Victims' State
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Introduction

2. Korngold, “Österreichischer Soldatenabschied (1915).” My translation. See the editor’s foreword for the song’s origins. It was first performed on 11 March 1917.
4. The Korngold biographer Brendan G. Carroll is sure that it is about death. See his liner notes, “Songs and Chamber Music of Erich Wolfgang Korngold,” in the booklet of *Rendezvous with Korngold*. The first song of the cycle is “Sterbelied” (Requiem), set to the German translation of English poet Christina Rossetti’s “When I Am Dead, My Dearest” (1862).
10. Women served both noncombatant and combatant roles in the Habsburg armed forces. But the laws and regulations about provision effective during the war presumed only men would be mobilized. Whether servicewomen’s families received any such payments before 1919, for example, is a question yet to be answered. On women combatants for the Monarchy, see Leszczawski-Schwerk, “‘Töchter des Volkes’ und ‘Stille Heldinnen.’”
insightful “Victors or Victims?” On the politics of medical, psychiatric, and rehabilitative interventions, Lerner, *Hysterical Men*; Crouthamel, *The Great War and German Memory*; Perry, *Recycling the Disabled*. Kuhlman’s *Of Little Comfort* focuses on the cultural constructions of German and American victimhood and widowhood and is in a way a follow-up to Mosse’s classic *Fallen Soldiers*. The United States, which mobilized half as many men and had one-twelfth as many killed in comparison to the Habsburg Monarchy, has already received at least three full-length studies on welfare for disabled soldiers and dependents: Hickel, “Entitling Citizens”; Linker, *War’s Waste*; and Kinder, *Paying with Their Bodies*.

12. Bartsch, “Government Organization for Social Aid in Austria”; Fahringer, Büsch, and Liebl, *Kriegbeschädigtenfürsorge*; Fahringer, “Über die Kriegbeschädigtenfürsorge.” The exception was a self-congratulatory official history commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the Austrian state’s war victim welfare: Bundesministerium für soziale Verwaltung and Zentralorganisation der Kriegsopferverbände, eds., *60 Jahre Kriegsopferversorgung*. The essay by Johann Kubat in it, “Die Invalidenentschädigung von 1919 bis 1938,” was for many years the only readily available general narrative on interwar Austrian war victim welfare. Similarly, for years there was only a commemorative history in Fornwagner, *Leid lindern*, on the Tyrolean regional experience.

13. Pawlowsky and Wendelin’s *Die Wunden des Staates* was published in 2015. My doctoral dissertation, “War, Welfare, and Social Citizenship: The Politics of War Victim Welfare in Austria, 1914–1925,” on which this book is based, was completed and made publicly available in 2013. We carried out archival research around the same time. And we use the same sources and reach similar conclusions in several places. But our works have different time frames, different thematic focuses and historiographical engagement, and different modes of argumentation and organization. I emphasize the agency and motivations of different actors in contingent situations as well as longer-term developments and seek to contextualize them in an integrated narrative. My colleagues are more interested in detailed technical (and sometimes Foucauldian-tinged) analysis of programs and structures large and small. Interested readers can compare our books and see how historians approach the same topic differently.


15. See two important case studies of Czechoslovakia and Poland, which do not separate war victims from “healthy” veterans and see the former as part of a larger

16. Zahra’s Kidnapped Souls demonstrates the compelling advantage of crossing the 1918 divide. Wartime conditions enabled already existing nationalist movements to advance their influence in welfare and education during and after the war.

17. A good example of the recent efforts to highlight the Monarchy’s broader legacies and continuities in the successor states is Miller and Morelon, eds., Embers of Empire. Morelon’s chapter on early postwar Prague, “State Legitimacy and Continuity,” shows the contemporaries’ acute awareness of continuities and the resulting political discontent.

18. See Judson, “Afterword” and “Where Our Commonality Is Necessary....”

19. See, for example, Cohen, “Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy” and “Nationalist Politics.” For a strongly revisionist history of the late Monarchy, see Judson, The Habsburg Empire. Beller, The Habsburg Monarchy, is a new synthesis showing someone who has come around to many but not all of the revisionist insights.

20. For example, child welfare in the Bohemian lands. Zahra, Kidnapped Souls.

21. On the relevant literature, see, for example, Rettenwander, Stilles Heldenmut?, 194–296; Sieder, “Behind the Lines”; Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 163–210, 262–279; Healy’s findings complement the “fragmentation and disintegration (Entsolidarisierung)” thesis about the wartime Tyrolean society stated in Heiss, “Andere Fronten”; Plaschka, Haselsteiner, and Suppan, Innere Front. Since 1995, the Innsbruck-based or -trained historians’ publications in the “Tirol im Ersten Weltkrieg” series from the Verlag Wagner offer in-depth examination of the war’s impact on a largely rural region close to the battlefront. For the latest surveys of the regional war experiences, see Kuprian and Überegger, eds., Katastrophenjahre (Tyrol); Moll, Die Steiermark im Ersten Weltkrieg; Pfoser and Weigl, eds., Im Epizentrum des Zusammenbruchs (Vienna).

22. Cohen, “Neither Absolutism nor Anarchy,” 61. Cohen argues that the successful penetration into all levels of public administration by “popular political formations” had a “growing implication in the functioning of parts of the state administration” in his “Nationalist Politics,” 259. On the public sphere and civil society in the late Monarchy years, see the chapters in Rumpler and Urbanitsch, eds., Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918. VIII. Politische Öffentlichkeit und Zivilgesellschaft.

23. The term is from Boyer, Culture and Political Crisis, 379. Mark Cornwall’s formulation, “bureaucratic-military dictatorship,” may have underemphasized the fact that the Habsburg military saw imperial and provincial civil administrations as opponents to subjugate. Cornwall, “Disintegration and Defeat,” 181–182.

24. On the desire for depoliticization, see Gumz, The Resurrection and Collapse of Empire, 13–16, 30–34. The military’s domestic domination and war against the home front are discussed in Pircher, Militär, Verwaltung und Politik; Überegger, Der andere Krieg; and Holzer, Das Lächeln der Henker. Specifically on the military’s assault on the rule of law, see Deak and Gumz, “How to Break a State.” Two older accounts are still...
invaluable: Führ, *Das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando*; Redlich, *Österreichische Regierung und Verwaltung*, 82–95, 113–146. The Habsburg military’s war against its own civilians was not waged evenly across the Monarchy; speakers of Czech, Ukrainian, and Italian were more often singled out for persecution, for example.

25. Hsia, “Who Provided Care for Wounded and Disabled Soldiers?”

26. In the second half of 1917 and early 1918, most French people “refused to throw up their hands, though they found it increasingly difficult to tell how victory might be achieved.” Becker, *The Great War*, 248.

27. In these two, welfare state building “became an integral part of the broader post-1918 elite consensus on the larger task of state and nation building.” They also adopted a strong étatist approach by having the state assume the role of the guarantor and protector of “the day-to-day functioning and long-term expansion of all major welfare programs.” Inglot, *Welfare States in East Central Europe, 1919–2004*, 54–118; here 98.


29. The Czechoslovakian disabled soldiers had more complex meanings in the nation building discourses and practices, due partly to the existence and symbolic centrality of the Czechoslovak Legionnaires and partly to its “victor” status. See the Stegmann book mentioned earlier and the more recent analysis of veteran activism in Šustrová, “The Struggle for Respect.”

30. Gerber, “Disabled Veterans,” 489. The interwar Austrian experiences may be fruitfully compared with those of Western African disabled veterans who fought for the French Empire.

31. Comparatively privileged Austrian war victims did not fit the narratives of marginalization and discrimination common in disability history. But looking at the ideas about military and civilian uses of human bodies embedded in the discussions and debates over the provision for disabled soldiers and veterans, this book suggests new perspectives on the social and political construction of disability (and ability) from the Central European experiences and demonstrates the relevance of the category of disability for studying the history of the state and citizenship. On disability history as a field of inquiry, see Kudlick, “Disability History,” and Rembis, Kudlick, and Nielsen, “Introduction.”

32. For example, Briggs’s pioneer work of historicizing the welfare state: “The Welfare State in Historical Perspective”; and the major comparative study by Baldwin, *The Politics of Social Solidarity*. Esping-Andersen’s much-cited *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* similarly looks at class mobilization and class politics to explain the causes of his famous “three regimes.”


34. The First World War’s impact on citizenship and the role of women in society and politics is discussed, for example, in Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes*; Grayzel,
Women’s Identities at War; Gullace, “The Blood of Our Sons”; Healy, “Becoming Austrian”; Sharp and Stibbe, eds., Aftermaths of War.


38. Chapter 6 also shows how ingrained the male breadwinner model had become among Austrians of different political and ideological stripes (except for some Social Democrats) in their designs for war victim welfare after 1918, even though female war victimhood had fundamentally destabilized the model itself. On the French male breadwinner model, see Frader, Breadwinners and Citizens.


40. On social insurance, see Hofmeister, “Austria.” On the emergence of public labor protection and inspection, see Ebert, Die Anfänge der modernen Sozialpolitik, and Grandner, Kooperative Gewerkschaftspolitik.

41. The classic analysis from this perspective is Tálos, Staatliche Sozialpolitik.

42. Grandner, “Conservative Social Politics.”

43. In terms of the total population, it covered only 6.48, 9.60, and 12.14 percent in 1890, 1900, and 1910, respectively. Gerhard Melinz, “Vom ’Almosen’ zum ’Richtsatz’,” 847, 860 note 7.

44. Melinz and Zimmermann, Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe; Fejtová et al. eds., Poverty, Charity and Social Welfare.

45. Melinz and Zimmermann, Über die Grenzen der Armenhilfe, 103–110. On the longer history of legal domicile in Austria, see Heindl and Saurer, eds., Grenze und Staat.

46. Göhring and Pellar, Ferdinand Hanusch, 204, has a list of main social legislation under Social Minister Hanusch’s leadership (November 1918 to October 1920). See also the list in Bruckmüller, “Sozialstruktur und Sozialpolitik,” vol. 1, 422–423.

47. On deploying the Foucauldian concepts of the governmental state and biopolitics in historical research, see Dickinson, “Biopolitics, Fascism, Democracy”; and Holquist, “Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work.”

48. See the discussion on the étatization of welfare provision through a “parastatal complex” in Tsarist Russia in Hoffmann, Cultivating the Masses, 36–48. Hoffmann explicitly argues that this was a local version of the governmental state’s pan-European rise.


50. Hoffmann, Cultivating the Masses.
51. There was a strong wartime drive to rationalize and optimize both work and everyday activities. Some of the already existing ideas, such as calorie counting, were acted on only because of wartime necessity. Kučera, Rationed Life, 12–93.

52. The most recent comparative study of the (mostly) European warfare-welfare nexus, Warfare and Welfare (eds. Obinger, Petersen, and Starke), uses this tripartite design to structure its case studies. It includes Obinger, “War Preparation, Warfare, and the Welfare State in Austria.”


54. Even Social Democrats became committed agents of nationalist mobilization in Bohemia; they saw no contradiction between national liberation and social democracy. Beňes, Workers and Nationalism.

55. Deak, Forging a Multinational State, is a good example of focusing on one of “the other sides” of late Imperial Austrian history.


57. There were women who were eligible for the Republic’s welfare benefits for disabled veterans. But women as potential disabled beneficiaries in their own right were absent in the wartime discussions. See chapter 6.

58. Based on a contemporary Chamber of Labor (Arbeiterkammer) source, the indexed price of basic foodstuff and fuel rose from 100 in July 1914 to 2,671 on 1 December 1919, 5,374 on 31 July 1920, 7,991 on 31 January 1921, and 10,241 on 30 June 1921. Fritz Rager, “Indexzahl und Lohnpolitik,” Arbeiter-Zeitung (Morgenblatt), 25 December 1921, 3.


60. Korngold, Die tote Stadt: Vocal Score, 206–209, 234. Emphasis in the original. I modernize the spelling of the Dover edition’s English libretto, which was first published in the 1921 Metropolitan Opera House Grand Opera Libretto-Die tote Stadt. Korngold and his father Julius Korngold cowrote the original German libretto based on Georges Rodenbach’s novel Bruges-la-Morte (1892).

61. For a recent, more positive reassessment of early interwar Germany, see Gerwarth, November 1918.

Chapter 1

1. Roth, The Radetzky March, 3, 12.

2. On the complex relationship between poor relief and social control in Central Europe, see Frohman, Poor Relief and Welfare.
3. Before 1750, it was private endowments that provided for disabled officers in need, and this was only in some individual crownlands. The 1750 fund was set up for those at the rank of Obersteuhrant (lieutenant colonel) or lower, and some of the older private endowments merged with it. “Bericht des von dem hohen Hause der Abgeordneten eingesetzten Ausschusses zur Berathung des von der hohen Regierung vorgelegten Gesetzentwurfes, betreffend die Militärversorgung der Personen des k. k. Heeres, der k. k. Kriegsmarine und der k. k. Landwehr,” *SPHA*, VIII. Session, 1874, Beilage 166, 1550–1551.

4. *GKKOH*, 84. This compendium, edited with commentary by Wenzel Pokorny, collects or summarizes the edicts, instructions, and regulations that were in effect or serving as the basis of those rules in effect as of 1843.


7. K. k. hofkriegsräthliche Verordnung D. 5680, 16. 12. 1820, in *GKKOH*, 127–128. The former suburbs of Hernals and Neulerchenfeld were absorbed by Vienna in 1892. On the Officers’ Daughters Institutes, see also Danzer, Bancalari, and Rieger, *Unter den Fahnen*, 442–448. There were also two schools for soldiers’ daughters, founded in 1830 and 1843 respectively, which common soldiers’ daughters could enter between the age of five and nine. They started to train for a career as domestic workers at fourteen and were expected to find good employment when they left the schools at eighteen. Ibid., 448–449.

8. For the definitions from the 15 April 1772 edict and its subsequent elaborations in 1777, specifically for “real invalids,” see *GKKOH*, 86–87.

9. Ibid., 89–90.

10. Ibid., 90.


13. “Bericht... betreffend die Militärversorgung,” 1551.


15. Ibid., 102–103.

16. Ibid., 102.


18. Ibid., 91.


22. Rumpler, *1804–1914: Eine Chance für Mitteleuropa*, 148–153. From 1820 to 1907, military spending grew an average of 2.44 percent per year (from 70 million to 500 million kronen). In normal years the annual military spending was around 2
percent of GDP. But in the early 1830s, 1848–1866, 1878, and 1908, military spending increased enormously, reaching 5 to 6 percent of GDP. See Pammer, “Public Finance in Austria-Hungary,” 140–142.

23. From 50 percent in 1817 to 20 percent in 1848. Rothenberg, The Army of Francis Joseph, 10.

27. GKKOH, 91, summarizing k. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular D. 5214, 24. 10. 1829.
30. Ibid., 99.
34. Ibid., 96–97.

36. Since 1552, local communities had been responsible for assisting their indigenous, “deserving” poor. In the nineteenth century, an Austrian citizen’s established domicile, an exclusive membership in a specific community, entitled him or her to public poor relief there. Wendelin, “Schub und Heimatwesen,” 181–191. This entitlement to local poor relief became the reason why local communities often resisted letting the poor establish domicile there and acquire Heimatrecht. Burger, “Passwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft,” 164.


38. On the rising trend of persecuting vagrants and punishing beggars across Europe since the late fifteenth century, see Jütte, Poverty and Deviance, 146–150, 169–177.

39. The higher echelons of the officer corps were very international. Rothenberg, The Army of Francis Joseph, 11. It is more difficult to say whether it was the same in the lower ranks.

41. K. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular D. 1948, 14. 5. 1828, in GKKOH, 118.
42. K. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular H. 862, 3. 9. 1825, in GKKOH, 129–130.

