# Contents

Introduction, *Anson Rabinbach* .......................... 1

## PART 1
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AND THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE
OF THE FIRST AUSTRIAN REPUBLIC

1 The Habsburg Heritage: Some Pointers for a Study of the First Austrian Republic,  
*Klemens von Klemperer* .................................... 11

2 The Social and Economic Background of Austria's Lebensunfähigkeit,  
*Bruce F. Pauley* ............................................ 21

3 The Heimwehr and February 1934: Reflections and Questions, *C. Earl Edmondson* .................. 39

4 Writings on Contemporary Austrian History, 1918-1934, *R. John Rath* ............................... 47

## PART 2
POLITICAL POWER, THE STATE, AND VIOLENCE

5 Social Democracy and the Political Culture of the First Republic, *Melanie A. Sully* .......... 57

6 Otto Bauer as an Ambivalent Party Leader,  
*Peter Loewenberg* ............................................ 71


8 Learning from the Civil War: The Political System of the First and Second Republics,  
*Anton Pelinka* ................................................. 89

9 Strategies of Political Violence: Chance Events and Structural Effects as Causal Factors in the February Rising of the Austrian Social Democrats,  
*Gerhard Botz* ............................................... 99
PART 3
AUSTROMARXISM AND THE VIENNESE INTELLECTUAL MILIEU

10 The Austromarxists in "Red" Vienna: Reflections and Recollections, Hans Ziesel ........... 119
11 Austromarxism and the Theory of Democracy, Andrew Arato ......... 135
12 Cultural Politics in Austria: From Empire to Republic, William J. McGrath .... 141
13 Austrian Intellectuals and the Palace of Justice Fire, David S. Luft .... 151
14 Austrian Social Democracy and the Jewish Question in the First Republic, Jack Jacobs .... 157
15 Jura Soyfer's Death of a Party, Alfred Pfabigan ........... 169
16 Austromarxism on the International Scene, Adolf Sturmthal ........ 177

PART 4
RED VIENNA: MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM AND CULTURAL POLITICS

17 Red Vienna: Symbol and Strategy, Anson Rabinbach ........... 187
18 Red Vienna: A New Atlantis? Josef Weidenholzer ......... 195
19 The Housing Policy of Social Democracy: Determinants and Consequences, Peter Marcuse .......... 201
20 Socialist Party Culture and the Realities of Working-Class Life in Red Vienna, Helmut Gruber ........... 223

PART 5
CONCLUSION: THE COLLAPSE OF AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, 12 FEBRUARY 1934—FIFTY YEARS LATER

21 The Weaknesses of the Socialist Strategy: A Comparative Perspective, Charles S. Maier ........ 247

Abbreviations ........ 253
List of Contributors 255