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Migrants and Refugees from the 1960s until Today

edited by

Wolfgang Mueller and Dirk Rupnow

Marcel Amoser

Forgotten "Guests" – Educational Migration to Austria from the 1960s to the 1980s

Wolfgang Mueller / Hannes Leidinger / Viktor Ishchenko

"When Israel Was in Egypt's Land." Jewish Emigration from the USSR, 1968–1991

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In the Service of Deportation: The Development of Detention and Other Forms of Movement Restrictions in the Austrian Asylum System from 1990 to 2020

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Editorial

One of the oldest phenomena in the history of mankind is migration, whether peaceful or violent, voluntary or forced, barely noticeable outflow or mass movements. Although generally a phenomenon of local or regional dimension, at times migration has also occurred at supra-regional or even intercontinental levels. Triggered by climatic changes, hunger and need, conflicts and wars, political persecution, or the pursuit of economic betterment, migration has not only enriched societies and fostered exchange, it has also destabilized nations and caused empires to perish. Some of the most colossal structures on earth – from the *Limes* of the Roman Empire to the Serpent’s Wall in Ukraine, from the Great Wall of China to the Iron Curtain – were built to prevent the unwanted movement of people.

In the 19th century, a natural subject of historiographical study was regional migration to frontier territories,¹ as for example in the Russian Empire or the United States of America. In the 1960s there was renewed interest in migration history in Western Europe due to the increase of immigration.² With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the so-called Eastern Bloc, the history of borders came again into focus,³ leading to a new generation in migration history.⁴ This development was reinforced by the “migration wave” of 2015.⁵

1 V.O. Klyuchevskii, *Kurs Russkoi istorii*, 5 vols., St. Petersburg: Sin. tipografiya 1904–1922; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, New York: Norton 1920.

2 Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press 1987.

3 Wolfgang Mueller/Libora Oates-Indruchova, Space, Borders, Borderlands: Global and East European Approaches in Historiography, *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Politikwissenschaft* 42, no. 1 (2013), 43–46.

4 Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium*, Durham: Duke Univ. Press 2002.

5 Jochen Oltmer, *Migration: Geschichte und Zukunft der Gegenwart*, Darmstadt: WBG 2017; Philipp Ther, *Die Außenseiter: Flucht, Flüchtlinge und Integration im modernen Europa*, Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag 2017; Agnes Bresselau von Bressensdorf, *Über Grenzen: Migration und Flucht in Globaler Perspektive seit 1945*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2019; Peter

The history of migration to Austria, especially during the Second Republic, has long been a topic overlooked by historians, but received increased attention since the 1980s.⁶ In the past decade, the questions of migration remained in the focus, triggered not least by the 50th anniversaries of Austria's three labor recruitment agreements: 1962 with Spain, 1964 with Turkey, and 1966 with Yugoslavia. Accordingly, the "guest worker migration" of the 1960s and early 1970s has been the focus of a number of research projects, as well as exhibitions and retrospectives. Increasingly, research has also shifted to refugees and long-term aspects of migration, in part due to the so-called "long summer of migration" of 2015, but also the refugees who came to Austria in the 1990s as a result of the Yugoslav wars.⁷

The present volume presents research currently being done on the history of migration to or through Austria. Going beyond labor migration, it not only examines migration today, but also the four decades between 1960 and 2000, a period of Austrian contemporary history for which the question of migration has received little attention. Thus, the volume fulfils several desiderata.

Marcel Amoser's contribution examines migration to Austria for purposes of education from the 1960s to the 1980s based on the example of the university town of Innsbruck, a topic related to Amoser's current doctoral thesis project on student protests in Innsbruck from the 1960s to the 1980s. Viktor Ishchenko, Hannes Leidinger and Wolfgang Mueller discuss Jewish emigration from the USSR to Israel via Austria between 1968 and 1990. Maximilian Graf considers Austria as a country of asylum in the 1970s for refugees from the global South. And to conclude, Judith Welz analyzes Austria's asylum system with regard to deportation policies since the early 1990s.

The editors take no responsibility for political statements made by authors quoted in this issue.⁸

Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe: The Great Migration, 1945 to the Present*, London: Allen Lane 2019.

