

International Political Science

*Editor's note: With the following **Letter from Innsbruck** by Thomas O. Schlesinger and **A Letter from Warsaw** by Gerald Houseman, PS is inaugurating a new occasional feature of the section on international political science. Political scientists from the U.S. and Canada who are taking up visiting lectureships in other countries are asked or can volunteer to write a letter on the practice of politics and political science in the country they are visiting. In addition, PS welcomes similar submissions written by political scientists from countries outside the U.S., as exemplified by M. P. C. M. van Schendelen of the Netherlands in the article appearing in this issue on his native country.*

Letter from Innsbruck

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Political Science

A department meeting each and every day from one to two p.m.? And a pleasant one? Come to Innsbruck, Austria, where I've just taught a seminar in American foreign policy as a guest professor. Of course, the faculty meeting isn't mandatory, and the event is actually the lunch hour at the political science department. On an informal rotating basis, someone goes out and buys the makings for sandwiches, fancy pastry, and fruit. What follows is still called

Kaffee because it escalated from a coffee hour and involves everything from small talk to quick exchanges of department business (though formal meetings with agenda are also held), and it's mostly a relaxed friendly togetherness of professional colleagues.

This letter will deal mostly with Austrian political science as observed in Innsbruck, but I'll also include some data about the other campuses, and a brief report on the aftermath of the Waldheim problem as of May 30.

The Leopold-Franzens-Universität, now University of Innsbruck, was founded here in the capital of Land Tirol, one of Austria's most conservative states, in 1669 as a Jesuit school. A Concordat with the Vatican still requires that the theology faculty be run by Jesuits even though in this secular state the university has long been a state institution. As virtually everywhere outside of Anglo-Saxonia, higher education is a state monopoly. The curricula in each discipline, though formally subject to discussion with the university, are published as decrees by the Federal Ministry of Education. The university is jointly administered by a director who represents that ministry, a rector elected by the faculty, and by faculty and students through representative bodies.¹

¹Student organization, incidentally, is internationally unique. The Österreichische Hochschülerschaft (OH) is established on a national basis, though with substantial campus autonomy, and accorded legal status comparable in the national political system to that of the powerful chambers of commerce and of labor. It has about 168,000 members, with about 35% participation in its recent election, which represents quite a jump from last year's barely 30%. These OH elections are seriously discussed in the national media and involve sub-

Thomas O. Schlesinger of Plymouth State College taught a foreign policy seminar as a visiting lecturer in political science at the University of Innsbruck, Austria during the 1987 spring semester.

A separate political science department was created within the College of Social and Economic Sciences in 1975. Offerings in political science were gradually expanded since then, with some courses also given by the Department of Public Law and Political Science within the College of Law. There have been two pro-

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fessorial chairs, but a third in women's studies was approved before the recent national elections. The new "Black" (conservative) minister of education is believed to fear that the position will become a socialist stronghold (rumors in the press even mention Eva Kreisky, daughter-in-law of former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky as a candidate for the position), and thus the whole matter has been reopened and is a hot controversy.

There are five positions for junior faculty in Innsbruck, but the actual number is

sidies and organizational roles for the national political parties. The May OH election resulted in a great landslide victory for the Aktionsgemeinschaft (AG), an environmentally oriented and relatively pragmatic group, mainly at the expense of right-wing groups, especially the monarchically inclined Junge Europäische Studenteninziative (JES).

It is a typically Austrian irony that both the winners and the losers were known to be financially supported by the Austrian People's Party, the OVP. The AG had taken a strong position and an active role in opposing Hainburg, a hydroelectric power project on the Danube to be located in a nature conservancy area. (Environmental impact statements are still unknown here; it was to happen strictly by bureaucratic edict.) Moreover, the AG, in a show of democratic openness had supported the candidacy in the OH elections of Thomas Stern, a Jewish student who was not one of its members (and was even then not asked to join). Stern continued to oppose Austrian President Kurt Waldheim, whose party, the OVP, as noted above helps to fund the AG.

greater due to the use of research grants and other projects. Of a total university enrollment of about 20,000, it is estimated that 400 are pursuing masters or doctors degrees in political science. Our American concept of undergraduate study is, of course, unknown here, and hence only a negligible number of non-political science students enroll in political science courses. This is not unique to political science, but simply the normal result when only graduate work is pursued.

Generally four fields are taught and represented in faculty research capabilities: the Austrian political system, political theory and history of political ideas, comparative politics, and international relations. Innsbruck maintains exchange programs with the University of New Orleans and with Notre Dame, the former being the more relevant for political science in conjunction with the Department of American Studies here. During the 1987 spring semester Professor Charles D. Hadley has been teaching a full course load here: American Government, Political Parties, plus an extra course in Southern Politics. Typically some students who enrolled thought that "Southern" meant Third World rather than American South. Though teaching in English, he has good enrollments, full integration into department activities to the extent language problems permit, and topnotch relations all around.

