in supplying me with publications otherwise unavailable.

From Professor Johannes Messner of the University of Vienna I received numerous valuable suggestions about the literature of the Catholic social reform and political movements.

Several functionaries of the Fatherland Front were helpful in interviews and in providing me with printed matter. Among them I am most indebted to Dr. Georg Blocher.

Of my colleagues in the University of California I am most grateful to Professors Hans Kelsen, Fletcher H. Swift, Malcolm M. Davis-son, John B. Condliffe, Frank L. Kidner, and Carl Landauer. In various ways, and at times under trying circumstances, they gave assistance in the finest spirit of academic coöperation.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Erwin Reisner, my research associate for five years, for his painstaking and conscientious work and his
numerous excellent suggestions. His help in the drafting of several chapters was particularly valuable.

Of other helpers I wish particularly to mention Mr. Ernst Winkler, Mr. Gordon Haskell, Mrs. Joan Livingston, Mrs. Rosa Jaeger, and Dr. Helen Rosenberg. On tasks ranging from verifying citations and translations to deciphering and typing untidy manuscript they worked faithfully, and, in emergencies, for unreasonably long hours.

Throughout the years since December of 1934, when intensive work on this book was begun, my chief support and source of encouragement has been my wife. To the collection of bibliography and notes, to the typing of manuscript, to the reading of proofs, to the discussion of num-berless questions that came up during the writing, and to the execution of equally num-berless tasks that should have fallen to me in a normal “division of labor” in our household she has given literally years. For the vacations and week-end trips she has not had, for the plays she has not seen, and for the symphony concerts she has not heard—all cheerfully sacrificed to further the completion of this work—no expression of appreciation can be adequate.

In the execution of a project of the nature of this one substantial financial assistance was necessary. For such assistance I wish to express most sincere thanks to the Social Science Research Council, to the Carnegie Corporation, and to three organizations of the University of California: the Institute of Social Sciences, the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, and the Committee on Research of the Academic Senate. Each of the five gave me a grant-in-aid on more than one occasion. Without their help I could never have completed the study.

It would likewise have been impossible to carry on my work without the cordial coöperation of the Library of the University of Cali-fornia and numerous members of its staff.

As indicated earlier, the Hoover Library at Stanford University has a unique collection of documents and other material on Austria. This collection and the cheerful and efficient services of the staff were always at my disposal. In particular I wish to voice my appreciation to Miss Nina Almond.

Other libraries in which I had access to excellent material are the New York Public Library and those of the Chamber of Labor in
Vienna and of the Chamber of Commerce in Vienna. The staffs in all of them were also very helpful; especially Dr. Anton Birti of the Chamber of Labor Library.

The same is true of the staff of the Chamber of Labor as a whole, particularly of Dr. Friedrich Kühr and Dr. Benedikt Kautsky.

A portion of my obligations to the University of California Press is obvious to the reader. In addition, I wish to express my warmest thanks to Mr. Samuel Farquhar, its manager, for his sympathetic understanding for and settlement of many problems.

To Miss Lucie E. N. Dobbie, who did the editorial work on both volumes, it is again impossible to express adequately my appreciation. The manuscript was, to say the least, of extraordinary length. Its composition had required more than nine years. Inconsistencies in style and method of citation as well as errors of various sorts remained. In clearing away these and similar difficulties for the reader and for me Miss Dobbie demonstrated skill, ingenuity, and—what was most important at times—remarkable patience.

For reasons explained in Chapter I, these volumes contain hundreds of quotations. Since the overwhelming majority of them are short, it seemed that the courtesy of precise citation was adequate. In other instances, where the quotations were longer or where there were a considerable number from one source, the permission of the publisher has been secured. In particular I wish to express my thanks to:

The Brookings Institution for permission to quote from The Housing Program of the City of Vienna by C. O. Hardy.

The editor of the California Law Review for permission to reprint the greater part of my article, "Administrative and Judicial Processes As Instruments of Clerical Fascism In Austria," from the June, 1944, issue of the Review.

Harper and Brothers for permission to quote from Between Hitler and Mussolini by Ernst Rudiger Prince Starhemberg.

Houghton, Mifflin Company for permission to quote from Plot and Counterplot in Central Europe by M. W. Fodor.

Alfred A. Knopf for permission to quote from My Austria by Kurt Schuschnigg.

Longmans, Green and Company for permission to quote from Die Wahrheit über Oesterreich by Guido Zernatto.
Preface

The Macmillan Company for permission to quote from:
Insuring the Essentials by Barbara Nachtrieb Armstrong;
American Government and Politics by Charles A. Beard;
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI;
Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences;
The Government of the United States by William Bennet Munro;
A Theory of the Labor Movement by Selig Perlman;
Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria by Joseph Redlich.
The editor of the Political Science Quarterly for permission to reproduce extracts from my article "Vienna Taxes since 1918" from the December, 1938, issue of the Quarterly.
G. P. Putnam's Sons for permission to quote from:
Austrian Requiem by Kurt von Schuschnigg.
Dr. Ralph Arthur Reynolds for permission to quote from Julius Tandler, a Biography by the late Alfred Goetzl and Ralph Arthur Reynolds.

I wish to thank Mr. G. E. R. Gedye for the suggestive value and the use I made of his Fallen Bastions (London, Gollancz, 1938); and to thank Harper and Brothers who hold the United States copyright for the same book published here as Betrayal in Central Europe. My citations, however, are to the English edition.

My thanks are due also to Mrs. Eugene Lennhoff for permission to quote from The Last Five Hours of Austria by the late Eugene Lennhoff.

Finally, I wish to thank Dr. May Hollis Siegl for the liberal use I made of her uncopyrighted thesis, Reform of Elementary Education in Austria.

It is customary in publications of this kind to note that the opinions and conclusions are exclusively those of the author. In this instance it is necessary to emphasize that fact because so many of the individuals who gave me information will dissent vigorously from my conclusions.

CHARLES A. GULICK

March, 1947