43. On controlling internal and cross-border movements through passports in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Burger, “Passwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft,” 3–87, especially 63–76. Only in December 1867, with the new Basic Law on the General Rights of State Citizens, RGBl. 142/1867, were Austrian citizens guaranteed the full freedom of movement and residence (§6) and the right to emigrate (§4). On the racialized anxiety over mobile populations in nineteenth-and twentieth-century Austria, see Zahra, “Condemned to Rootlessness and Unable to Budge.”
45. GKKOH, 119.
46. Ibid., 120. On the rationale and consequences of the marriage bond requirement for “healthy” officers, see Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 148–151.
47. GKKOH, 120.
48. Ibid., 120.
49. K. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular-Reskript L. 3232, 27. 6. 1803, in GKKOH, 120, and k. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular H. 862, 3. 9. 1825, in GKKOH, 129.
50. K. k. hofkriegsräthliches Cirkular J. 3320, 7. 10. 1833, in GKKOH, 121.
51. Mitterauer and Sieder, The European Family, 122–124. In 1800, some lower-income civil servants were implicitly banned from marriage with the threat that their widows and orphans would not be eligible for pensions. Heindl, Gehorsame Rebellen, 49–50.
52. Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 149, 157–158. Higher-ranked civil servants were expected to marry women of suitable background, too. Adding to it the unwritten rule that their families should have sufficient income or wealth to maintain a status-appropriate lifestyle, many officials remained single into their forties because they (their small salaries, to be exact) did not enable them to find good matches (dowries) to fulfill such requirements. Heindl, Gehorsame Rebellen, 268–272.
53. On making the population legible, see Scott, Seeing Like a State. On Habsburg officials’ later attempts to limit the mobility of citizens in the name of protecting their freedom and rights, see Zahra, The Great Departure, 3–63.
54. Thus the need to found new charities after major armed conflicts. See the effort to benefit loyal South Slav disabled soldiers and surviving dependents after 1848–1849 in Newman and Scheer, “The Ban Jelačić Trust.”
55. This series of Basic Laws from 21 December 1867 includes RGBl. 141/1867 (on the Reichsrat), 142/1867 (on the rights of citizens), 143/1867 (on the Reichsgericht, the Supreme Court), 144/1867 (on judicial power), 145/1867 (on executive power), and 146/1867 (on joint affairs with Hungary and the Delegations).
56. The same phenomenon of “imitating Prussia” happened in France after 1871. See Mitchell, The German Influence in France and Victors and Vanquished.
57. Two failed attempts to introduce (theoretically) universal military service preceded the legislation: an imperial edict of 28 December 1866 and a bicameral Reichsrat resolution of 10 December 1867. The imperial edict was resisted by the Hungarian leaders. SPHA, IV. Session, 144. Sitzung, 10 November 1868, 4412–4414. See also Allmayer-Beck, “Die Bewaffnete Macht,” 61–62.
58. The initial recruitment classes consisted of 95,400 men for the Joint Army (56,000 from Austria and less than 40,000 from Hungary) and 20,000 for the National Guards annually. The annual numbers were raised in the subsequent years, but the total number of annual recruits never went beyond 125,500, making the Habsburg standing army proportionally the smallest among the European great powers. Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 57.
59. The 1868 law did not specify how the twelve-year service would be fulfilled by those drafted directly into it. Due partly to Hungarian pressure, the Landwehr and Honvéd gradually shed their original second-line character and became more like
additional units of the standing army. Active service in them lasted two years, followed by a ten-year reserve period. Ibid., 56.

60. According to Alfons Danzer and his coauthors, the men assigned to the Ersatzreserve underwent an eight-week training and then a multiweek training every other or third year. Danzer, Bancalari, and Rieger, *Unter den Fahnen*, 12. It is somewhat different from Deák’s account in *Beyond Nationalism*, 56.

61. *SPHA*, IV. Session, 144. Sitzung, 10 November 1868, 4413–4414. Based on this government projection, under the 1868 system the Habsburg forces would have a total wartime strength of 1,053,000 men (800,000 in the Joint Army, 53,000 Military Border guardsmen/Grenzer, and 200,000 National Guards) in comparison with the combined Prussian/North German and South German forces of 1,229,117, the French forces of 1,350,000, the Russian forces of 1,467,000, and the Italian forces of 480,461.

62. Ibid., 4414, 4416.

63. Ibid., 4418–4420. The quotes are from 4418 and 4420.


66. The quote is from Hämmerle, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee als ‘Schule des Volkes’?” 196.

67. For the military’s internal debates (and struggle) to find its place in the new liberal order, see Allmayer-Beck, “Die Bewaffnete Macht,” 56–88.


69. Universal military service in the Habsburg Monarchy was unique in not being tied to a nation-building project, unlike in other European countries. See Hämmerle, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee als ‘Schule des Volkes’?” 179–183.


74. On how conscription shaped the relations between the military and German citizens, see Ute Frevert, *A Nation in Barracks*, especially 149–235.

75. “Bericht ... betreffend die Militärversorgung,” 1548.
79. The attempt to lower military expenses as much as possible had already begun in the years before the Austro-Prussian War. Wagner, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee,” 307, 592.
80. “Bericht . . . betreffend die Militärversorgung,” 1549, 1557. § II.
82. *SPHA*, VIII. Session, 65. Sitzung, 22 October 1874, 2417.
84. Colonels’ and lieutenant colonels’ salaries were raised in 1872. On the multiple attempts by Joint War Minister Franz von Kuhn to improve military pay between 1868 and 1875, see Wagner, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee,” 591–594.
85. Deák, *Beyond Nationalism*, 149–151. Service years (Dienstjahre), rather than the actual time served, were usually counted because, as a way to recognize hardship and enhanced level of risk, wartime service was counted double.
86. For the evolving idea of old age, see Thane, ed., *A History of Old Age*.
89. “Bericht . . . betreffend die Militärversorgung,” 1549.
92. Ibid., 1549.
94. Ibid., 307.
95. *SPHA*, VIII. Session, 65. Sitzung, 22 October 1874, 2415.
96. Ibid., 2418.
97. Ibid., 2417–2418.
99. Ibid., 2476. Forcing mentally ill officers to stay in military or state institutions, as a money-saving measure, was criticized in the debate but accepted by the majority. Ibid., 2456–2457.
100. Ibid., 2462.
101. Ibid., 2467–2470.
102. Beyond legally treating military officials and civil servants as different from private employees, Max Weber’s classic argument that modern officeholding is not “a usual exchange of services for equivalents, as in the case with free labor contracts” captures the essence of this phenomenon. See Weber, “Bureaucracy.” The quote is from 199.

103. Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 114–123.


105. Ibid., 2466.

106. Ibid., 2467.

107. On Austrian political liberalism, see Höbelt, Kornblume und Kaiseradler; Judson, Exclusive Revolutionaries; and Kwan, Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy.

108. SPHA, IV. Session, 144. Sitzung, 10 November 1868, 4419.

109. Christa Hämerle argues that the Austrian liberals made compromise on their original ideal of a citizen militia in order to gain the cooperation of the military elite. To her this partially accounted for the military reform’s backward-looking character. Hämerle, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee als ‘Schule des Volkes?’” 196.

110. This old practice was the reason why the 1875 law set rules for pension-eligible disabled/retired soldiers who entered civil service: §§28–30 for officers, §§87–88 for the enlisted ranks. The scale of this kind of unsystematic charity measure for disabled veterans through case-by-case employment in public or imperial household service remains to be researched.

111. Trost, Rauchen für Österreich, 116–118. The quote is from 118. Of the more than 80,000 tobacconist concessions in Imperial Austria in 1900, it is unknown how many were operated by military invalids or soldiers’ widows. For the statistics of concessions, see K. k. Statistische Zentralkommission, ed., Österreichisches Statistisches Handbuch für . . . 1901, 204. Back in 1875, there were more than 56,000 (excluding Bukovina), K. k. Statistische Central-Commission, ed., Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Jahr 1875, Heft VII., 40.


Chapter 2


2. On Heiratskaution, see Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 139–142.

3. On the corporate culture of the professional soldiers, see Allmayer-Beck, “Die Bewaffnete Macht,” 1–141, esp. 75ff.


5. For the Habsburg decision to invade Serbia, see the classic Williamson, Austria-Hungary, and Clark, The Sleepwalkers.

6. RGBl. 41/1887, 27 April 1887, Law Regarding Military Pensions for Widows and Orphans of Officers and Enlisted Men in the Joint Army, the Joint Navy, the National Guards and the Landsturm.


9. Between 1870 and 1882, the number of twenty- to twenty-two-year-old men the authorities declared perfectly fit for active military service declined from 263 to 147 per 1,000 examined in Imperial Austria and from 340 to 163 per 1,000 in Hungary. For the Monarchy as a whole, the annual “fit for service” rate never rose above 30.6 percent during this thirteen-year period. For the period 1883 to 1893, the “fit for service” rate in both halves of the Monarchy was usually under 20 percent. The fuller statistics, collected and published by Isidor Singer in 1885, are reproduced in Tálos, *Staatliche Sozialpolitik*, 24–29. The dismal numbers were attributed to the population’s declining health as a result of industrialization and urbanization, generating debates over the health of future generations similar to those taking place in other European countries. But the standards for “fit” themselves must have been set relatively high. The Habsburg Monarchy certainly had a smaller army in proportion to its total population and a smaller annual military budget per capita (in 1879 it was 2.92 fl.; compare the German Reich’s 5.34 fl., Russia’s 3.8 fl., France’s 8.46 fl., and Italy’s 3.88 fl.). Wagner, “Die k. (u.) k. Armee,” 492. See also Stone, “Army and Society,” 107.


12. Ibid., 10–12.


14. For the example, of nationalists of various stripes, see Judson, *Guardians of the Nation*.

15. Denk, “Fürsorgewesen,” 14–16. The Austrian legislation was adopted almost immediately after the Russian law of 25 June 1912, which replaced the poor-relief-like, need-based wartime aid to soldiers’ wives defined in the 1877 rules. The new law obligated the Russian state to pay food allowances to every soldier’s wife and children younger than seventeen regardless of their economic situation. As in Austria, it was a mixture of inadequacies exposed by war mobilization (the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War) and pressure from the national representative institution (the Third State Duma) that prompted the reform. Pyle, “Village Social Relations,” 3–6, 124–154. See also Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation*. The Balkan War also prompted the Ottoman Empire to decree a monthly allowance for soldiers’ dependents in 1912. Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses*, 39.

17. On the practical implications of this image, see Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, esp. ch. 6. See also Cole and Unowsky, eds., *The Limits of Loyalty."
20. Ibid., 27. For more recent general accounts of the Monarchy’s last war, see Herwig, *The First World War;* Rauchensteiner, *Der Erste Weltkrieg;* Watson, *Ring of Steel.*
21. On the battles for Przemysł, see Watson, *The Fortress.*
24. Glaise-Horstenau, ed., *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg . . . Das Kriegsjahr 1916,* Beilage 4, Tabelle 2. The Austrian-Hungarian armed forces’ peacetime strength was 415,000. The 1914 mobilization allowed it to reach 3,350,000, but 1,270,000 of them were rear-echelon support forces. Herwig, *The First World War,* 77.
29. Ibid., Beilage 4, Tabelle 2. The official history lists casualties for the duration of the war, in twelve-month intervals, as follows: August 1914–July 1915: 271,839 fallen, 905,796 wounded, 838,873 taken prisoner, 722,000 sick (the illness statistics count those who were evacuated from the battlefront); August 1915–July 1916: 106,901 fallen, 456,846 wounded, 474,907 taken prisoner, 881,600 sick; August 1916–July 1917: 71,086 fallen, 291,774 wounded, 285,833 taken prisoner, 878,700 sick; August 1917–end of the war: 69,539 fallen, 259,305 wounded, 128,870 taken prisoner, and until the end of July 1918, 1,000,000 sick. Glaise von Horstenau and Kiszling, eds., *Österreich-Ungarns letzter Krieg . . . Das Kriegsjahr 1918,* 46–48.
32. At the end of 1914, the casualties suffered by the Austro-Hungarian armed forces had reached 200,000 deaths and 500,000 wounded. Herwig, *The First World War,* 120.
36. The officially recorded average bread price between 15 September 1915 and 10 August 1918 was 0.57 kronen per kilo. This price does not reflect the shortage and lowered quality of bread by 1917 and 1918. Loewenfeld-Russ, *Die Regelung der Volksernährung,* 106.
Notes


39. The provisions of the Austrian and Russian living allowance laws of 1912, at least in terms of eligibility criteria, were more generous than those of other belligerents. In France and Germany, only “needy” wives and children were eligible. See Pyle, “Village Social Relations,” 154–156.

40. RGBl. 237/1912, §9. On the rise of the dual-track system (the state/political administration and the crownland autonomous administration), see Deak, Forging a Multinational State, 149–160.

41. RGBl. 313/1917, §7.

42. This development paralleled organized labor’s participation in labor dispute arbitration starting in March 1917. Grandner, Kooperative Gewerkschaftspolitik, ch. 6.

43. See also Denk, “Fürsorgewesen,” 33–35.

44. Herwig, The First World War, 493.


46. Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 279–299.

47. RGBl. 119/1918, 28 March 1918, Law Regarding Granting Subsidies to Enlisted Men, Their Dependants, and Their Survivors.

48. SPHH, XXII. Session, 32. Sitzung, 22 March 1918, 958.


52. Fahringer, Büsch, and Liebl, Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge, 11–14.

53. For a concise description, see Egger and Bürgschwentner, “Kriegsfürsorge,” 154–156.


56. Hornek, Militärversorgung und Invalidenfürsorge.

57. Hornek, Staatlicher Unterhaltsbeitrag und Staatliche Unterstützung.

58. For example, Kraetzig, Erläuterungen zum Gesetz vom 28. März 1918, R.-G.-Bl. Nr. 119.

59. For the evolution of wartime military medicine, see Biwald, Von Helden und Krüppeln, esp. vol. 1, chs. 4 and 6, and vol. 2, ch. 7.

60. Rauchensteiner, Der Tod des Doppeladlers, 152; Biwald, Von Helden und Krüppeln, 204–220.


65. Some crownland governments began to set up their own coordinating offices before it became the policy of the Interior Ministry. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1300/1918.


67. For a list of the members of the Provincial Commission, see Steiermärkische Landeskommission, Die Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge in Steiermark, 108–111.


69. Ibid., 410–413.

70. Ibid., 411–412.

71. Ibid., 413–414.

72. Ibid., 413–415.


74. Ibid., 26–36, passim.

75. The Lower Austrian Commission coordinated 987 orthopedic, tuberculosis, and other internal illness cases for medical treatment in 1915. The number of cases it handled jumped to 3,620 in 1916 and remained high with 3,462 in 1917. The job (re)training courses it organized saw similar growth, with 423 soldiers participating in 1915, 1,389 in 1916, and 1,373 in 1917. Fahringer, Büsch, and Liebl, Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge, 28–31, 33–35, 42–43.

76. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger, Innsbruck, an das k. k. Ministerium des Innern, Betreff: Unterstützung für Kriegsbeschädigte, N763/1, 5 April 1917, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 17583/1918.


79. Ibid.


81. Ibid., 23, 31.

82. Ibid., 32.


84. Merkblatt für die Anmeldung bei der k. k. Arbeitsvermittlung an Kriegsinvalide in Ober-Österreich, 1, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 6480/1918. Hence the need in 1916 to send traveling speaker Rudolf Peerz to large and small towns in Upper Austria and Salzburg to give lectures and help local notables organize. “K. K. Arbeitsvermittlung
an Kriegsinvaliden,” 1–3. ÖStA BMfsV KBF K1358 4821/1918. See also Peerz, Unsere Sorge um die Kriegsinvaliden.

85. “Sitzungsprotokoll” from the 7 February 1918 meeting at the Ministry of Social Welfare, passim, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 4471/1918.

86. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1542/1918.


88. The Joint War Ministry’s Oberintendant Lanzendorfer made this characterization in an interministerial meeting held on 3 April 1918. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 9055/1918.

89. Cited from Herwig, The First World War, 78.

90. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.u.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, 1–2. The memorandum and other ministries’ first responses can also be found in ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1917 Abt. 9/IF K14171917 IF 4-2/9.

91. Ibid., 6–7.

92. Rauchberg was famous for his demographic study of the “language frontiers” in Bohemia. Iris Nachum recently argues that Vienna-born Rauchberg, a Jewish adult convert to Protestantism, was both liberal-moderate and an ardent German nationalist, but not antisemitic. Nachum, “Heinrich Rauchberg (1860–1938),” 78–98 (here 83, 97). The original 1916 Rauchberg pamphlet is Kriegerheimstätten.

93. Some versions included more fantasies than others. For a statement of the general principles of the wartime efforts as well as the common denominators of different versions, see “Leitsätze für die Schaffung von Kriegerheimstätten. Auf Grund der Beschlüsse der vierten österreichischen Wohnungskonferenz,” “Aufruf des Reichsverbandes für Kriegerheimstätten,” and “Satzungen des Reichsverbandes für Kriegerheimstätten in Österreich,” in Breuer, Die Kriegerheimstätten- und Wohnungsfürsorgebewegung, 58–64. For a more fantastic version, see the German nationalist organization Südmark’s intervention: Adam-Kappert, Schafft Kriegerheimstätten!; Hoyer, Kriegerheimstätten; and Jesser, Kriegerheimstätten. Some German nationalists had been promoting warrior homesteads for disabled veterans since 1915. See Denkschrift der Deutschen Arbeiterpartei Österreichs.


95. For example, Verein “Die Bereitschaft,” ed., Die Versorgung der Kriegsbeschädigten.

96. Later pamphlets offered more technical details. For example, Schafft Kriegerheimstätten! comes with architects’ renderings of different farmhouse designs. Drawings
for a more urban version can be found in Goldmund, *Die Kaiser Karl-Kriegerheimstätte in Aspern*. See also Vogel, *Innere Kolonisation und Landarbeiterfrage in Österreich*.

97. ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1915 Abr. 9/IF K945 1915 IF. 112–163/1, the quotes are from Zl. 5321/M.P. Abschrift einer Note des k.u.k. 2. Armeeckommandos, 27.8.1915 Op. Nr. 5781/1915, 24.10.1915, an das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando, Teschen; and k.k.M.f.L.V. Präs. Nr. 19746 Zuweisung beschlagnahmter Bauerngüter an verdiente Kriegsinvaliden, KM Einsichtsakt 2.12.1915. The proposal was originated from the 18th Corps.


105. See, for example, Jesser, *Innere Kolonisation in den Sudetenländern*. Jesser did not miss the opportunity in 1916 to promote his old ideas under the banner of warrior homesteads; see his *Kriegerheimstätten*.

106. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.U.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, Auszug aus der Schrift “Kriegerheimstätten” von Dr. Heinrich Rauchberg, 1, 3, 6.

107. Ibid., 2–3. Sondhaus argues that the Austrian Army chief of staff, Conrad von Hötzendorf, had long harbored a Social Darwinist view of the world. See his *Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf*, 15–16. Rauchberg’s idea shows the developing racial hygiene discourses at the time. For the latter, see Proctor, *Racial Hygiene*, 10–30.
108. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.u.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, Auszug aus der Schrift “Kriegerheimstätten” von Dr. Heinrich Rauchberg, 3.


111. Sondhaus, *Franz Conrad von Hützendorf*, 82.


113. RGBl. Nr. 156/1914, Imperial Decree Regarding Subjecting Civilians to Temporary Military Jurisdiction. See the succinct analysis in Führ, *Das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando*, 18–19.

114. Überegger, *Der andere Krieg*; Führ, *Das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando*, 91–122.

115. RGBl. Nr. 186/1914, Imperial Decree Regarding the Transfer of the Political Administration’s Authority.


119. This thesis has recently been developed to interpret the entire war experience of the Monarchy in Deak and Gumz, “How to Break a State.” See also Führ, *Das k.u.k. Armeeoberkommando*; Redlich, Österreichische Regierung und Verwaltung, 82–95, 113–146; Scheer, *Zwischen Front und Heimat*.


122. Ibid., 213–217. See also Rauchensteiner, *Der Tod des Doppeladlers*, 362–370. On the tense relations between the Habsburg Monarchy and the German Reich during the war, see Shanafelt, *The Secret Enemy*.

123. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.u.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, memorandum on Kriegsinvalidenversorgung, 5–6.


125. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.u.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, memorandum on Kriegsinvalidenversorgung, 6.

126. An October 1917 report listed eight projects that were planned or already underway. The number of already completed homesteads was paltry: thirty by the Association for the Founding of War Blind Homesteads (Verein für die Errichtung von


130. ÖStA HHStA Nachlass Joseph Maria Baernreither K21 Max Lederer an Josef Maria Baernreither, 8.3.1917, fol. 271.

131. For more on this, see Hsia, “Disability and ‘Internal Colonization’ in WWI Austria.”

132. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2053/1918 K.u.k. Armeeoberkommando an k.k. Minister des Inneren, memorandum on Kriegsinvalidenversorgung. 8. The comment is dated 30 July 1918.


134. See chapter 3 for the discussion of the new Social Ministry’s agenda. Except for the military’s obsession with disciplining other welfare actors, the main goals were quite similar.


136. Artifacts such as flyers, posters, instructions, and organization bylaws stemming from wartime philanthropic initiatives and several public-private joint donation drives can be found in WBR, Konvolut: Kriegssammlung aus den Jahren 1914–1919.

137. See Antonius, “Kriegsfürsorge,” 251–256, on their division of labor. The overlapping agendas of the War Welfare Office (Kriegsfürsorgeamt), the War Assistance Bureau (Kriegshilfsbureau des k. k. Ministerium des Innern), and the War Assistance Fund (Kriegshilfsfonds) created problems from the very beginning. Bürgschwentner, “Zwischen materieller und mentaler Kriegsfürsorge,” 31–56.

138. On female Austrian nurses and volunteers, see Zettelbauer, “Krankenschwestern im Ersten Weltkrieg” and “Mit blutendem Herzen . . . für Kaiser und Vaterland;” Hämmerle, Heimat/Front, 26–53. On their German counterparts, see Schönberger, “Motherly Heroines and Adventurous Girls.” Zettelbauer argues that discursive policing of Austrian women nurses and soldiers led to their marginalization in war memories in her “Das fragile Geschlecht der Kriegsheldin.”

139. Pressereferat der Österreichischen Gesellschaft vom Roten Kreuze, ed., Bericht über die Kriegstätigkeit. Many national Red Cross movements became recognized

140. K. k. Ministerium des Innern 7228/1916, 1–2, 5, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 93/1918. The quotation is from 2.

141. Ibid., 4.

142. Hämmerle discusses women’s self-mobilization for various war efforts in *Heimat/Front*, 85–159. See also Densford, “The Wehrmann in Eisen” for officials’ and civic leaders’ efforts to promote patriotic contributions.

143. Nuanced analysis of pre-1914 dynastic loyalism and state patriotism can be found in Cole and Unowsky, eds., *The Limits of Loyalty*. On conservative-nationalist patriotic women, see Zettelbauer, “Mit blutendem Herzen . . . für Kaiser und Vaterland.”

144. For a more detailed account on how the welfare field became a realm of alternative politics, see Hsia, “Who Provided Care for Wounded and Disabled Soldiers?”


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Chapter 3

1. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 43–44.


5. The perceived crisis in family, youth, and gender relations, for example, is discussed in Sieder, “Behind the Lines,” 109–138.

6. The First World War does not receive dedicated discussion in Tálos’s *Staatliche Sozialpolitik*. Tálos treats the period only as a continuation of the stagnant social policy making begun in the 1890s. Weidenholzer’s *Der sorgende Staat* ends its discussion before the outbreak of the war. Healy’s *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire* focuses more on the state authorities’ inability to respond to the material crisis and crisis of authority. Zahra highlights how, in the Bohemian Lands, the state’s youth welfare reform was entrusted to competing private nationalist associations in “‘Each nation only cares for its own.’”

7. For a more recent account of the establishment of the Ministry of Social Welfare, see Heise, “Vom k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge,” 28–90.


14. Some German nationalists had hoped for a top-down legislation-by-decree to “solve” the German-Czech conflicts in their favor. Baernreither himself was involved in the so-called Octroi machinations. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*, 387–408.

15. *SPAH*, XXII. Session, 1917, Beilage 680, “Erläuterungen.” The five main areas were first laid out in the attachment, entitled “Wirkungskreis des Ministeriums für soziale Fürsorge,” to the 7 October 1917 imperial note mentioned earlier. The “Wirkungskreis” document actually listed a sixth area of jurisdiction, “Job Placement, Unemployment Welfare, and Emigrant Protection.” The six-area jurisdiction was also official; see “Wirkungskreis des Ministeriums für soziale Fürsorge,” *Mitteilungen des k. k. Ministerriums für soziale Fürsorge über Fürsorge für Kriegsbeschädigte* 1918, no. 1-5, May 1918, 5. Why the later (16 October) “Explanations” did not include the sixth area mentioned by the emperor on 7 October is difficult to answer.

16. On the perceived or real crisis of the family and the much talked about youth delinquencies during (and after) the war, see Sieder, “Behind the Lines,” 109–138; Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 211–235, 247–257; Auer, *Kriegskinder*, 264–268. The wartime panic over the alleged rise of “youth crimes” in Austria was not new; see Wegs, “Youth Delinquency & ‘Crime.’”


18. Ibid., 4, 6.


20. Parliamentarians criticized the minimal public assistance to disabled soldiers in housing and income replacement. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 120/1918, 121/1918.

24. Redlich, Schicksalsjahre Österreichs, vol. 2, 225 (entry Wednesday, 1 August 1918).
25. In addition to drafting the necessary laws and regulations for the ministry’s founding, he had been meeting with parliamentarians from different parties and collecting applications for potential ministerial posts. See “Memoria 10.7.1917,” fol. 667 ff.
26. Goldinger, “Die Zentralverwaltung in Cisleithanien,” 162. Mataja was the founding director of the Commerce Ministry’s Labor Statistics Office (Arbeitsstatistisches Amt) in 1898 and then the founding head of the Commerce Ministry’s Social Policy Division (Sozialpolitische Sektion) in 1908. These two offices were the center of social policy research and coordination in the prewar Austrian central administration. See Pellar, “Arbeitsstatistik” and Mit sozialpolitischen Erwägungen.
27. “Erläuterungen,” 4–5. I translate Arbeitskraft as “ability to work” because in this context it referred less to the workers (the “workforce”) than to their productive capacity.
28. Ibid., 7.
29. For example, Reichsrat deputies were mostly dissatisfied with the planned splitting of the public health agenda from the Social Welfare Ministry. But “no one would be willing to take the responsibility for . . . endanger[ing] the much desired speedy establishment of the Ministry of Social Welfare” in the Constitution Committee’s debate over the two-article law. In “Bericht des Verfassungsausschusses,” 3.
30. RGBl. 499/1917, 22 December 1917.
32. The living allowances for soldiers’ dependents were administered through District Living Allowance Commissions (Unterhaltsbezirkskommissionen) and Provincial Living Allowance Commissions (Unterhaltslandeskommissionen); both functioned as subordinate agencies of the Austrian Ministry of Defense. RGBl. 313/1917, 27 July 1917, Law Regarding New Regulations of Living Allowances for the Duration of the Current War, §7.
33. “Wirkungskreis des Ministeriums für soziale Fürsorge,” Mitteilungen des k. k. Ministeriums für soziale Fürsorge über Fürsorge für Kriegbeschädigte 1918, no. 1-5, May 1918, 4. The conceptual and administrative divide between dead or disabled soldiers on the one side and dependents and survivors of these dead or disabled soldiers on the other was not bridged by the new Social Ministry. Formal unification of the two categories of beneficiaries under the same administrative and legal roof came only after the war. See chapters 5 and 6 of this book.
35. Ibid., 4.
36. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 178/1918. The replies from the commissions, mostly dated from mid-January to February, can be found in K1356 616/1918 (Styria), 1090/1918 (Lower Austria), 2128/1918 (Upper Austria), K1358 3661/1918 and 5656/1918 (Tyrol), 4941/1918 (Salzburg).
37. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1542/1918.

39. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1542/1918.

40. Ibid.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.


44. Though the top Social Welfare officials were not enthusiastic about them, such projects did receive public or semipublic funding. For example, the military-controlled (later transferred to the Social Welfare Ministry) Emperor and King Karl Welfare Fund (Kaiser u. König Karl Fürsorgefonds), with the Social Welfare Ministry’s cooperation, ran a program that offered married and seriously disabled soldiers (75 percent loss of work ability) grants to buy land and start their own farms, workshops, or shops. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 7680/1918. See also ÖStA AVA Inneres MdI KFF K1, Protokolle Kuratorim Sitzungen KFF, 3. Sitzung 19. January 1918, when the board approved this program. Individual applications and the difficulties of carrying out homestead projects can be found in ÖStA AVA Inneres MdI KFF K2.

45. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 3385/1918. The quote is from both the ministerial officials’ comments in the memo and the letter "An alle Landeschefs (mit Ausnahme Niederösterreich, Böhmen, Galizien, Dalmatien und Triest)" of 29 January 1918. Both used the same argument and the same “last link in the chain” trope to justify the proposed unification.


47. Ibid., 3.

48. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 6544/1918, Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge an alle Landeskommissionen zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger und an die Staatliche Landeszentrale für das Königreich Böhmen zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger, "Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen," 5 March 1918, 4.

49. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1542/1918.

50. See the comments in “Einladung der Büroleiter der k.k. Arbeitsvermittlungen an Kriegsinvalide zu einer Besprechung” in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 3385/1918.

51. “Sitzungsprotokoll” from the 7 February 1918 meeting at the Ministry of Social Welfare, 1–3, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 4471/1918.

52. Ibid., 2–3, 8–9.

53. Ibid., 3–4.

54. Ibid., 4.
55. The Lower Austrian results were even stronger. The Vienna Bureau scored a 56.3 percent success rate by placing 6,939 applicants (against 25,947 available positions) successfully in the same period. Ibid., 8. But the Moravians’ performance was indeed impressive when compared with that of neighboring Bohemia, where the placement rate dropped from 35.5 percent (1,325 placements for 3,733 applicants and 3,368 available positions) in 1916 to 23.9 percent (991 placements for 4,146 applicants and 5,014 available positions) in the first half of 1917. The Bohemian Job Placement Authority said that the Imperial German authorities and the Austrian Galician Labor Exchange consistently reported a success rate between 50 and 70 percent. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 1356 93/1918.

56. “Sitzungsprotokoll” from the 7 February 1918 meeting at the Ministry of Social Welfare, 5.


58. The directors from Bohemia and Galicia met separately with the Second Division officials a few days before 7 February. The directors from Tyrol and Vorarlberg and from Carniola excused themselves because the invitation arrived too late.

59. “Sitzungsprotokoll” from the 7 February 1918 meeting at the Ministry of Social Welfare, 10.

60. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger bei der k.k. Statthalterschaft in Linz an die k.k. Arbeitsvermittlungs- und Bezirksfürsorgestelle in Braunau a. I., etc., 2. In ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 1358 6480/1918.

61. This was the situation as of 21 January 1918, when the Provincial Commission in Linz presented its survey of crownland war victim welfare providers in response to the Social Welfare Ministry’s January 1918 directive (K 1356 178/1918) discussed earlier. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 1356 2128/1918.


63. Ibid., 3.

64. “Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen,” 5 March 1918.