The exchanges seem to add a sense of intellectual ferment and liveliness, as well as some ideological balance, for a student body which is serious and politically aware, but somewhat narrow due to geographic regionalism. Much of the extra energy and determination to broaden and open to the world is undoubtedly due to the chair (and founder) of the department, Professor Anton Pelinka. Formerly editor of a major national opinion journal and with teaching experience in Vienna and in the United States and other countries, he has served as president of the Austrian Political Science Association. He is also seen by tens of thousands of Austrians as occasional moderator of the best known TV-panel show, which incidentally runs on an open-ended basis: no definite time to end!

Political science is taught at three institutions: Vienna and Salzburg are the other two, with the former, of course, still playing a dominant role as the traditional center not only of education, but of most everything, in this country of 7.6 million. The sense of momentum of post-war growth has reflected a westward shift in Austria, perhaps due partly to the limits imposed on Vienna by its location less than an hour from the borders of Soviet-bloc states and almost a hundred miles east(!) of Prague, Czechoslovakia.

In Vienna political science is housed primarily in two "institutes" (the European term for our departments); one belongs to the College of Social Science, the other in the College of Basic and Integrative Sciences. In each of these there are three professorial chairs, with two associate/assistant positions for each in turn. In Salzburg there are four professorial chairs in political science, with five additional slots. The specific fields of study are the same as noted above for Innsbruck. In Vienna about 2,700 students are matriculated in political science masters and doctoral studies, with about 100 degrees awarded yearly, whereas in Salzburg and Innsbruck the number of students is about 500, with far fewer degrees awarded. Innsbruck's numbers are lowest because its masters program is of very recent origin.

To interpret and place in perspective these data one should consider that our bachelor's degree is essentially unknown in Europe. There is much tougher selectivity and tracking on the way to, as well as within, secondary education. Those who proceed in the truly academic direction are worked quite hard in the last two years of *Gymnasium*—a senior high school whose work is more comparable to what goes on in the more serious sophomore and junior courses of our undergraduate programs. Matriculating in the university has generally meant entering a doctoral program, but has been Americanized in post-war decades to the extent of awarding Masters degrees in what are here called *Diplom* programs.

It is once more characteristic of the chairperson here that when mentioning this report, I was quite emphatically urged to

"be critical." What then are the weak spots? I cannot presume to judge the faculty even here where I've come to know them well; they're all engaged in lively and thorough research, publish a lot, and care deeply about their students—who, by the way, have an unusually strong voice in the running of the department.

Student standards for participation in seminars, punctuality, meeting commitments, seem rather lax. Perhaps the most serious flaw is that they are not really taught how to carry on systematic searches for sources and don't learn how to do any spontaneous in-class writing. The former is due to great inadequacy of library materials and staffs, especially with regard to periodical indexes, periodicals themselves, and reference works. The latter brings me to the most striking difference in teaching styles: *all* examinations are oral. This system, extremely time-consuming for faculty, can obviously not be seriously assessed by an informal short-term observer. It would be hard enough to do that as a systematic research project. But I must admit I'm very skeptical.

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The Austrian Political Science Association was founded in 1971 and currently has some 300 members, including faculty, students, graduates, and persons outside the academic sphere. Its functions parallel those of the APSA, but in the past two years the association has used workshops and topically-oriented meetings instead of full-fledged annual attempts to gather everyone. The society's quarterly review is a very solid professional and scientific journal in its 14th years of publication, and like many publications (as well as most everything in Austria, including *all* its newspapers), it is

subsidized by the government. The leadership rotates on democratic principles to ensure fairness in both regional and professional representation, and the latter includes council seats for students.

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Of political science institutions outside the universities, the two main ones are the Austrian Institute for International Affairs at Laxenburg near Vienna and Institute for Peace Research in Burgenland. Another, the Institute for Higher Studies in Vienna is interdisciplinary mostly with economics and serves as the most recognized think tank and oracle for pronouncements on the state of the economy. All three employ political scientists in small numbers.