6 Eduard Stanek, *Verfolgt Verjagt Vertrieben. Flüchtlinge in Österreich von 1945–1984*, Vienna: Europaverlag 1985; Heinz Fassmann/Rainer Münz, *Einwanderungsland Österreich? Historische Migrationsmuster, aktuelle Trends und politische Maßnahmen*, Vienna: Jugend & Volk 1995; Gernot Heiss/Oliver Rathkolb eds., *Asylland wider Willen: Flüchtlinge in Österreich im europäischen Kontext seit 1914*, Vienna: Jugend & Volk 1995.

7 Bőrries Kuzmany/Rita Garstenauer eds., *Aufnahmeland Österreich: Über den Umgang mit Massenflucht seit dem 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna: Mandelbaum 2017.

8 In particular, the editors reject statements made by Nicholas DeGenova claiming that "Israel has no legitimate claim to the heritage of the Holocaust." Quoted in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "Campus Anti-Semitism: A Briefing Before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, held in Washington, D.C., November 18, 2005", Briefing Report, Washington, D.C., July 2006, 59.

Articles

Forgotten “Guests”: Educational Migration to Austria from the 1960s to the 1980s

I. Introduction¹

For some years now, migration research in Austria has once again been experiencing a certain boom. This trend was not only stimulated by the fiftieth anniversaries of the recruitment agreements between Austria and Turkey (2014) and – to a lesser extent – between Austria and Yugoslavia (2016), but also by the emotional debates in media and politics about the most recent refugee and migration movements. The accompanying focus on labor migration and flight stories in media discourses is undoubtedly of academic and political relevance, given the long denial, that Austria is an immigration country. Other forms of migration, however, often remain on the sidelines. If we follow the geographers Russell King and Parvati Raghuram, this finding applies especially to research on the educational migration of students.² Although student migration is an established object of study in global history research, the topic is still underrepresented in migration studies.³ This assessment was recently shared by the historian Isabella Löhr in her analysis of global educational mobility between 1850 and 1930.⁴ When contemporary historical studies deal with educational migration in Austria, they usually do so as part of an institutional history,⁵ as a

1 I would like to thank Eric Burton, Tim Corbett, Sylvia Eller, Gerhard Hetfleisch, Benedikt Kapferer, Sarah Oberbichler, the editors, and the reviewers for their valuable comments.

2 Russell King/Parvati Raghuram, “International Student Migration. Mapping the Field and New Research Agendas,” *Population, Space and Place* 19 (2013), 127–137, 128–129.

3 Recent research on international fellowship programs, for example, should be highlighted here. Ludovic Tournès/Giles Scott-Smith (eds.), *Global Exchanges. Scholarships and Transnational Circulation in the Modern World* (New York: Berghan Books 2018). The historian Hilary Perraton also did central work in her magnum opus on international students since the mid-nineteenth century. Hilary Perraton, *International Students 1860–2010. Policy and Practice around the World* (Cham 2020: Palgrave Macmillan 2020).

4 Isabella Löhr, *Globale Bildungsmobilität 1850–1930* (Göttingen: Wallstein 2021), 15–17.

5 Michael Dippelreiter, *50 Jahre Bildungsmobilität. Eine kleine Geschichte des ÖAD* (Innsbruck – Vienna – Bolzano: StudienVerlag 2011).

secondary topic in a history of development or foreign policy,⁶ or as part of a university or student protest history.⁷ This has resulted in important works, but a systematic examination of educational migration after 1945 in Austria is still a desideratum.

This article aims to fill this gap and is dedicated specifically to the history of student migration to Austria. The aim is to provide an overview of the development of student numbers, countries of origin, and reasons for migration, but also of the ways in which migration was handled, regulated, and politicized.⁸ The focus lies on the period between the 1960s and 1980s. Educational migration to Austria reached a peak in the 1960s. Against the backdrop of the decolonization processes, but also of the Cold War, foreign students⁹ took on a special sig-

6 Gerald Hödl, *Österreich und die Dritte Welt. Außen- und Entwicklungspolitik der Zweiten Republik bis zum EU-Beitritt 1995* (Vienna: Promedia 2004); Eric Burton, "Postkolonialismus," in Marcus Gräser/Dirk Rupnow (eds.), *Österreichische Zeitgeschichte / Zeitgeschichte in Österreich. Eine Standortbestimmung in Zeiten des Umbruchs* (Vienna: Böhlau 2021), 321–347.