65. Ibid., 1.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid., 2.

68. Ibid., 2–3, 12.

69. Ibid., 3–4.

70. Ibid., 4–6.

71. Ibid., 7.

72. Ibid., 8.

73. Ibid., 10.
74. The temporary case form (Personenblatt) is Appendix I of the instructions; see “Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen,” 5 March 1918.
75. Ibid., 9–10.
76. Ibid., 9.
77. Ibid., 10–11. The model notice is the instructions’ Appendix II.
78. See the model notice in “Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen,” 5 March 1918, Appendix II.
79. Collecting and structuring complex information to facilitate the expanding state’s rule-based decision making had been the original “conveyor belt” function of the form since the eighteenth century, according to Peter Becker. As soon as the state saw itself as a major welfare service provider (for Becker mostly after 1945), the form also became an interface, an interview-like communication between citizens and officials. See his “Formulare als ‘Fließband’ der Verwaltung?” The 5 March 1918 reform’s detailed instructions about the forms and the procedures for using them were an early example of this duality of the form as an administrative technology.
80. “Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen,” 5 March 1918, 7.
81. Ibid., 7–8.
82. On prewar veteran associations, see Cole, Military Culture and Popular Patriotism. The compatibility of being loyal to the crown with being a nationalist activist is discussed in Cole and Unowsky, eds., The Limits of Loyalty.
84. Of the 2 million Austrian-Hungarian POWs in Russian captivity, approximately 500,000–700,000 were German speakers, 200,000–300,000 were Czech and Slovak speakers, 500,000–600,000 were Magyar speakers, and 200,000 were South Slavs. Rachamimov, POWs and the Great War, 34–44. Their return after the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk—380,000 by the end of April and 517,000 by the end of May in 1918—caused huge logistical problems. See Herwig, The First World War, 358–360, 367–368.
85. “Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge; organisatorische Massnahmen,” 5 March 1918, 11.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., 12.
88. Ibid., 11.
90. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 7404/1918, 9055/1918, 9947/1918.
91. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 15855/1918.
92. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 23579/1918.
93. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 20743/1918.
94. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 22177/1918.
95. Landescommission für Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger bei der k.k. Statthalterei in Linz an die k.k. Arbeitsvermittlungs-und Bezirksfürsorgestelle in Braunau a. I., etc., 2.
96. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1365 22177/1918.
97. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1362 19115/1918.
98. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1364 1825/1918.
99. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1365 9345/1919.
100. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1365 8817/1919 in 9345/1919.
101. ÖStA AdR BMfS V KBF K1365 10367/1919 in 9345/1919.

102. For a similar process of staatization of welfare through a “parastatal” complex that combined both state and societal resources, see the Russian case in Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses*, 34–48.


105. For example, a private with a prewar annual income under 1,200 kronen (income class I) would receive at most 1,080 kronen if he lost all his earning power in the old job due to war service. If the private had an annual income over 6,000 kronen (income class V), his highest possible pension would only be 1,320 kronen.

106. Before the First World War, working-class families in Vienna often did not encourage—or were even hostile to—girls pursuing formal schooling beyond the minimum five-year *Volksschule*. Among bourgeois families, girls attending secondary schools were also rare. Wegs, *Growing Up Working Class*, 93–97, 104–106.

107. The pension for the hypothetical orphan is tabulated based on the principles and the pension table, Antrag der Abgeordneten Hauser und Genossen, 3–4.


109. A more generalized standard to measure each man’s degree of loss of earning power (i.e., not specific to the man’s prior civilian occupation) was what intervals Germany and France settled on. See Geyer, “Ein Vorbote des Wohlfahrtsstaates,” 275.

110. Antrag der Abgeordneten Skaret und Genossen, 1.
111. Ibid. The quote is from 1.
112. Ibid., 2.
113. *SPHA*, XXII. Session, 1917, Beilage 388, Antrag der Abgeordneten Knirsch, Fahrner und Genossen, betreffend Kriegerheimstätten; Entwurf eines Gesetzes über Kriegerheimstätten. See esp. §6 about the eligible dependents. On the lengths German nationalists would go to strengthen the German nation, see Zahra, “Reclaiming the Children.”

114. *SPHA*, XXII. Session, 1917, Beilage 498, Antrag der Abgeordneten Hartl, Dr. V. Langenhan, Knirsch, Dr. Schürff und Genossen, betreffend Erlassung eines neuen Gesetzes über die Militärversorgung für Personen des Mannschaftsstandes, 2–3.
115. Ibid., 3–4. Of the twenty-one points in the German nationalist plan, eight were devoted to this “capitalization” option.

116. The Czech and the Croatian-Slovenian factions also had proposals urging the Austrian state to present a new military welfare law for discussion, on 14 July 1917 and on 10 November 1917, respectively. Only the Croatian-Slovenian motion proposed something different: the obligation of both public entities and private employers to hire disabled men and pay them a minimal wage. *SPHA*, XXII. Session, 1917, Beilage 530, Antrag der Abgeordneten Antonín Kalina, Dr. Velich und Genossen, betreffend die Verbesserung der Versorgung der Witwen und Waisen nach den im Kriege gefallenen Soldaten; and Beilage 782, Antrag der Abgeordneten Dr. Korošček, Dr. L. Pogačnik, Dr. Janković und Genossen betreffend die Invaliden.

117. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13704/1918.

118. According to the Joint War Ministry’s Oberintendant Lanzendörfer, the military administration started discussing a comprehensive military welfare reform in 1901. A draft law was prepared in 1907, but no further deliberation followed. In 1913 a new draft was circulated, but the outbreak of the war effectively suspended that discussion. Protokoll über die im Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge abgehaltene Besprechung vom 5. April 1918, betreffend die vom Gemeinderate der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien am 6. Februar 1918 beschlossene Resolution, 4, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 9947/1918. There were indeed printed draft laws from 1916 and 1917 in the Joint War Ministry files, in the form of the two bound *Militär-Versorgungsgesetz* in ÖStA KA ZSt KM Präs SR K21.


120. Ibid., 66–67.

121. Ibid., 67.

122. *SPHA*, XXII. Session, 84. Sitzung, 1 October 1918, 4293–4294. The draft law was titled “Law Regarding Military Welfare for the Personnel of the Joint Armed Forces, the Imperial-Royal Austrian Army, the Imperial-Royal Austrian Militia (Landsturm) as well as Survivors of the Said Persons.”

123. *SPHA*, XXII. Session, 1918, Beilage 1184, “Erläuterungen zum Entwurfe eines Militärversorgungsgesetzes,” 91–92. The legislative explanatory note included a table comparing benefits for different categories of beneficiaries according to the “currently valid laws and regulations” and the proposed military welfare law. The 300 to 500 percent raises in some cases seemed to be significant, but they had already been proposed in the ur-draft. Even the military admitted that these raises seemed drastic only because some benefits had never been raised since 1875.

to this accompanying law, a disabled man would receive extra payments to make his
total annual benefits equal to one-third, half, two-thirds, or 100 percent of his qualified
prewar annual earned income, respectively, depending on whether he had lost 20–50,
51–75, 76–99, or 100 percent of his earning power; there was a cap of 6,000 kronen a
year (the same as in the Social Democratic plan in 1917). Widows’ and orphans’ pensions
would be proportionate to the prewar earned income of the dead husband/father.

125. “Erläuterungen zum Entwurfe eines Militärversorgungsgesetzes,” 89–90. Offi-
cers in the prewar Habsburg armed forces were compensated modestly in comparison
with “their high social standing and the requirements of their lifestyle.” Their “life in
retirement could be even harder.” Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 125, 149.


127. The explicitly pronatalist origin of policies and practices in interwar France is
411; Huss, “Pronatalism in the Inter-War Period in France”; and Schneider, Quality
and Quantity, 116–145. See also Koven and Michel, “Womanly Duties,” and Koven and
Michel, eds., Mothers of a New World.


129. These are: “Regierungsvorlage: Gesetz vom ___ betreffend die Gewährung von
staatlichen Zuschüssen (Zusatzrenten) zu den Militärversorgungsgebühren,” §5 (reserve
officers), §43 (“non-long-serving enlisted men”), §65 section 6 (widows of reserve offi-
cers), §87 section 6 (widows of noncareer enlisted men), and §138 (noncareer members
of the Austrian Army [Landwehr] and Landsturm to be treated the same as comparably
ranked noncommissioned personnel in the Joint Army).

130. On the transformation of the Habsburg Army into a militia by 1915 and led in
many cases by civilians in uniform, see Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 193.

131. Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 247–255.


133. Ibid.

134. Deák and Gumz, “How to Break a State,” 1105–1136. The quote is from 1118.

135. On legibility as the central issue of modern statecraft, see Scott, Seeing Like a
State. Scott’s idea is especially pertinent here, because the new ministry and its officials
were entering a territory for which they had no full picture—or, to use Scott’s favorite
trope, map—but nevertheless planned to reshape it.

136. Zahra, “‘Each nation only cares for its own’,” 1396–1400. The quote is from 1396.

137. Judson, The Habsburg Empire, 426–428; the quote is from 428. Charitable
groups organized along national and confessional lines also played an important role in
the state refugee assistance programs. Thorpe, “Displacing Empire,” 114.

138. On private welfare organizations being openly critical of public authorities, see

139. Grandner, Kooperative Gewerkschaftspolitik.
Chapter 4

1. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 10878/1918. A detailed payment record exists from 7 May 1918 to the end of November 1918. Some 110 payments of 10 to 50 kronen each were made, totaling 1985 kronen. The November spike (54 payments) probably resulted from an increasing number of disabled men returning home or being released from the hospitals.

2. Franz Kafka and other literary luminaries from Habsburg Central Europe are partly responsible for these stereotypes. Deak, *Forging a Multinational State*, and Heindl, *Josephinische Mandarine*, should help qualify them.

3. Many private sector employers and voluntary organizations sent unsolicited job offers and training opportunities for disabled soldiers to the Interior Ministry in 1916 and 1917. The officials there simply stamped and filed them. For example, in February 1916 a masonry firm, “Gebr. Zeidler, Königliche Hofsteinmetzmeister,” asked the Interior Ministry if it could hire up to 100 disabled soldiers who were able to work as stonemason or quarryman. In February 1918, a Social Welfare official reviewing the transferred Interior Ministry files remarked disappointedly that “until today this case has not been processed.” ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 2056/1918. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 4800/1918. The Interior Ministry even ignored other central agencies. See the Public Works Ministry’s complaint of 6 March 1918. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2084/1918.


5. For a useful synthesis of the reasons for the Monarchy’s collapse, see Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary*, and his “Disintegration and Defeat.” The latest reflections are Deak and Gumz, “How to Break a State,” and Rauchensteiner, *Der Erste Weltkrieg*, esp. 683ff.

6. The unnecessary detour was no small problem, because state officials had to follow specific rules and procedures to process any incoming communication. For an analytical breakdown of the tedious procedures, see Hochdelling, *Aktenkunde*, 64–96.

7. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 7091/1918.

8. See chapter 3 for a detailed discussion.


10. Their excuse: the form and the information regime were for the Austrian half only, but the War Ministry was a joint institution and should not pay for an Austria-only initiative. ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1918/19 Abt. 9/IF K1703 1918 I.F. 4-2/4/6, Gegenstand: Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge-organisatorische Massnahmen.

11. In the Welfare for the War-Disabled (*Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge*) document group from the archives of the Social Welfare Ministry (later Federal Ministry of Social Administration), the files before 1918 were primarily those received or generated by the Interior Ministry.
12. Unwillingness to share information was longstanding and endemic in the Austrian state bureaucracy. In early 1919, a leading official of the Statistical Central Commission complained that even under the new Republic, many state authorities were still reluctant to share statistics they had gathered. See Zeller, “Geschichte der zentralen amtlichen Statistik,” 106.


15. The Leitmeritz/Litoměřice Military Command was proud of its own system of care provision, client education, and public-private cooperation. It actively promoted its model to Vienna. See ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1917 Abt. 9/IF K1417 1917 IF 4-2/4, 4–2/4/2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9.

16. Captain Eger had prepared a detailed report on the Leitmeritz/Litoměřice experience and proposed comprehensive recommendations for the upcoming reform. His 1 February 1918 report impressed Social Welfare officials, and they even considered hiring him as an “Invalid Welfare Inspector.” ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 3848/1918. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 12196/1918. For an insightful analysis of Eger in the context of welfare politics in a nationally contested region, see Rohringer, “Trust and National Belonging.”

17. In 1910, the Austrian portion of the total population of the Monarchy was 55.3 percent. Assuming a relatively even rate of mobilization across the three constituent parts of the Monarchy (Austria, Hungary, and Bosnia-Herzegovina), there would have been approximately 4,400,000 Austrian male citizens called to serve during the course of the war. The war death statistics compiled by the Joint War Ministry (based on information available at the end of 1917) corroborate this estimate, as 56.7 percent of the Monarchy’s war dead and 56.5 percent of those captured by the enemy were Imperial Austrian citizens. Winkler, *Die Totenverluste der öst.-ung. Monarchie*, 1, 4, 6. For a critique of Winkler’s work, see Schmied-Kowarzik, “War Losses (Austria-Hungary).”

18. According to the official end-of-1917 statistics, of the over 4 million mobilized Austrian men, 649,889 had perished. That is a death rate of 23.3 percent of the total prewar Austrian population, somewhat lower than that of Hungary (25.0 percent). See Winkler, *Die Totenverluste der öst.-ung. Monarchie*, 37.

19. Aeusserung der Sektion II… betreffend die Vorbereitung der Volkszählung 1920, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 24071/1918.
20. In May 1918, the Joint War Ministry reminded the Social Welfare Ministry that the civilian welfare authorities’ main task was to find jobs for the disabled men as they left the military. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 385/1918.

21. See, for example, Joint War Minister Colonel General Baron von Stöger-Steiner’s speech in the mid-September Congress for War-Damaged Persons’ Welfare, in “Der Kongreß für Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge in Wien,” Zeitschrift für Invalidenversicherung 3.10, October 1918, 113.

22. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 15593/1918. An early sign that Czech officials were ready to go their separate way was their self-initiated unification of two major Bohemian war victim welfare agencies—one civilian and one military—on 15 October 1918. See ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 26456/1918.

23. The politicization (and nationalization) of welfare services in the Bohemian Lands is analyzed by Zahra in Kidnapped Souls, 65–105.

24. Ultimately, the desire to include war disability in the 1920 census was not fulfilled. The census was urgently conducted to clarify the situation on the ground for the Republic’s government, and only the most essential information was collected. It did not cover territories that were still in dispute (i.e., southern Carinthia, southern Styria, and the future Burgenland). Neither did it include many POWs who were still waiting to be repatriated. Zeller, “Geschichte der zentralen amtlichen Statistik,” 107–108. For a sample census questionnaire, see Statistische Zentralkommission, Ergebnisse der ausserordentlichen Volkszählung vom 31. Jänner 1920, 7. The published results of the 1920 census never mentioned war disability or any kind of public welfare information. See Statistische Zentralkommission, Vorläufige Ergebnisse der ausserordentlichen Volkszählung vom 31. Jänner 1920; Statistische Zentralkommission, Ergebnisse der ausserordentlichen Volkszählung vom 31. Jänner 1920: Endgültige Ergebnisse.

25. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 178/1918. The replies from the commissions, mostly dated from mid-January to February, can be found in K1356 616/1918 (Styria), 1090/1918 (Lower Austria), 2128/1918 (Upper Austria), K1358 3661/1918 and 5656/1918 (Tyrol), and 4941/1918 (Salzburg).

26. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 16573/1918. The Austrian Silver Cross was a major charitable organization serving disabled reservists. It had more than 200 local chapters. About its bold proposal to station its own personnel inside a public welfare office because they were allegedly more capable than officials, see Hsia, “Who Provided Care for Wounded and Disabled Soldiers?” 324–326.