Waldheim

And then there is the Waldheim affair. Last year Austria attracted much negative attention abroad when the WWII background of President (and former UN Secretary General) Kurt Waldheim became an issue in his election campaign. The most fundamental question raised by that debacle concerns the persistence of anti-Semitism and a possible resurgence of right wing political forces.²

²The Innsbruck department makes a significant contribution by providing a home and substantially supporting the Society for Political Information (the German name literally means enlightenment, too presumptuous a connotation in English). The Society is explicitly designed to combat right-wing extremism, ethnic and other social prejudices, such as against women, gypsies, and the homeless or vagabonds. Among its activities is a yearly bus trip to Auschwitz. Participants for this pilgrimage are found from a broad spectrum of the Austrian public, with possibly

After he was elected, the remaining question, of course, was whether he would be welcomed in the relevant world capitals. The symbolism of state visits is a specially important item in the diplomatic tool chest of a small neutral state, and the Austrian president's post is mainly symbolic. In a world dominated by politics of the major powers in an East-West context and in a Europe dominated by an economic community which it could so far not join, Austria must be concerned about potential diplomatic isolation.

On April 27 the United States announced that Kurt Waldheim had been placed on the "Watch List" of those ineligible under immigration laws to enter the United States as a private visitor. Quite a storm broke loose here in Austria of recrimination and finger pointing. Initially much was made of the point that the decision *legally* does not affect the question whether Mr. Reagan or a subsequent president (as Mr. Waldheim has a six-year term) can invite him.

A head of state invited to the U.S. by our president for a state visit automatically enjoys diplomatic immunity and is thus considered exempt from "normal" legal restrictions. But this is clearly irrelevant in the *political* sense. What would our president as host say at the usual greetings and toasts: "Too bad you're on our nasties list, but as a president you're a nice guy anyway"?

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some emphasis on teachers. Connected with the work of the Society are young political science scholars interested in such fields as survey research, political theory and history, and political socialization and education. Somehow the world press covering the Waldheim affair (and related discussion of Austrian right-wing politics and anti-Semitism) never sought out the Society, nor some other activities in Austria devoted to opposing these trends.

U.S. law, the McCarran-Walter Act, under which the procedure takes place is an infamous piece of McCarthyist legislation. Thus our notion that the denial of the privilege to enter the U.S. need not always call for the same rigor of proof and due process as the threat of punishment for a crime becomes tricky to explain. Then the question also becomes "proof of what?"

Austrians argue that what is at issue is whether Mr. Waldheim has actually committed war crimes, whereas U.S. law makes a rather indirect participant in war crimes eligible for exclusion. Austrians point to the welcome the U.S. extended to such human rights violators as Ferdinand Marcos and the Shah of Iran. Austrians will concede that there is anti-Semitism in Austria (as there is in virtually all of Europe, as well as the U.S.) and that it may have played a marginal role in the election of their president.

However, supporting the U.S. position is the fact that Waldheim is the first president of any country since WWII whose election has been overtly assisted by anti-Semitism, however marginal in this context, and that he did not disavow the support of those elements. These facts, on top of his decades-long fudging of his war record, led to the determination that Mr. Waldheim should not be allowed to enter the United States. However, the reasoning of the U.S. does not come across to the general public in Austria at all.

I should hasten to add, however, especially on the campuses, but probably in all walks of life, there are plenty of Austrians who are not at all sorry to see Mr. Waldheim and his supporters under pressure and who reject the view that the whole problem amounts to a conspiracy of the World Jewish Congress (WJC) and the foreign media. Still, of the Austrian public, 66% according to a Gallup Poll published in the magazine *Wochenpresse* April 24, 1987, do pick the WJC and foreign media as responsible for the negative image of Austria in world opinion.

On May 19 Mr. Waldheim made another speech on TV and expressed many of the conciliatory and regretful views which he

should have voiced at the outset and which some believe would then have squashed the problem. The reaction now is mainly that especially as this speech does not go very far, it is much too late to change anything, except to help defuse political strains which could threaten the delicate renewal of joint rule by the two major parties.

The new "great" coalition (i.e., of the Austrian People's Party [ÖVP] and the Socialists) in the Austrian government has found it difficult to get going on the promises made to the electorate in their marriage contract. Yet they found the nationalist overtones of the Waldheim affair convenient as a device to demonstrate unity: "We cannot but stand behind our elected president." Would Americans do otherwise? Stay tuned. □

A Letter from Warsaw

Gerald L. Houseman

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May of 1987 was not a particularly good time to visit Warsaw. The University was closing down for the year. The weather was still cool and soggy, although the occasional winds helped with the problem of air pollution. And the Pope was coming, an event which put the regime on edge. It was counting upon the Pope's visit as a buttress for its legitimation, with photos of His Holiness and General Jaruzelski standing together for all to see. This hope now seems forlorn in the aftermath of the disturbances in Gdansk and other places.

But the Pope's visit, which I was not to experience, had consequences for the Warsaw visitor. My hotel informed me that I would have to vacate much earlier than expected because the space was needed for native visitors who would be

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