7 Ina Friedmann/Dirk Rupnow, *Geschichte der Universität Innsbruck 1669–2019, vol. 1: Phasen der Universitätsgeschichte. Partial vol. 2: die Universität im 20. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: innsbruck university press 2019); Thomas König, *Die Frühgeschichte des Fulbright Program in Österreich* (Innsbruck – Vienna – Bolzano: StudienVerlag 2012); on protests by foreign students: Paulus Ebner/Karl Vocelka, *Die zahme Revolution. '68 und was davon blieb* (Vienna: Ueberreuter 1998); Fritz Keller, *Wien, Mai 68. Eine heiße Viertelstunde* (Vienna: Mandelbaum 2008); Oliver Rathkolb/Friedrich Stadler (eds.), *Das Jahr 1968 – Ereignis, Symbol, Chiffre* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2010).

8 A closer look at the categories of gender and social origin must be reserved for further analyses. It can be noted at this point, however, that among foreign students in the mid-1960s, approximately seventeen percent were women. The distribution was country-specific, however, as their share among students from so-called developing countries was only half as high. Manfred Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten in Österreich. Eine soziographische Untersuchung* (Vienna: Ferdinand Berger 1964), 59. As among Austrian students, their proportion among foreign students also increased over the years. The Higher Education Report noted a noticeable increase from the end of the 1970s onwards and it stood at over thirty percent in the following years. With regard to social background, it can be stated that educational migrants came predominantly from well-off families, around forty percent having been children from academic families, although a comparatively high proportion of working-class children from West Germany was also found. Meyer, *ausländische Studenten*, 63–65. Also in the 1970s, it was suggested that foreign students came from "upper social classes" to a greater extent than Austrian students. *Hochschulbericht 1972*, vol. 1, 78. Parts of this essay are also dealt with in more detail in the author's dissertation project on student protests in Innsbruck from the 1960s to the 1980s.

9 "Foreign students" here refers to all those students who did not have Austrian citizenship. This also corresponds to the use of the category in statistical material after 1945. As always, the use of certain categories is accompanied by certain problems. For example, the use of the term reproduces a hierarchical differentiation along nationality lines. In a positive sense, however, it also names the existing inequalities and historical realities without resorting to euphemisms. Furthermore, the connection between educational migration and nationality is unclear. Even though they were often congruent in the period under study, not all foreign students had a migration experience themselves. In other specific cases, migration for work or flight could merge seamlessly.

nificance as part of development policy, which led to the establishment of specialized support services. As a result of the numerus clausus regulation in West Germany and the reforms of Austrian universities in the 1970s, a phase of increased regulation of educational migration set in, which had a detrimental effect on students from certain countries of origin. At the same time, the situation in the largest relevant care institution for foreign students became tense. In 1973/74, the *Österreichischer Auslandsstudentendienst* (Austrian Foreign Student Service, ÖAD) became the subject of student protests that signaled a growing interest in migration policy issues. Finally, in the 1980s a trend towards the internationalization of higher education institutions started to shape the way educational migration is dealt with today.

Reports by *Statistik Austria* (the Austrian Statistical Office), which provide insights into the development of Austrian higher education institutions since 1954, serve as the basis for this paper. In addition, it uses the university reports of the Ministry of Education and Science, which were published at three-year intervals based on a provision in the *Allgemeines Hochschul-Studiengesetz* (General Law on Higher Education, AHStG) of 1966. Furthermore, there are the annual reports of the ÖAD, which, despite the reservation of an idealized self-portrayal, illustrate the activities and problems of the association. Finally, articles from daily newspapers and student magazines as well as ideologically colored leaflets from student groups are analyzed here. Due to the author's research focus on regional history, the materials concentrate on the province of Tyrol. This view from the margins is also pertinent in terms of content: After all, the University of Innsbruck had one of the largest proportions of foreign students in Austria in relation to the total number of students. In the winter semester 1960/61, almost fifty percent of the students in Innsbruck (all student categories)¹⁰ had foreign citizenship. At the University of Vienna, by contrast, the figure was slightly more than 22 percent and thus below the Austrian average of about a quarter of the students.¹¹ In the winter semester of 1971/72, the proportion of foreign students throughout Austria was around sixteen percent, a quarter of whom were studying in Innsbruck. Altogether, only eleven percent of Austria's student population were enrolled in Innsbruck. Yet in this year, the University of Innsbruck, with almost 2,000 regular foreign students, even surpassed the University of Vienna in absolute numbers (1,830 students).¹² At the beginning of the 1980s, the University