27. On the wartime censorship authorities being the military’s instrument for power grab, see Rachaminov, “Arbiters of Allegiance.”


30. On the official jurisdiction of the Social Welfare Ministry in war victim welfare, see ibid.
32. K. u. k. Kriegsministerium to k. k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Entlassung tuberkulöser Militärpersonen aus den Spitälern, 5 March 1918, Abt. 14 Nr. 5731, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359/1918.
33. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 11314/1918.
35. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 6868/1918.
36. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13205/1918.
37. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 4475/1918.
39. The manpower crisis also opened the door for women to serve in military functions beyond the medical services (as military doctors or nurses). Men in support functions could then be freed up for front service. See Healy’s discussion of the Women’s Auxiliary Labor Force in the Field (weibliche Hilfskräfte im Felde) in her Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 204–209.
41. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 9848/1918.
42. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13304/1918.
43. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13429/1918.
44. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 18556/1918.
45. The Chief of Replacement Services (Chef des Ersatzwesens) was in charge of mobilization and supplies, hence the second-most important officer in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. Baron Samuel Hazai (Samu Hazai in Hungarian) was the highest-ranking soldier of Jewish origin in the Habsburg armed forces. Deák, Beyond Nationalism, 178.
48. Herwig, The First World War, 369, 373. The Habsburg Army’s strength on the Italian front was reduced by almost half between early spring and the end of the Piave offensive.
49. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 385/1918.
51. K. u. K. Kriegsministerium, Abt. 18, Nr. 7102/18, 2 May 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 12960.
52. Internal Memo of 6 July, 1918, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 15498/1918.
53. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13582/1918.
54. It is worth noting that because of the paper shortage, the ministerial monthly bulletins on "war-damaged persons," Mitteilungen des k. k. Ministeriums für soziale Fürsorge über Fürsorge für Kriegsbeschädigte, were not published until May 1918. The guidelines therefore might not have been available to all crownland agencies until early May.
55. Healy analyzes the wartime practice of direct petition to the emperors in Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 282–298.
56. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 16633.
57. Unfortunately, the paper trail stops here. There is no indication as to how her case was resolved.
58. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 14661/1918.
59. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 17075/1918.
60. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 18956/1918.
61. Ibid.
62. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 19598.
63. The war blinded was a category of disabled soldiers who received special attention from the authorities—both before and after 1918—despite their relatively small number, as one estimate put the war blinded as constituting around 1.2 percent of all First World War disabled men from all belligerent countries. In post-1918 Austria there were about 300 war blinded persons from over 100,000 certified disabled veterans. According to Barbara Hoffmann, the war blinded were considered by many during and after the war as especially sympathy worthy. See her Kriegsblinde in Österreich.
64. Steiermärkische Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für Heimkehrende Krieger to Kriegsblindenfonds in k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Nr. 1674, 5 June, 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 15850/1918. Karl Troop Crosses (Karl Truppenkreuz) were awarded to soldiers who saw combat on the front lines. It distinguished them from those serving in the safer rear-echelon units or hinterland posts, who increasingly became objects of popular scorn on the home front. Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 262–279.
65. Steiermärkische Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für Heimkehrende Krieger to Kriegsblindenfonds im k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Nr. 1674, 5 June, 1918. The Styrians added that Klampfer’s motive for committing suicide had not been unrequited love, as initially reported, but rather mistreatment and harassment at the hands of his superior, who had allegedly thwarted his request to be transferred back to a combat unit.
66. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 15850/1918. It is worth repeating that the specific military task Klampfer was fulfilling was meat grinding.
67. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger, Innsbruck, an das k. k. Ministerium des Innern, Betreff: Unterstützung für Kriegsbeschädigte, N763/1, 5 April 1917, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 17583/1918.
68. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 15579/1918.
69. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 26223/1918.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. SPHA, XXII. Session, 1918, Beilage 1206, Antrag der Abgeordneten Filipinský, Swoboda und Genossen auf Reorganisierung der über den Grad der Invalidität bei Militärinvaliden entscheidenden Superarbitrierungskommissionen durch Zuziehung von Spezialärzten sowie die Errichtung einer Berufungsinstanz.

73. K. k. Finanzprokuratur an das k. k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorgung, 38914/18/II, 20 September 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 24574/1918.

74. See, for example, the disabled soldier Johann Tivitanzl’s case in ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1917 Abt. 9/IF K1417 1917 IF 4-1/34, 4–1/34/2-4. Despite the Joint War Ministry’s wish to resolve the case quickly, Austrian Defense Ministry officials insisted that he had to prove (for instance by producing a witness) that he had indeed deposited the said clothes with the military. Only then would they be willing to discuss compensation or replacement. Tivitanzl first petitioned the Joint War Ministry on 5 March 1917, but the unaccommodating decision came only on 12 July.

75. “Das Schicksal eines Kriegskrüppels,” Arbeiter-Zeitung (Morgenblatt), 1 February 1918. 6. Rechter’s attending physician was a woman. On women physicians’ war service in the Habsburg Monarchy, see Stadler, “Ärztinnen im Krieg.”


77. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 5788/1918. “Brainless (kopflös)” was the Arbeiter-Zeitung’s characterization.

78. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 8947/1918.
79. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1358 5788/1918.
80. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 10457/1918.

81. In the same month, the Joint War Ministry demanded that the Social Ministry, along with the entire civil administration, take a firmer stand to stop “work-shy” disabled veterans’ panhandling, especially when they “abused” the military uniforms to arouse the public’s sympathy. ÖStA KA ZSt KM HR 1918/19 Abt. 9/IF K1703 I.F. 4-2/9 Gegenstand: Invalidenfürsorge (Unfug des Bettelns durch KI), I.F. Nr. 550 An das k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, 19 April 1918.

82. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 10457/1918.

84. Kriegsministerium Abt. 13 Nr. 13502, 29 May 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13597/1918.

85. Ibid.

86. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger Salzburg an das k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z. 404, 2 May 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 11964/1918.
87. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger Salzburg an das k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z. 413, 4 May 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 11964/1918.

88. According to the Ministry of Social Welfare, as of 31 March 1918 there were 476 soldiers still in different kinds of medical facilities scattered all over Austria. Another 745 disabled soldiers had been discharged and were “in the local authority’s file,” meaning that they were out of the military’s jurisdiction. “Zusammenstellung. Statistik der kriegsbeschädigten Militärpersonen österreichischer Staatsangehörigkeit,” 2, Tabelle 1.

89. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger Salzburg an das k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z. 404, 2 May 1918.

90. Ibid.

91. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger Salzburg an das k.k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z. 413, 4 May 1918.

92. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 11964.

93. The Assistance Campaign was formerly known as Kälteschutz (Keep Warm). As the war continued, the authorities became more insistent on central control of the donated clothes and fabrics. Donation drives were initiated by central agencies, such as the War Welfare Office, and contributions became less voluntary. Hämmerle, *Heimat/ Front*, 127–135.

94. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 14175/1918.

95. The original Social Welfare Ministry draft memorandum repeated Salzburg’s request for 500 pairs, but a Social Welfare official reviewing the draft crossed out the number 5 and wrote 2 instead.

96. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1360 11964.

97. Landeskommission zur Fürsorge für heimkehrende Krieger in Kärnten an das k. k. Ministerium für soziale Fürsorge, Z.950/F.K., 5 June 1918, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 14340/1918. The original underlining was done by the Social Welfare officials.

98. Ibid. The original underlining was done by the Social Welfare officials.

99. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 14340/1918.

100. Ibid. The crossed-out text is in the original; parentheses signify original word substitutions or additions made by the Social Welfare officials.

101. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 21108/1918.

102. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 14175/1918. The Emperor and King Karl Welfare Fund was a major military charity in the second half of the war.

103. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1362 21108/1918.

104. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 24964/1918.

105. Ibid.

106. Ibid.

107. The Monarchy disintegrated before the Cisleithania-wide information regime became a reality. We will never know if it would have evolved, as in the Bolshevik case, into a key component of what historian Peter Holquist called the “national security
state” in its Habsburg variation. Holquist, “‘Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work,’” 443–450.


109. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 3119/1918.

110. There were many similarly desperate requests. For example, on 26 December 1918, the Lower Austrian Commission asked for 3,500 sets of suits, coats, and the same number of pairs of shoes. ÖStA AdR BMdsV KBF K1358 4252/1918.

Chapter 5


2. Initially the movement targeted mainly disabled soldiers, following the Monarchy’s legal and administrative traditions that saw soldiers and war widows and orphans as two distinct groups. Therefore I often refer to the movement and the activists as “organized disabled veterans” and “disabled men” in the first two sections of this chapter. But many women were active in the movement from its early days. After the passage of the all-inclusive Invalid Compensation Law in April 1919, the Zentralverband formally changed its name to reflect the broad constituencies. The term “war victim” (*Kriegsopfer*), though, became more widely used only after the mid-1920s. On the changing nomenclature for these people, see Hsia, “‘War Victims.’”

3. On the Austrian Revolution of 1918 being the moment when liberal democratic institutions were founded, see Boyer, “Silent War and Bitter Peace,” 52–56.


5. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 572/18 Verein der Kriegsinvaliden an das Präsidium des Deutsch-Österreichischen Staatsrates am 5. Nov. 1918. Between 30 October 1918 and 14 March 1919, the Council of the State discharged the constitutional duties of the head of the state as the executive committee of the Provisional National Assembly, itself formed by the German-speaking deputies of the Reichsrat on 21 October 1918.

6. Anton Hölzl, “Bericht des Abg. Hölzl über die Organisation der Kriegsbeschädigten, 28. Mai 1919,” 1. VGA Wien SD Parteistellen Parlamentsklub K96 M131/1 folder 1919/2. Hölzl did not mention this organization’s exact time of founding. This organization was headed by a certain Franz Klement.

7. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 572/18 Verein der Kriegsinvaliden an das Präsidium des Deutsch-Österreichischen Staatsrates am 5. Nov. 1918.


9. It was the only national war victim publication between 1918 and 1920. Later it became the newspaper of the Viennese provincial organization of the Zentralverband, the largest one of all such organizations, and still had the widest circulation. First published monthly in 1918, it became a biweekly starting in January 1919. The first number, from November 1918, had a circulation of 3,000. After a year, circulation had grown to over
50,000 copies per issue. “Das erste Jahr unserer Zeitung,” DI, 15 November 1919, 1. The newspaper survived into 1934.

10. “Denkschrift der Forderungen der Kriegsbeschädigten,” DI, November 1918, 3–4. The twenty-three points could be grouped in the following: (1) concentrating, nationalizing, and centralizing war victim welfare authorities and resources, public and private, in a “Central Invalid Office”; (2) including the Zentralverband representatives in all superarbitration cases; (3) free and improved medical, job training, prosthetic, and clothing provision; (4) raising the wages or benefits and ensuring equal pay for disabled men of different status; (5) using confiscated Habsburg house properties to fund war victim welfare; (6) facilitating disabled men’s return to economic life with grants, easier entry into skilled trades and the professions, preferential employment in the public sector, and the assignment of tobacco licenses; (7) jobs in and discounts from the war materiel demobilization process; (8) annual subsidy and free furnished offices for the Zentralverband.

11. The building on Hernalser Gürtel 12 still stands today. The Otto Wagner–designed Stadtbahn Gürtel-line connected several transportation hubs and made traveling to the Zentralverband easier. The present-day Wiener Linien U6 line uses most of the original elevated tracks and stations of the Gürtel-line.

12. “Der Ausschuß und seine bisherige Tätigkeit,” 2. The Zentralverband asked for a 5 percent surcharge on all surplus item transactions to fund welfare measures for disabled veterans, but only a 2 percent surcharge was approved. See “Versammlung im Verbandsheim,” DI, 15 December 1918, 3.

13. Ibid., 2.

14. Ibid.

15. For more on the Bruck an der Leitha case, see Hsia, “A Partnership of the Weak,” 194–199.

16. In Vienna, an average of 300 people showed up every day at the Zentralverband for its morning office hours (9 to noon daily). “Der Ausschuß und seine bisherige Tätigkeit,” 2.


19. “Kleine Mitteilungen: Unterstützungen.” DI, 1 March 1919, 5. The note that confirms the existence of such cash incentives was, ironically, the note announcing its temporary suspension because the fund was exhausted. Circumstantial evidence suggests that the money for these cash handouts came from the Social Ministry.


21. Between December 1918 and March 1919, he was present at the following meetings: at Feuerbrunn (Lower Austria) on 5 December 1918, DI, December 1918, 3; at Bruck a. d. Leitha (Lower Austria) on 31 December 1918, DI, 15 January 1919, 8; at Feuerbrunn (Lower Austria) on 2 February 1919, DI, 15 February 1919, 7; at Baden (Lower Austria) on 22 February 1919, DI, 1 March 1919, 6; at Wiener Neustadt (Lower Austria) on 16 March 1919, DI, 15 April 1919, 7; at Graz (Styria) on 30 March 1919, DI, 1 May 1919, 3.
23. See “Ortsgruppen-Verzeichnis” section in DI, 1 January 1919, 4 (25); 15 January 1919, 8 (40); 1 February 1919, 8 (55); 15 February 1919, 8 (65); 1 March 1919, 6–7 (70); 15 March 1919, 6 (83); 15 April 1919, 9–10 (102); 15 May 1919, 3–4 (102+33).
26. See the later discussion of the Zentralverband’s membership size.
28. Their local roots and network, sometimes established before the collapse of the Monarchy, enabled a more independent course of action even after joining the Zentralverband. See K. R., “Der Länderkonferenz zum Geleit!,” 2.
29. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 364 828/1918. The ministry issued a 2-page clarification on 28 November 1918.
31. Ibid.
35. Ibid., 42.
36. Ibid., 44–46, 64. In 1928 the association’s membership reached 7,416.
37. The main demands were: (1) transferring all disabled veteran welfare activities to civilian authorities; (2) raising invalid benefits through legislation; (3) free medical treatment and prostheses and prioritizing disabled veterans in public employment; (4) consolidating the invalid-related funds; (5) a payment office (Liquidatur) of invalid benefits in Innsbruck and a new superarbitration commission. “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Landes-Vollversammlung des Vereines der Kriegsinvaliden Deutsch-Tirols,” DI, 15 March 1919, 4.
38. Ibid.
41. “Aus den Ortsgruppe: Landes-Vollversammlung des Vereines der Kriegsinvaliden Deutsch-Tirols (Fortsetzung),” DI, 1 April 1919, 5.
44. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1377 2081/1919 in 29603/1920.
47. Beneš offers a stimulating perspective on the culture of the prewar socialist milieu in *Workers and Nationalism*. For a critical account of the interwar social democracy, see Gruber, *Red Vienna*.
49. VGA Wien Partei-Archiv vor 1934 M2 Sitzungsprotokolle Parteivorstand. Sitzung der Reichsparteivertretung am 20. September 1918. Glöckel was famous for being the main architect of the interwar Austrian education reform.
53. Beneš argues that many rank-and-file Social Democrats (both German speakers and Czech speakers) were increasingly alienated by the party leadership’s cooperation with the government. They were especially disappointed by the leadership’s opposition to the January 1918 strikes. *Workers and Nationalism*, 219–238.
55. One of the main “agitation experts,” Weissteiner, was a low-level party member before the war, and the early leadership “was taken up by several comrades” according to Hölzl. “Bericht des Abg. Hölzl,” 1–2.
60. See Deák, Beyond Nationalism.
61. A. v. Sch., “Der Zentralverband der deutschösterreichischen Kriegsbeschädigten,” 2. In “Der Ausschuß und seine bisherige Tätigkeit,” published on 15 January, the membership number was pushed up to 172,000.
63. Such as “almost 200,000” cited by Dr. Adolf Deutsch, “Merkblatt für Invaliden: Zur Wiedereinführung ins Erwerbsleben,” DI, 1 February 1919, 1; or 160,000 according to Deputy Hölzl and his party colleagues in SPNR, III. Session, 1921, Beilage 289.
64. DI, 15 February 1919, 7; the same appeal appeared also in DI, 1 March 1919, 5, and DI, 15 March 1919, 6.
65. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1395 5098/1922.
66. Ibid.
68. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 29149/1919. Of the listed eight organizations, only the Zentralverband had an estimated membership over 7,000. All seven other organizations in the estimate combined had only about 16,000 members.
70. AdR BMfsV KBF K1374 18075/1920.
73. Ibid., 7.
74. The Christian Socials also tried to appeal to war victims with the idea of “War Invalid Chambers (Kriegsinvalidenkämmern),” autonomous provincial agencies funded by the state but run by organized war victims. SPKN, Beilage 70. See chapter 6.
75. ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5066 13456/1919. There were accusations of Communists paying disabled veterans to go to their demonstrations, ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5067 29614/1919.
77. ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5066 14190/1919.
79. ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5067 25248/1919.
80. For the Austrian Communists as part of a Europe-wide network, see McLoughlin, Leidinger, and Moritz, Kommunismus in Österreich.