10 Students in Austria are divided into three categories during this period: Ordinary students, who meet all the necessary requirements for taking up studies and are enrolled, extraordinary students, who do not yet meet certain criteria but are admitted to supplementary examinations or university courses, and guest listeners, who are already graduates of universities and wish to attend individual courses without taking up further studies.

11 *Hochschulstatistik 1960/61*, 17 and 28.

12 *Hochschulbericht 1972*, vol. 1, 15 and 76.

of Innsbruck had the highest proportion of foreign students (twenty percent), followed by the Montanuniversität Leoben with seventeen percent. Austria-wide, the proportion of foreign students stood at ten percent in 1979/80.¹³ In the winter semester of 1989/90, and thus at the end of the period under examination here, the University of Innsbruck still had the largest proportion of foreign students among Austrian universities, at around eighteen percent. At that time, 8.4 percent of all regular students in Austria had foreign citizenship.¹⁴

II. Student Numbers and Countries of Origin

Historically, educational migration is not a new phenomenon. It gained importance in the Habsburg Monarchy as early as the mid-nineteenth century as a result of the university reforms initiated under Leopold Count von Thun-Hohenstein. The reforms transformed the universities into modern academic institutions and encouraged migration, for example by making the faculties of philosophy more attractive, by improving the recognition of educational qualifications obtained abroad, and by lifting the ban on studying outside the borders of the empire that the Holy Alliance had previously proclaimed. Nevertheless, migration movements during that time consisted foremost of mobility within the empire to Vienna, making this city one of the most important European university locations of the time.¹⁵ While the two World Wars had a negative impact on student numbers, educational migration once again became an important force after 1945.¹⁶

However, student numbers recovered only slowly in the first postwar years, reaching a new low point in the mid-1950s due to the low birth rate. In the following years, there was a continuous increase, but the level of the immediate

13 *Hochschulbericht 1981*, 139.

14 *Hochschulbericht 1990*, vol. 1, 180–181.

15 Although many of the students came from different parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, they were counted as “foreigners” due to the ethnonational understanding of the state. Löhr, *Globale Bildungsmobilität*, 133–134. In addition to the prestige of the university in the capital, higher pay certainly also motivated the move to Vienna. Jan Surman, “Peregrinatio Medica.’ Mobilität von Medizinerinnen in den Jahren 1848–1914 und die Konstruktion einer Hauptstadtuniversität,” in Daniela Angetter/Birgitt Nemeč/Herbert Posch/Christiane Druml/Paul Weindling (eds.), *Strukturen und Netzwerke. Medizin und Wissenschaft in Wien 1848–1955* (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2018), 411–424 (650 Jahre Universität Wien – Aufbruch ins neue Jahrhundert 5).

16 *Hochschulbericht 1969*, 16. One exception was migration movements within the Third Reich, which increased temporarily during the Second World War. Overall, the problem for the interpretation and comparability of the figures from this period is that foreign students were not defined according to nationality, but according to the principle of descent. *Hochschulstatistik 1953/54*, 3, 13–14.

postwar years was not reached again until the end of the 1950s.¹⁷ The number of foreign students was also on the rise and the issue of educational migration increasingly attracted political and media attention.¹⁸ The Austrian university statistics for the winter semester of 1958/59 stated that this group had increased so much in recent years that "[...] the question of foreigners studying has become a top-priority problem for Austrian universities. Foreign students form a serious part of the student body in Austria and therefore cannot be neglected wherever higher education issues are discussed."¹⁹ This trend was also evident in the figures. Measured in terms of the total number of students (all student categories), more than one fifth did not have Austrian citizenship in 1955/56, while a few years later it was almost every third student, a high proportion even by international standards. At some universities, the proportion was even higher.²⁰ In 1955, for example, the South Tyrolean newspaper *Alpenpost* stated that about fifty percent of the students in Innsbruck were foreign citizens and that they would at least prevent the professors from standing before "half-empty lecture halls."²¹ Differences were also apparent in different fields of study. In the winter semester of 1957/58, for instance, theology and medicine in Innsbruck and the Faculty of Mechanical and Electrical Engineering at the Graz University of Technology were attended by a majority of foreign nationals.²²

In 1961/62, more than twice as many students attended Austrian universities than in the mid-1950s. At the same time, a peak of 11,348 foreign students (all student categories) was recorded, which was not to be surpassed until the 1980s.²³ The main countries of origin remained more or less the same over the decades, although they varied according to university location. Apart from Germany, the largest groups were mainly from Greece and Iran. In the 1970s, Italian nationals arrived in increasing numbers, as did Turkish nationals in the 1980s. Traditionally, however, the largest group of foreign students in Austria came from Germany.²⁴ In the 1960s, they accounted for about thirty percent of all foreign

17 *Hochschulbericht* 1969, 14.

18 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 9.

19 *Hochschulstatistik* 1958/59, 27.

20 *Hochschulstatistik* 1962/63, 122; *Hochschulbericht* 1969, 60. Alois Brusatti/Herta Karpstein/Dieter Wintersberger, *Österreichische Entwicklungshilfe. Leistungen und Möglichkeiten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Vermittlung von Wissen und technischem Können* (Vienna: Ferdinand Berger 1963), 34–35.

21 "Beliebt von Persien bis Costa Rica," *Alpenpost*, 7 February 1955, 8.

22 *Hochschulstatistik* 1957/58, 13.

23 *Hochschulstatistik* 1962/63, 122. This was a high number even in international comparison. Austria was thus one of the most popular host countries in 1960, surpassed in absolute numbers only by the USA, France, the FRG, the USSR, and the UK. Perraton, *International Students*, 78.

24 These were mainly students from the FRG, as students from the GDR were not allowed to study abroad in the West for a long time. Meyer, *ausländische Studenten*, 24. The proportion

students in Austria.²⁵ Educational expansion and the “economic miracle” had already begun in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in the early 1950s. One reason for German migration was probably the country’s geographic, linguistic, and historical proximity to Austria. Since many of the German students studied in Innsbruck, the mountains and the associated sporting opportunities were probably also a motive.²⁶ On the other hand, the so-called *Ausländerstudium* (foreign study) in Austria was little regulated at that time and some universities had the reputation of making low demands on prospective students. Referring to an analysis of the school and university system in Austria from 1965, the historian Thomas König recently pointed out that in German-speaking countries, the Governmental Sciences at the University of Graz in particular had the reputation of having low standards.²⁷

In the second half of the 1950s, educational migration from Greece and Hungary was also significant. Those immigrants studied mainly in Vienna, Graz, and Leoben.²⁸ The migration from Hungary only temporarily took on larger dimensions due to the suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. However, the larger movement from Greece was of a persistent nature. In the winter semester of 1953/54, only 123 Greek students were enrolled at Austrian universities. In 1956/57, this number was already over 1,500. At the beginning of the 1960s, this group made up almost one fifth of the total number of foreign students.²⁹ Although the numbers declined again in the mid-1960s, Greece was still one of the main countries of origin in the 1980s.³⁰ According to the university statistics, the reasons for the significant increase in the second half of the 1950s were the political conditions and the introduction of admission restrictions (*numerus clausus*) in Greece.³¹

It is certainly plausible that the political tensions after the end of the civil war and the nationalist government’s repression of alleged or actual political opponents as well as restrictions on university admissions encouraged educational migration. However, these developments are unsatisfactory in explaining why

of students who had fled was probably not particularly significant in quantitative terms. However, it was not possible to distinguish between the two German states in the statistics, as most students simply stated “German” as their citizenship. *Hochschulstatistik* 1960/61, 54–55.

25 *Hochschulbericht* 1969, 58; Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 24.

26 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 85.

27 Thomas König, “Krise und neue Anforderungen. Das österreichische Hochschulregime 1920–1960 und die Kritik der frühen 1960er-Jahre,” *zeitgeschichte* 47 (2020). Special issue: Neue Universitäten. Österreich und Deutschland in den 1960er- und 1970er-Jahren, 15–34, 17.