81. Against the early estimate of around 300,000 war victims, the total population of the Austrian Republic was 6,067,430 as of 31 January 1920. Statistische Zentralkommission, ed., Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich, 8.


86. From the seasoned war victim organizer Weissteiner’s talk in a Hietzing local branch meeting, “Aus den Ortsgruppen,” DI, 1 August 1919, 8.


88. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBFK1364 4580/1918, K1366 13136/1919, K1367 21310/1919.

89. Dr. H. H., “Neujahr, wir und die Gesellschaft,” DI, 1 January 1919, 1–2. On organized war victims’ opposition to begging, see, for example, “Die Kriegsbeschädigten und der Straßenbettel,” DI, 1 October 1919, 4.


91. For example, “Ein Tag in der Schutzstelle für Kriegerwitwen und Waisen,” DI, 1 October 1919, 2–3. See also Die Schutzstelle für Kriegerwitwen und Waisen, “Beschäftigungsraum für Kriegerwaisen,” DI, 1 October 1919, 3, on a new initiative for orphans funded by an anonymous benefactress; Lithoblanz, “Nachahmenswertes Beispiel,” DI, 15 October 1919, 3, on a local cinema’s charity screening for war victims’ benefit. In Kreiskonferenz des Zentralverband der deutschösterreichischen Kriegsbeschädigten (November 1919), local war victim leaders reassured representatives from civic groups and politicians of the organized war victims’ nonpartisan, “economic” nature, in the hope that these local notables would help their upcoming donation drive.

92. The complaint of being forgotten or simply ignored after the war was over was ubiquitous, especially in DI’s coverage of local war victim organizational meetings. For more articulate complaints, see, for example, Dr. H. H., “Neujahr, wir und die Gesellschaft,” 1–2.

93. Bessel, Germany after the First World War, 251–253, 263–284.

94. This understanding of the state’s responsibility was very much the creation of Alexander Bach’s 1850s neoabsolutism (and further back, Emperor Joseph II’s ideal of state administration). Deak, Forging a Multinational State, 99–135, esp. 131–135. See also Seiderer, Oesterreichs Neugestaltung, 137–252.


96. Dr. H. H., “Neujahr, wir und die Gesellschaft,” 1. Emphasis in the quote is original.

97. See, for example, Eric J. Leed’s discussion in No Man’s Land, 73–97, 120–123. For a historical reflection of the comparability of war fighting and industrial work, see Lüdtke, “Aspects of Soldiering,” 127–151.
100. Ibid.
103. Hans Kelsen, one of the architects of the Austrian Constitution of 1920, emphasized the constitutional dissociation and discontinuity of the Republic from the Monarchy in his “Die Verfassung Deutschösterreichs,” 247–249. This view was made official in §1 of the First Republic’s constitutional Law on the State Form of 21 October 1919 (*StGBl* 484/1919).
107. See for example, the already mentioned twenty-three demands in “Denkschrift der Forderungen der Kriegbeschädigten,” 3–4. These demands, unsurprisingly, were presented to the Ministry of Social Welfare.
110. On soldiers’ and workers’ councils, see Hautmann, *Geschichte der Rätebewegung*.
112. Ibid.
114. Ibid., 2–3.
115. Ibid., 3
117. Ibid., 5.
118. Ibid., 6.
119. Ibid., 7. The emphasis is original.

120. Ibid.

121. Hanusch’s unlikely career from Silesian child laborer to Austrian social minister is portrayed in Göhring and Pellar, *Ferdinand Hanusch*. For his key role in creating consensus for social legislation, see 191–231.

122. Protokoll über die am 27. Dezember 1918 . . . abgehaltene Sitzung im Gegenstande der Zusammenfassung der Kompetenzen für den gesamten Umfang der Invalidenfürsorge, 10.

123. Ibid., 10–11.

124. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 988/1919, “Geschäftsordnung für die ständige Invalidenfürsorgekommission im deutschösterreichischen Staatsamt für soziale Fürsorge,” §1 and §7. Interestingly, §7 also says, “The resolutions of the Commission [arc] of advisory character (beratender Charakter).”


126. The Czechoslovakian Army easily occupied former majority German-speaking parts of Bohemia, Austrian Silesia, and South Moravia, which the Austrian Republic had claimed as its territories on the basis of national self-determination. The new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes sent troops to occupy parts of Styria and Carinthia, leading to local armed conflicts. On the Volkswehr as the Austrian Republic’s first official armed forces, see Etschmann, “Theorie, Praxis und Probleme der Demobilisierung,” 79–150. On the border conflicts, see Révész, “For the ‘Freedom and Unity.”’

127. Many officials were “homefront men” who did not fit the front-soldier type of martial masculinity that urban dwellers used to measure an authority figure’s manhood. Healy, *Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire*, 267–279.


130. Sometimes they embodied the whole postwar Austria. As one Christian Social deputy said in the Constituent National Assembly, “The state is today a war invalid itself, with both internal and external organs in disarray.” *SPKN*, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 264. See chapter 6 for more discussion.


132. On war victims’ demonstrations, see, for example, ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem-Inneres 15/3 K2435 2104/1919, and AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5099 18369/1920 incident in Linz.

133. An example is the already-discussed Hollitscher 9 February warning. “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Generalversammlung der Ortsgruppe Wien am 9. Februar 1919,” 6. In “Zur Invalidenfrage” (*DI*, 15 December 1919, 1–2), a disabled veteran wrote that state welfare payments should come as soon as possible to prevent war victims from falling into the hands of the “Bolsheviks.” For a show of threats that forced ministerial officials to adopt a more apologetic and even pleading tone in a public meeting, see “Aus den

134. “Generalversammlung der Ortsgruppe und Bezirkstelle Gmunden,” *DI*, 15 June 1919, 6–7. For an example of successfully forcing their way onto other interest groups’ turfs, see H., “Kleine Mitteilungen: Trafikantenversammlung,” *DI*, 15 June 1919, 4. See also ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. innere 22 K5067 23892/1919 and 25248/1919 on the aforementioned case about disabled men occupying space in Schönbrunn Palace that was already designated for other uses.

135. On overburdening state finances, see the Finance Ministry’s criticism in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1367 22894/1919. The Tobacconists’ Association fought hard to prevent its members’ concessions from being revoked to make way for war victim applicants. Burger, “Trafiken!” *DI*, 15 February 1919, 2. The Zentralverband demanded and received in May 1919 (*StGBl.* 101/1919) four seats out of ten on the State Finance Administration’s new concession committee (Besetzungsausschuss) that was tasked with awarding retail concessions for the state-monopolized commodities tobacco and salt. See B., “Besetzung und Kündigung der Tabakverschleißgeschäfte,” and H., “Kleine Mitteilungen: Trafikantenversammlung,” *DI*, 15 June 1919, 1–3, 4; “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Wien III,” *DI*, 1 October 1919, 8. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 15500/1919, K1370 34/1920, 1250/1920, 3867/1920. There was also opposition from business circles and the press, presumably over the proposed compulsory hiring quota reserved for disabled veterans. Grundei, “Ein Jahrt” 3.


137. Ibid., 5. When the Military Invalid Superarbitration Committees were reactivated after 19 November 1918, two nonmilitary members were added to each commission. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 1290/1918.

138. Dr. Hollitscher, “Vollzugsanweisung des deutschösterreichischen Staatsrates vom 12. Februar, betreffend Abänderungen und Ergänzungen der Superarbitrierungsvorschriften,” *DI*, 15 March 1919, 1–2. Before the public threat, the Ministry of Military Affairs already suggested on 13 January 1919 that the Zentralverband should be involved. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 593/1919, 1469/1919. The public warning was to pressure the authorities into accelerating the process.

139. Representatives from the Zentralverband were present at both the 30 December 1918 preparatory meeting and the first formal meeting of this interministerial Standing Commission on 10 January 1919. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 4580/1918, K1365 988/1919, K1367 7603/1919.

140. For example, Hanusch, “Ein Geleitwort,” viii.


143. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 12415/1919.
144. “Der Ausschuß und seine bisherige Tätigkeit,” 3. The money to subsidize the very publication and subsequent growth of DI originally came from the Economic Ministry. DI’s circulation grew substantially, from 3,000 copies per issue at its inception to 50,000 copies per issue near the end of 1919; see Die Redaktion, “Das erste Jahr unserer Zeitung,” 1.

145. For example, Dr. A. Deutsch, “Merkblatt für Invalide: Zur Wiedereinführung ins Erwerbsleben,” 1–3; and Otto Glöckel’s speech at the 9 February 1919 Viennese war victim rally, “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Generalversammlung der Ortsgruppe Wien am 9. Februar 1919,” 7. To prevent the depletion of several government-controlled war charity funds, state officials also wanted war victim organizations to recommend deserving war victims, instead of publicly inviting a huge wave of applications. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 8867/1919.

146. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 672/1919, 1245/1919.
147. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 8533/1919.
149. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 11174/1919.
150. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 10675/1919 and K1554 folders on the Lebensmittelaktion.

151. “Unsere Lebensmittelaktion,” DI, 15 June 1919, 3. A few smaller organizations and institutions received assistance through the Zentralverband, too. The Zentralverband distributed packages to these smaller groups after submitting a request based on their membership registration.


153. On the immediate postwar hunger, see Adlgasser, “The Roots of Communist Containment.”

154. Below the central decision making, see, for example, the composition of subcommittees of the Upper Austria Invalid Compensation Commission in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1367 21114/1919.


156. They claimed he was quadruple dipping, and he was not even a veteran at all. Das Agitationsreferat des Zentralverbandes, “Aemterkummulierung,” DI, 15 September 1919, 4–5.


159. See, for example, the Styrian case in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 18098/1919.


165. Karl Burger claimed the membership of 180,000 in his 16 March 1919 talk.

“Generalversammlung der Kriegsinvaliden in Wr.-Neustadt,” 7.

166. Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, chapters 1 and 4.

167. For a deeper history of the European state’s expanding circle of alliance partners, see Grew, “The Nineteenth Century European State.”

168. Hsia, “Who Provided Care for Wounded and Disabled Soldiers?”

Chapter 6


3. The Peace Conference in Paris was just underway at this point, and most political leaders of the rump Austria preferred some form of Anschluss with Germany. For beneficiary and costs estimates, see Das Gesetz vom 25. April 1919, 77–80. The numbers were originally presented in an appendix to the government’s bill in SPKN, Beilage 114, 47–50. The ratio of one-sixth is calculated based on the numbers referred to during the Constituent National Assembly debate in SPKN, 11. Sitzung, 25 April 1919, 277.

4. The Provisional National Assembly of German-Austria Resolution of 30 October 1918, regarding the Fundamental Institutions of State Power, StGBl. 1/1918, §3.

5. This became §1 of the Law Regarding the Forms of State and Government of German-Austria, 12 November 1918 (StGBl. 5/1918).

6. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1, 30. Sitzung, 11 November 1918.

7. Before the 1920 Constitution was adopted, the First Republic’s ministers were called state secretaries (Staatssekretäre) and ministries were called State Offices (Staatsämter). To avoid confusion and to emphasize the institutional continuity, I refer to these officials and offices as “ministers” and “ministries.”

8. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1, 30. Sitzung, 11 November 1918. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1367 20930/1918.

9. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1, 17. Sitzung, 4 November 1918.

10. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1, 22. Sitzung, 7 November 1918.
11. The revolution also resulted in other temporary problems. For example, the governor of Styria resigned and thereby deprived the Styrian Provincial Commission for the Care of Homecoming Soldiers of its president. The leadership vacuum delayed the ongoing efforts to build Invalid Offices across the province. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 1825/1918.


13. This was not a new idea. See chapter 4. Also, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 22927/1918, 25045/1918, 25623/1918.


15. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1359 9055/1918.


19. After multiple interministerial meetings and involving the Zentralverband, the reform was finalized on 3 February 1919 and became a Council of State executive order on 12 February (StGbL. Nr. 144/1919). ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1365 593/1919, 1469/1919, 2042/1919, 2942/1919, 3170/1919.

20. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 1829/1918.


22. Ibid.

23. Verzeichnis der Mitglieder des Kuratorium für die Österreichischen Staatsangehörigen der gesamten bewaffneten Macht, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1460/1918. A membership list of the War Blind Fund’s board of trustees, prepared earlier in 1918, shows handwritten names of additional participants from the military and government, in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1361 13824/1918.

24. Dr. Benedikt of Neue Freie Presse, Dr. von Mayr, Baron Wolfgang von Ferstel, a civil engineer, Dr. Hans Ritter von Mauthner, an attorney, and Alexander Mell, the director of Vienna’s School for the Blind (Blindenerziehungsinstitut) were retained. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1356 1460.

27. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1364 4437/1918.
29. Vienna alone had 100,000 Czech-speaking residents. They were underrepresented in the census but attracted plenty of political attention and ethnic riots. Boyer, *Culture and Political Crisis*, 212–224; Beneš, *Workers and Nationalism*, 61–64, 207–209.
30. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2529/1918.
31. For the historical evolution of a zone of relatively free movement in Habsburg Central Europe and the related development of an Austrian state citizenship, see Burger, “Passwesen und Staatsbürgerschaft.” Ulrike von Hirschhausen emphasizes the transition from a more inclusive, state-centered understanding of Austrian citizenship to an exclusionary, race-(and antisemitism-)tinged one between 1918 and 1923. Hirschhausen, “From Imperial Inclusion.”
32. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1-3, Beschlussprotokolle, 21 October 1918 to 31 January 1919, passim.
33. ÖStA AdR BKA StRP K1, 34. Sitzung, 16 November 1918.
34. See Hanusch’s introductory speech on the eight-hour workday legislation in the Provisional National Assembly, in *SPPN*, 5. Sitzung, 22 November 1918, 123–125. The law was passed on 19 December 1918, but its application was initially limited to factory workers.
36. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1357 2244/1918.
38. Ibid., 140–141.
39. Ibid., 140.
40. Ibid., 141.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
45. *SPKN*, 7. Sitzung, 2 April 1919, 140.
47. The Habsburg Law also banished ex-Emperor Karl from Austria forever; and other Habsburgs, in order to stay, had to renounce any claims associated with the crown or the hereditary rights of the ruling house. For the run-up to the Habsburg Law, see Böhmer and Faber, *Die Erben des Kaisers*, 24–35.
48. On the revolutionary wave of the radical left and its radical right reactions in Central Europe, see Gerwarth, *The Vanquished*, 118–167.
49. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 12415/1919.
50. “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” 41–42. The Administrative Court is one of the supreme courts of Austria and has been the highest instance for determining the legality of administrative rulings since the mid-nineteenth century.
51. Ibid., 40–41.
53. For example, see the discussion taking place on 18 March 1919 in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1367 7603/1918.
54. The reformed superarbitration process, as discussed earlier, had already incorporated client representatives following the Council of State executive order of 12 February 1919 (StGBl. 144/1919). Disabled men who wanted to contest prereform superarbitration rulings could request new medical examinations. “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” 41.
55. See “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” 40–42, as well as the 2 April 1919 bill’s §39–§58 for more details on how the “new kind of authority” should function.
57. See “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” 33 about this particular beneficiary group. The most prominent women volunteers, besides the ubiquitous Red Cross nurses, were those in the Women’s Auxiliary Labor Force discussed in Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 204–209; and the numerous female physicians working in the wartime military medical services, see Stadler, “Ärztinnen im Krieg.”
58. “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” 34.
59. Ibid., 34–36 contains a detailed discussion of the levels of and rationale for these classifications.
60. Ibid., 36–37.
62. “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden-und Hinterbliebenenversorgungsgesetzes,” Table 6, 50.
63. In the Austrian Parliamentary Archives (Archiv des Parlaments), the only available record of the committee’s discussion of the 2 April bill is a single sheet of paper with the meeting agenda jotted down in cursive. There are some other short, illegible remarks written in pencil. It is safe to assume that there is no detailed official record of the committee’s deliberation.
64. See Klein-Pešová, “Beyond the ‘Infamous Concentration Camps of the Old Monarchy .’” Burger, “Heimat-und Staatenlos,” discusses the conscious exclusion of Eastern European Jewish refugees from the Austrian citizenship after both world wars.

66. Law Regarding the Right to German-Austrian Citizenship of 5 December 1918 (StGBl. 91/1918). See the discussion in Hirschhausen, “From Imperial Inclusion,” 559–562; Stourzh, “Ethnic Attribution;” and Timms, “Citizenship and ‘Heimatrecht.’”

67. On the nationally exclusive citizenship after 1918 and Jewish refugees, see Grandner, “Staatsbürger und Ausländer.” More broadly, on the relevance of pre-1918 domicile in determining postwar citizenship issues, see Timms, “Citizenship and ‘Heimatrecht.’”

68. “Bericht des Auschusses für soziale Verwaltung über das Gesetz (Beilage 114), betreffend . . . (Invalidenentschädigungsgesetz),” 81.

69. The distinction between Versorgung, referring specifically to pension and other sustenance payments, and Fürsorge, referring more to in-kind medical, therapeutic, and rehabilitative services, was already made in the Social Ministry’s explanatory note to the 2 April 1919 bill. “Begründung zur Vorlage eines Invaliden- und Hinterbliebenen-versorgungsgesetzes,” 33–34.

70. “Bericht des Auschusses für soziale Verwaltung über das Gesetz (Beilage 114), betreffend . . . (Invalidenentschädigungsgesetz),” 83.

71. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 261.


73. For example, Anton Hözl alluded to this commonly held point in “Kriegsbeschädigtenhilfe, eine soziale Pflicht!” DI, November 1918, 2.


75. Ibid., and SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 260.

76. For the security forces’ account of the putsch, see the reports in ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5066 “Übertretungen u. Excesse, NÖ, Wien 1918–1919,” 15495/1919. The Viennese police reported that in the second half of April 1919, overtly Communist meetings could attract only a few hundred, but the unemployed people’s demonstrations could attract up to 4,000. The police suspected that the Communists were cynically trying to turn the unemployed people’s demonstrations into putsches.

77. The Red Guards were a 700-strong force when the Republic was declared on 12 November 1918. Glaubau, Die Volkswehr 1918–1920, 65–81, and Etschmann, “Theorie, Praxis und Probleme der Demobilisierung,” 130–138.

78. The eight-hour workday, adopted by the Provisional National Assembly on 19 December 1918, was only applied to factorylike workplaces until the passage of the Eight-Hour Workday Law of December 1919. Emergency unemployment assistance, adopted in November 1918, was made into an unemployment insurance law only in March 1920. According to Ernst Bruckmüller, the Invalid Compensation Law was one of the first brand-new pieces of social legislation under the Republic, preceding the banning of nighttime work by women and children in May 1919, the Work Council Law of May 1919, Workers’ Vacation Law of July 1919, Collective Bargaining Law of December 1919, the Chamber of Labor Law of February 1920, and various pieces of health and

79. “Große Straßenausschreitungen als Nachspiel der heutigen Rathausversammlung,” Neue Freie Presse (Morgenblatt), 26 April 1919, 6–9. Hans Hautmann sees this day’s incident as part of the rising militancy among workers and the poor in early 1919 and not necessarily the Communists’ doing. Hautmann, Geschichte der Rätebewegung, 304–339.

80. SPKN, 11. Sitzung, 25 April 1919, 287 (Michael Mayr opposing equal treatment of cohabits), and 289–290 (Michael Paulitsch on encouraging war widows to remarry).

81. See ibid., 279 (Josef Ursin) and 289 (Leopold Stocker).

82. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 259.


84. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 264–265.


86. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 264. “Dynastic and imperialist interests” are the words of the Social Democrat delegate Anton Hözl, who presented his party’s response to Aigner by reasserting the party’s view, in ibid., 11. Sitzung, 25 April 1919, 274–275. The Roman poet Horace’s line, “Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori,” was famously quoted by Wilfred Owen in his antiwar poem, “Dulce et Decorum est.”

87. On the memorialization of war and sacrifice, see Hanisch, “Politische Symbole und Gedächtnisorte,” and Edgecombe and Healy, “Competing Interpretations of Sacrifice.” A survey of the interwar monuments to soldiers and the fallen can be found in Giller, Mader, and Seidl, Wo sind sie geblieben? 71–111.

88. He conspicuously omitted Lower Austrians, which encompassed the Viennese at the time, when praising the bravery of soldiers from different provinces. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 264.

89. This was the Christian Socials’ second attempt. The first attempt was defeated by a majority vote in the Social Committee. “Bericht des Ausschusses für soziale Verwaltung über das Gesetz (Beilage 114), betreffend . . . (Invalidenentschädigungsgesetz),” 83.


91. Ibid., 274–276. On the construction of the Austrian Opfermythos through war victims in the interwar period, see Hsia, “War Victims.”

92. On Proft, see Hauch, Vom Frauenstandpunkt aus, 294–298. On women’s active political role in immediate postwar Austria, see Hauch, “Sisters and Comrades.”


94. Ibid., 292.

95. Ibid., 297.

96. Ibid., 288–289 (Kittinger’s argument); 291 (Proft’s support of Kittinger); 290 (Paulitsch proposing to lower the threshold from 60 to 50); and 292–293 (Widholz willing to move the eligibility age from 60 to 55).

97. SPKN, 11. Sitzung, 25 April 1919, 297. Only a Tyrolean Christian Social, Franz Schumacher, protested against §59, the Anschluss clause. He did not think his
“fatherland Tyrol” was obligated to agree to any post-Anschluss action before it assented to Anschluss itself.
98. This was Hanusch’s promise near the end of the debate on 25 April. Ibid., 296–297.
99. For an overview of social policy making amid revolutionary threats, see Pfoser and Weigl, Die Erste Stunde Null, 174–188.
100. This focused the Austrian organized war victims’ attention almost exclusively on state authorities, unlike their British, French, and German counterparts who had to deal with active private welfare actors. See Geyer, “Ein Vorbote des Wohlfahrtsstaates,” 232. Of course, there was significant international—mostly American, but also Swiss and Swedish—welfare intervention in Austria. See, for example, Adlgasser, “The Roots of Communist Containment.”
101. SPKN, Beilage 70. Antrag der Abgeordneten Dr. Ramek, Lackner, Huber und Genossen betreffend die Dezentralisierung der Pensionsliquidatur in Wien und Schaffung von Kriegsinvalidenkammern in den einzelnen Ländern der deutschösterreichischen Republik.
102. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 262.
104. Social welfare in general and welfare services for war victims in particular were also essential in creating legitimacy for the new Czechoslovak state. Stegmann, Kriegsdeutungen, Staatsgründungen, Sozialpolitik.
106. The Law Authorizing the Government to Issue Provisional Rules on Applying the Invalid Compensation Law to Professional Military Personnel and Their Survivors, 3 July 1919 (StGBl. 851/1919). The Social Democratic military minister, Julius Deutsch, said the bill was a key step towards eradicating the special status of the military and ensuring “equal rights for everyone” in case of disability. SPKN, 19. Sitzung, 30 May 1919, 429–430. The bill was passed with no real debate, SPKN, 23. Sitzung, 3 July 1919, 603–604.
107. SPKN, 10. Sitzung, 24 April 1919, 259.
108. Michael Geyer’s pioneering study of the British, French, and German war victim welfare laws and their political context is not sufficiently explicit as to why and how interwar war victim welfare systems heralded the more fully fledged welfare states. See his “Ein Vorbote des Wohlfahrtsstaates.”

Chapter 7

1. Prost, In the Wake of War.
3. Ibid., 3; and Hölzl report’s Beilage 1, flyer “Kameraden” signed Kaspar.
5. See, for example, Burger, “Der Invalide,” 1–2, and especially “Der Ausschuß und seine bisherige Tätigkeit,” 1–3. Being the editor of the DI meant Burger could present himself in the light he preferred, and the reports about him and Weissteiner concentrate on organization building and recruitment.
10. Ibid., 1–2.
13. Ibid., 3. On the Social Democrats’ socialization project, see Gerlich, Die gescheiterte Alternative.
16. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K/one.fitted/three.fitted/six.fitted/six.fitted /one.fitted/one.fitted/seven.fitted/five.fitted/three.fitted//one.fitted/nine.fitted/one.fitted/nine.fitted.
18. These men were not mentioned at all in DI’s “I. Verbandstag des Zentralverband der deutschösterreichischen Kriegsbeschädigten” (15 April 1919) that announced the agenda, organizers, and speakers of the upcoming national convention. Hollitscher last appeared as the author of a piece published on 15 March (“Verbandstag,” DI, 15 March 1919, 1), then his name was mentioned only once, when a medical adviser of the Zentralverband, Dr. Julius Schütz, denied his association with Hollitscher (“Erklärung,” DI, 1 April 1919, 3). Schütz’s short notice was also the only (indirect) public admission of the organization’s internal struggle in its newspaper up to that point.
20. The Constituent National Assembly’s Social Committee changed the name of the provincial commission but left the participatory mechanisms intact. See SPKN, Beilage 156, “Bericht des Ausschusses für soziale Verwaltung über das Gesetz (Beilage 114), betreffend die staatliche Entschädigung der Kriegsinvaliden,-Witwen, und –Waisen (Invalidenentschädigungsgesetz),” 20–21.
21. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K/one.fitted/three.fitted/six.fitted/six.fitted /one.fitted/one.fitted/seven.fitted/five.fitted/three.fitted//one.fitted/nine.fitted/one.fitted/nine.fitted.
22. Note from Sozialwirtschaftlicher Reichsbund der Kriegsinvaliden Deutschösterreichs, signed by Flaschenträger, Kada, and Ott. The Reichsbund accused the
Zentralverband of excluding “intellectuals” and war-disabled career soldiers, as well as tolerating antisemitic and antisocialist rhetoric. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1366 11753/1919.

23. Ibid.

24. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 13766, 14874, 15222, 32133/1919. On their occupation of Schönbrunn Palace, see K1367 26936/1919 and ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Inneres 22 K5066 15202/1919, K5067 23892/1919, 29402/1919. Another date for the organization’s founding, 9 May 1919, was mentioned in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1569 Sammelakten 132, 33245/1920.

25. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1569 Sammelakten 132, 33245/1920.


27. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 13766, 14874, 15222, 32133/1919.


29. For example, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1374 18697/1920 (office space and equipment).

30. The Communists and Communist-leaning war victims viewed the new law with mixed feelings. There was a report referring to Communist agitators from Vienna trying to rally provincial war victims against the Invalid Compensation Law in summer 1919. Karl Grundei, “Meine Urlaubsreise,” DI, 15 August 1919, 7.


34. Julian Berger, “Die Einigungsverhandlungen,” DI, Sonderausgabe, August 1919, 4–5. For the Upper Austrians’ timely declaration of allegiance to the Zentralverband and its effort to ensure that its Salzburg counterpart do the same, see Grundei, “Meine Urlaubsreise,” 7. There was no corroborating evidence for the claim that the Upper Austrians were authorized to represent the Carinthians in Salzburg.


41. “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Ortsgruppe Hietzing,” DI, 1 August 1919, 8.

42. “Deutschösterreichs Tod,” DI, 1 August 1919, 1.
44. This included the use of legal means to punish members who insulted or slandered the functionaries. See “Urteil,” DI, 15 October 1919, 10.
47. I am borrowing James C. Scott’s concept of legibility from his Seeing Like a State.
49. Ibid., 6. On Josef Resch, see Steiner, Sozialversicherung.
51. For example, Der Zentralverband, “Die Antwort des Zentralverbandes,” 3.
52. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1371 26884/1919.
53. “Kreiskonferenz des Zentralverbandes der deutschösterreichischen Kriegsbeschädigten u.,” DI, 1 November 1919, 3–4. The meeting worked as intended. In a second meeting, the City of Amstetten pledged a 6,000-kronen annual subsidy. Amstetten and some nearby communities also promised to encourage donations to the local chapter. “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Wien,” DI, 15 December 1919, 6.
54. “Aus den Ortsgruppen: Ortsgruppe Wien X.,” DI, 1 November 1919, 8. This local chapter meeting took place on 20 September.
56. Ibid., 3.
58. Ibid., 1–2.
59. Ibid., 2.
62. Information became a precious good in wartime Austria; see Healy, Vienna and the Fall of the Habsburg Empire, 122–159.
63. The numbers are official estimates of Vienna-based organizations in October 1919. They give us an idea of the relative strength of the competing organizations vying for the government’s recognition. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 1368 29149/1919.
66. For example, Burger’s name is missing from the lists of functionaries and representatives of all war victim organizations (the Zentralverband, the provincial associations,
and their competitors), all relevant war victim agencies and institutions, and related
government offices, in Julius Schmidt on behalf of Landesverband Wien, ed., *Handbuch unentbehrlich*, 5–33.


69. They also decided the Zentralverband’s demands about improving specific benefits and services. “Wissenswertes,” *NZdK* 1, no. 4 (May 1920), 2–4.


71. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1377 29603/1920.

72. For a detailed record of the proceedings of the convention, see Rupert Kainradl, “Reichsdelegiertentag,” *NZdK* 1, no. 5–6 (15 July 1920), 1–16.

73. The war-blind persons’ organization, allied with the Zentralverband-Provincial Associations group, had one seat given by the Social Ministry. The Verband der kriegsbeschädigten Intellektuellen (Association of War-Damaged Intellectuals, actually an organization of disabled former military officers and officials) had the twentieth war victim seat. “Wissenswertes: Ständige Fürsorgekommission für Invalide,” *NZdK* 1, no. 4 (May 1920), 3–4.

74. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1372 12079/1920, 11452/1920.

75. Der Zentralverband, “Geleitwort!,” 1. The new Zentralverband decided that it still needed a newsletter to pass on essential information to local chapters. *NZdK* appeared only as needed.


77. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1370 4290/1920, K1371 7475/1920.

78. Hollitscher was the first speaker of the Vienna Provincial Association’s 21 March 1920 meeting in the Volkshalle. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1371 8971/1920.

79. It joined the Christian Social organization to protest the renewed monopoly of the Zentralverband-Provincial Associations group on the codetermination mechanisms. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1379 35582/1920.

80. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1372 11452/1920.

81. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1373 13495/1920. The letter to the Social Ministry was dated 24 April 1920.

82. The officially recognized national membership total for 1921 was 160,618. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1395 5098/1922.