28 *Hochschulstatistik* 1958/59, 32.

29 *Hochschulstatistik* 1953/54, 24; *Hochschulstatistik* 1960/61, 17–19.

30 *Hochschulstatistik* 1965/66, 40; *Hochschulbericht* 1987, 222.

31 *Hochschulstatistik* 1958/59, 32.

Austria, of all places, was a desired destination.³² A study published in 1964, which was based on an overall survey of all foreign students and achieved an impressive response rate of over ninety percent, offers further explanations.³³ One frequently cited motivation for studying in Austria was the reputation of the country's universities. This reason might have been convincing for some institutions. However, this reputation was interpreted in exclusively positive terms. As mentioned above, some educational institutions also had a reputation for particularly low standards. Furthermore, social desirability could have contributed to further distortions. The rather unspecific motive of "getting to know the country and its people" could probably be classified in a similar direction. Two other frequently mentioned motives were more substantial: existing social networks and a lack of alternatives. The pragmatic motive that no other university had been found for financial or other reasons even ranked third in the list. It can be deduced from this that Austria was not the desired destination for at least some of the students, but was chosen as a destination to study due to favorable general conditions. The frequent mention of social networks moreover illustrates the relevance of chain migration in the field of university education. In many cases, relatives already lived in Austria, but some also migrated because of recommendations or the influence of Austrian diplomatic missions abroad.³⁴

In the case of Greek students, there was a tradition of social, economic, political, and cultural exchange. As an imperial metropole and trading hub, Vienna became a destination for migratory movements from Southeastern Europe during the Habsburg Empire, during which time Greek-Orthodox parishes and a Greek national school were founded.³⁵ Already in the interwar period, several Greek associations were founded in Vienna, while during the Nazi occupation forced laborers were brought from Greece. In addition, there were some students and collaborators of the Nazi regime, some of whom remained in Austria after the war.³⁶ The historian Harald Heppner also emphasized with regard to the popular destination Graz that there was a close relationship to Southeastern

32 On the political climate of the "ailing democracy" Greece, see: Adamantios T. Skordos, "Die Beziehung Österreichs zur griechischen Junta (1967–1974): Zwischen Verachtung und Pragmatismus," in Stefan A. Müller/ David Schriffl/Adamantios T. Skordos (eds.), *Heimliche Freunde. Die Beziehungen Österreichs zu den Diktaturen Südeuropas nach 1945: Spanien, Portugal, Griechenland* (Vienna – Cologne – Weimar: Böhlau 2016), 235–326, 236–246.

33 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 82–88.

34 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 82–88.

35 Margot Schneider, *Griechische Vereine in Österreich 1918–1974*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Vienna, 2013, 41–42, URL: https://www.byzneo.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/i_byzneo/abschlussarbeiten_stassinopoulou/Diplomarbeit_Schneider_Margot_Griechische_Vereine_in_OEsterreich_1918-1974.pdf (29 November 2021).

36 *Ibid.*, 36 and 44–51.

Europe at the local university, as reflected in relevant research focuses.³⁷ Relations were also cultivated – albeit less openly and accompanied by student protests – with the Greek military junta (1967–1974).³⁸

At the beginning of the 1960s, Iran became the third most popular country for sending educational migrants to Austria.³⁹ In the following years, more than 1,000 Iranian students were enrolled at Austrian universities.⁴⁰ Due to changes in the requirements for military service and stricter admission requirements at Austrian universities, this number declined at the end of the decade, but Iran remained one of the central countries of origin.⁴¹ After the Islamic Revolution and during the First Gulf War, the number of Iranian students increased again, eventually even exceeding that of the 1960s.⁴² Austria also traditionally maintained good relations with Iran. At the end of the 1950s, the country became one of Austria's most important trading partners and thus functioned as a sales market for Austrian products, and was also a market for companies such as VOEST, Böhler, and Elin. Emphasis was also placed on cultural exchange, with the Austrian Cultural Institute in Tehran, founded in 1958, representing a link between the two countries in the domains of culture and science.⁴³ The oil crisis led to a further intensification of Austrian-Iranian relations.⁴⁴ The good relationship between the two states was also evident in the diplomatic and private visits of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, who had a personal doctor in Vienna.⁴⁵ The fact that Austria, like many Western states, had no problem supporting the Shah's dictatorial regime for political and economic reasons was also reflected in the high proportion of development aid in the 1960s. Iran was one of the largest recipients of Austrian development aid in that decade, along with India and