83. In spring 1920, when Hollitscher complained about the creeping official disregard, the Vienna Provincial Association counted 67,000 disabled veterans and 22,000 widows in its ranks. Some 82 percent of them were industrial workers or trained craftsmen. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1373 13495/1920. Later in 1920, the Viennese officials
reported the Vienna Provincial Association had 75,627 disabled men as members. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1374 18075/1920. A low estimate from August 1920 said the Vienna Provincial Association membership was 52,632. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1425 20390/1920 in Folder 17248/1924.

84. The size of the Zentralrat in late spring 1920, according to the Lower Austrian Invalid Compensation Commission, was approximately 10,000; 3,500 of them were municipal workers. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1380 14667/1920 in Folder 1836/1921. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1379 35582/1920 for the more precise number of 9,531. The Christian Social organization had only 2,109 disabled men as members in 1920. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1374 18075/1920; it reported that its total membership number (including nondisabled men) reached 4,000 in March 1920, ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1372 9767/1920.


86. This law provided the basis for establishing and administering the fund that the Habsburg Law (StGBl. 209/1919) had promised. On the controversies over the Habsburg Law and the confiscated properties, see Böhmer and Faber, *Die Erben des Kaisers*. The fund was only able to fulfill its mission starting in 1922. For the organizational and political struggle over the constitution of the fund’s decision-making (and participatory) board between 1919 and 1921, see ÖStA AdR StK-BKA/alt. Varia Kriegsgeschädigt enfonds, K232, K233, and ÖStA AdR BMfsV/K.G.F. K110.

87. Since September 1918 at the latest, some Austrian officials had seriously contemplated the feasibility of legally requiring employers to hire disabled veterans. A draft law was prepared. A German expert visited Vienna and cautioned about a possible backlash from “healthy” veterans. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 24255/1918, 25316/1918. By January 1919 there were some revisions made to the existing draft law. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1363 25708/1918. The documents in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1572 SA 146 Invalidenbeschäftigungsgesetz shed light on the drafting, negotiation, and early implementation of the law.

88. For the beneficiary numbers, see Brandeisz and Zobel, *Gesetzgebung für Kriegsbeschädigte*, 350.

89. At least in Lower Austria, such hiring decisions in the Invalid Compensation Commission were part of the participatory decision-making practice. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 30106/1919.

90. See, for example, the regulations about terminating existing licenses to make room for war victims in Brandeisz and Zobel, *Gesetzgebung für Kriegsbeschädigte*, 405–419.


92. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1367 22894/1919. The Invalid Compensation Commissions replied that they were not bending the rules. Hiring private physicians was necessary, because all available state doctors had been mobilized to examine disabled veterans as required by the new law.

93. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1371 26884/1919, 6977/1920.
94. The largest three Provincial Associations were in Vienna (a membership of 43,782 disabled veterans and 27,771 surviving dependents, with 116,104 associated orphans and children); Lower Austria (29,505 disabled veterans and 17,292 surviving dependents, with 77,313 associated orphans and children), and Styria (20,775 disabled veterans and 9,059 surviving dependents). ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1395 5098/1922.

95. Statistische Zentralkommission, ed., Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich I. Jahrgang, 73; Bundesamt für Statistik, ed., Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich II. Jahrgang, 125.


97. Shrinking the civil administration had been under discussion since 1919. See ÖStA AdR BKA/Inneres Varia Verwaltungsreform Material K8122b Konvolut 2 “Verwaltungsreform”; K8127 Konvolut 18–20, esp. 2. Folder “Beamtenabbau”. On the Geneva protocols, see Swanson, The Remnants of the Habsburg Monarchy, 283–309; Marcus, Austrian Reconstruction, 78–112.

98. ÖStA AdR BKA MRP 1920–1922 Nr. 211 14 July 1922.


100. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1401 17493/1922.
101. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1403 Folder 19729/1922 2809/1922, 4394/1922.
102. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1403 Folder 19729/1922 5414/1922.
103. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1403 Folder 19729/1922 10413/1922.


106. The Social Ministry in early 1924 claimed that there were 152,486 veterans over 15 percent disabled, and 74,463 over 35 percent disabled. These numbers suggest that more than half of the eligible men were probably involuntarily bought out after the Seventh Revision. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1420 345/1924.

107. For example, the national construction trades organization petitioned to have its members pay the equalization tax—and at a low rate—instead of hiring disabled veterans. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1378 30032/1920. The leading steel and iron production conglomerate, Österreichisch-Alpine Montangesellschaft, also protested. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1572 SA 146 (Invalidenbeschäftigungsgesetz) 17805/1921.

108. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1401 15677/1922.
109. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1401 16057/1922.

110. For the broader League of Nations–enforced austerity measures, see Marcus, Austrian Reconstruction, 143–222.

111. Deak, “Dismantling Empire,” 135–137. Deak found a source claiming that the initial target of reduction (Beamtenabbau) was nearly 200,000 (140, note 42). See also Heindl, “Bürokratie und Beamte,” 98–102.

112. The Vienna Commission’s urgent need to handle the applications was met by hiring almost exclusively war victims as extra clerks. Fahringer, Bütch, and Liebl, Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge, 61. The request to do so in Styria is in ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1371 7940/1920.

113. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 30106/1919.

114. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1368 30618/1919.

115. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1376 22047/1920.

116. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1375 21429/1920.

117. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1378 31481/1920.

118. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1425 26908/1922 in Folder 15215/1924.

119. Unfortunately, the Social Ministry, conceivably the agency with the largest disabled veteran contingents on its staff, did not report its own statistics in this investigation. The Interior Ministry’s original report was returned to the federal chancellor’s office, and the duplicate copy is missing. Not counting these two ministries’ staff, there were 8,347 disabled veterans (or equivalent) officials and employees in federal agencies, offices, and enterprises; 6,391 of them were permanently employed or tenured, 1,554 of them were in the process of becoming so. There were 143,276 non-war victim federal officials and official-aspirants (not including career soldiers) in these agencies, offices, and enterprises as of October 1922. My tabulation is based on ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1425 4912/1923, 31999/1922, 31994/1922, 31448/1922, 30947/1922, 29786/1922, 29144/1922, 29379/1922, 2762/1923, 42865/1922, 39587/1922, 38149/1922, 37968/1922, 37971/1922, 28725/1922, 8181/1923, 14614/1923, 15215/1924, 19071/1924, all in Folder 15215/1924.

120. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1380 1187/1921.

121. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1376 23676/1920.

122. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1376 26007/1920.

123. Kienböck, Das österreichische Sanierungswerk, 55.

124. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1411 11363/1923.

125. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1403 19129/1922.

126. ÖStA AdR BMfsV Präs SWR K3 Gr. 32/25 4352/1924.

127. Bundestamt für Statistik, ed., Statistisches Handbuch für den Bundesstaat Österreich XVII. Jahrgang, 208. Starting with 1923, beneficiary statistics are quite detailed and sufficiently reliable. In January–February 1924 the Social Ministry was confident enough to share the numbers with the American Embassy in Vienna, which inquired on behalf of the U.S. Bureau of Veterans. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1420 345/1924. For a table comparing the annual number of war victim welfare beneficiaries in Austria and in Czechoslovakia between 1923 and 1935 (in each of the following categories: disabled
veterans, war widows, orphans, and other dependents), see Grebler and Winkler, *The Cost of the World War*, 136. In Austria the peak year was 1924, with 193,935 total benefit recipients (in terms of disabled veterans alone, the peak year was 1935, with 58,794 recipients); in Czechoslovakia, it was 1923, with 588,280 recipients (the peak year for disabled veterans was also 1923, 155,588).

128. ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K1410 130, 135, 341, 1261, 1653, 1654, 1957, 1958, 1960, 2043, 2208, 2222, 2223, 2939, 3265, 4526, 5029, 5037, 5360/1923. See also ÖStA AdR BMfsV Präs SWR K3.

129. See, for example, the Carinthian Invalid Compensation Commission’s 1925 opposition to drastic layoffs on workload grounds, ÖStA AdR BMfsV Präs SWR K3 Gr. 2435/25 338/45-1925; and Gr. 52/25 1784/1925, the petition from the Styrian Landesverband. SWR K3 and K4 contain a large number of documents stemming from the continuing “civil servant reduction” program in 1924 and 1925, when the Invalid Compensation Commissions themselves were targeted for personnel cuts and restructuring.

130. Its executive directive was dated 24 December 1924, BGBl. 449/1924.

131. Fahringer, Büsch, and Liebl, *Kriegsbeschädigtenfürsorge*, 60–68. For other major changes introduced by the Eighth Revision as well as the Revisions to the Invalid Compensation Law between 1920 and 1934 (thirteen in total), see the short summary in Kubat, “Die Invalidenentschädigung,” 18.

132. Around the same time, German pensioners demanded more codetermination rights in the Weimar welfare system; see Crew, *Germans on Welfare*, 99–104.

133. Austrian judges were career civil servants. Giving them more power to adjudicate benefit disputes was to greatly diminish the codetermination practices. On the larger political implications of the 1922–1925 reforms, especially the politicization (by parties on the right) of the state administration, see Deak, “Dismantling Empire.”

**Conclusion**

1. France was the first major belligerent to adopt a new comprehensive law about war victims’ rights and benefits. The law of 31 March 1919 elevated disabled men (and veterans in general) who had served the nation in its emergency to a distinct status group that enjoyed special rights and honor. Disabled men’s benefits were not measured by the percentage loss of earning power in their prewar occupations but according to a uniform standard of loss applied to individuals as members of the nation-in-arms. Prewar income and social status were not the determining criteria. This made the French system unique. Geyer, “Ein Vorbote des Wohlfahrtsstaates,” 237–241. The Austrian Republic was only the first among the “losers” of the Great War and the successor states in Central Europe to have a new legislation. The Russian Bolsheviks’ war victim welfare promises also predated the Austrian law, but provisions existed mostly only on paper. There were even significant cuts to tsarist-era benefits based on the recipient’s class status. Hoffmann, *Cultivating the Masses*, 49–63.
2. For a comprehensive list, see Göhring and Pellar, *Ferdinand Hanusch*, 204.
3. The Social Democrats’ traditionally close ties to organized labor probably helped. Preferential employment of disabled veterans was always controversial among employers. But it also had the potential to antagonize trade unions, as in the Australian case. Gar
ton, *The Cost of War*, 89–91. Without vocal opposition from organized labor, Austria was able to introduce employment quotas for disabled veterans through the Invalid Employment Law of 1920.
4. ÖStA AdR BKA/allgem. Innenes 22 K4860 23886/1919, Polizeidirektion Wien an das Staatsamt für Inneres, “Ungarische Gesandtschaft; Einflussnahme auf die Gestaltung der innerpolitischen Situation in Deutscher Österreich.” Schober later served as federal chancellor in three interwar Austrian governments and was the founding president of Interpol.
5. Hans Hautmann argues that it would be “too simplistic” to see the April 1919 incidents only as Communist putsch attempts in his *Geschichte der Rätebewegung*, 317.
6. In the 1919/1920 national budget (with addenda before May 1920), the expenditure for war victim welfare totaled 424.823 million kronen and constituted more than 92 percent of the Social Ministry’s 1919/1920 budget. But that was not all that the Austrian Republic paid to or for war victims. The categories listed under “war welfare measures” cost a total of 7,675.833 million kronen and contained subcategories that also benefited war victims: living allowances (continuing payments as a stopgap measure) cost 214.5 million kronen, and “subsistence relief (Erleichterung der Lebensführung)” cost an astronomical sum of 3,966.331 million kronen (more than 23 percent of the total state outlay and the most costly budgetary item for the fiscal year 1919/1920). “XIX. Finanzwesen. A. Staatsvoranschlag für das Verwaltungsjahr 1919/20. 1. Hauptübersicht über Erfordernis und Bedeckung,” in Statistische Zentralkommission, ed., *Statistisches Handbuch für die Republik Österreich*, 73.
8. The Constitution of 1920 formalized this attitude and declared war victim welfare to be a “federal matter (Bundessache),” StGBl. 450/1920, Gesetz vom 1. Oktober 1920, womit die Republik Österreich als Bundesstaat eingerichtet wird (Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz), §10, section 15.
9. This particular formulation originated from the Allies’ Moscow Declaration of 1943. On the broader issue of the victim myth in Austria, see Uhl, “Das ‘erste Opfer.’”
12. For example, Tálos, *Staatliche Sozialpolitik*, 78.

13. An explicitly biopolitical approach would likely favor certain structural but narrowly focused themes, such as the institutionalization of the influence of specific professions and scientific/medical theories. These are not the most effective way to grasp the contingent nature of the key developments this book highlights.


15. For the latest view on the impact of hyperinflation and the ensuing international bailout on Austrian politics, see Marcus, *Austrian Reconstruction*. On the League of Nations’ critical influence on interwar Central Europe, see Becker and Wheatley, eds., *Remaking Central Europe*, and Wheatley, “Central Europe as Ground Zero.”


17. On war victims’ presence in the putsches, see Botz, *Gewalt in der Politik*, 45–70. He reported that of the ca. 3,000 demonstrators on 17 April, there were around 800 disabled veterans and returning soldiers.


19. See, for example, the case of Waidhofen a.d. Ybbs in Karl Burger, “Keine Lebensmittel für Kriegsbeschädigte, aber Ueberfluß für Kriegsgewinner und Preistreiber,” *DI*, 1 July 1919, 1–2. Burger’s account portrayed organized war victims in alliance with the republican state fighting against an alliance between local community leaders (and district commissioners) and alleged war profiteers.


21. His tenure as social minister is discussed in Steiner, *Sozialversicherung*.

22. For the “poorest of the poor” self-identification, see for example B., “Das neue Militärversorgungsgesetz,” *DI*, 1 April 1919, 1–2.


24. For its 1924 membership figures, see ÖStA AdR BMfsV KBF K 1426 24063/1924. Drexel also authored a pamphlet on the two main war victim welfare laws after their
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respective revisions in 1926 and 1927. See Drexel, "Invaliden-entschädigungsgesetz . . . Mit Erläuterungen von Prof. Dr. Karl Drexel."

25. Some called him “the Angel of Siberia.” He wrote a memoir, Feldkurat in Sibirien, and was an advocate for the pacifist cause. Drexel, Friede oder Krieg!


27. These words came from Franz Spalowsky, a Christian Social trade union leader and parliamentary deputy. KvVI CSP Parlamentsklub K 22 Klubsitzung, 3 February 1927, Protokolle.


29. The title of Günther Steinbach’s more popularly oriented history of the First Republic, Kanzler, Krisen, Katastrophen, encapsulates this dominant frame of analysis and narration. The gloom-and-doom narrative of the First Republic justifies the post-1945 grand coalition regime by presuming that the lessons from the interwar years had been learned and the “right path” was taken by the Second Republic’s two leading milieu parties and their leaders.

30. Pfoser and Weigl, Die erste Stunde Null, is a good recent attempt to put the early First Republic in a more positive light. The title, “The First Zero Hour,” calls for re-thinking the entire narrative of the post-Habsburg Austrian history.

31. The First Republic has often been remembered as “the state that no one wanted.” This description was made famous by Andics, Der Staat, den keiner wollte. The venerated Swiss daily Neue Zürcher Zeitung still uses this moniker to name its special series on the centenary of the founding of the Austrian Republic. See https://www.nzz.ch/podium-dossiers/der-staat-den-keiner-wollte-hundert-jahre-oesterreich (accessed 5 November 2021).

32. The classic account of corporatist stabilization is Maier, Recasting Bourgeois Europe.

33. For a recent reflection on the rise and decline of the Austrian “social partnership,” see Tálos and Hinterseer, Sozialpartnerschaft. On the evolution of the post-1945 Austrian welfare state in this corporatist context, see Tálos and Obinger, Sozialstaat Österreich.