37 Harald Heppner, "Graz und die Griechen' als Beispiel peripherer Kulturrezeption," in Gunnar Hering (ed.), *Dimensionen griechischer Literatur und Geschichte. Festschrift für Pavlos Tzermias zum 65. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt a. M. – Berlin – Bern: Peter Lang 1993), 199–208, 202–206.

38 The foundation of Steyr-Hellas in 1972 was an expression of this relationship. See: Skordos, "Beziehung," 285–296.

39 *Hochschulstatistik 1960/61*, 20.

40 See for example: *Hochschulbericht 1969*, 59.

41 In 1978, there were about 734 regular listeners. However, Iran was still the fourth-largest country of origin. *Universitätsbericht 1978*, 130. On military service in Iran, see: *Rechenenschaftsbericht des ÖAD über das Jahr 1968*, 23. It can only be assumed at this point that the new regulation of military service was connected to the high-profile protests of the Iranian opposition abroad.

42 *Hochschulbericht 1984*, 136; in 1987, the number was much higher again, with almost 1,400 students. Iran was the third-largest country of origin at that time. *Hochschulbericht 1987*, 222.

43 Helmut Slaby, *Bindenschild und Sonnenlöwe. Die Geschichte der österreichisch-iranischen Beziehungen bis zur Gegenwart* (Vienna: Verlag der ÖAW 2010), 346–364.

44 *Ibid.*, 364; Hödl, *Österreich*, 144.

45 Slaby, *Bindenschild*, 346–364.

Yugoslavia.⁴⁶ Although most of the development aid consisted of export credits, a not insignificant focus was on educational training.⁴⁷ This comprised measures in Iran including the establishment of Austrian-Iranian schools or the qualification of specialists – for example in the medical field – but also the training of students in Austria.⁴⁸ In addition to these factors and the repressive political climate, the restrictions on admission to Iranian higher education institutions probably also had a favorable effect on the decision to study abroad.⁴⁹

III. On the Logic of Development Policy

The example of Iran illustrates the relevance of non-European educational migration to Austria, which was increasingly observed from the second half of the 1950s onwards.⁵⁰ At the same time, it indicates the importance of students from “developing countries.” In 1961/62, about half of the foreign students in Austria came from a “developing country.”⁵¹ In addition to the by far largest groups from Greece and Iran, the countries of origin included Egypt, Syria (or the United Arab Republic), Jordan, Iraq, and Turkey. Apart from migration from Egypt, educational migration from the African continent to Austria was quantitatively low.⁵²

The listed countries also illustrate the priorities Austria set in its development policy efforts. The fact that it began to engage in development policy must be understood in the context of the conditions of the time: the East-West conflict

46 Rudolf Eder/Hermann Krobath, *Die Österreichische Entwicklungshilfe. Politik – Organisation – Leistungen. Handbuch der österreichischen Entwicklungshilfe, Band 2* (Vienna – Dar es Salaam: Forschungsstiftung für Entwicklungshilfe 1972), 206–207.

47 Hödl, *Österreich*, 234–238, 243.

48 Slaby, *Bindenschild*, 342–353.

49 Bahman Nirumand, for example, described the situation in Iran in his autobiography. Bahman Nirumand, *Weit entfernt von dem Ort, an dem ich sein müsste. Autobiographie* (Hamburg: Rowohlt 2011).

50 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 9.

51 Brusatti, *Österreichische Entwicklungshilfe*, 34. The OECD classification was used, but definitions could vary. In addition to per capita income and various production factors, recipient countries of development aid loans according to the allocation guidelines of the Bretton Woods institutions were also used as a basis for classification. Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 25.

52 In 1960/61, for example, 688 regular students came from Africa, 655 of them from Egypt. *Hochschulstatistik 1960/61*, 19; in 1971/72 there were 180 regular students, 129 of them from Egypt. *Hochschulbericht 1972*, vol. 1, 75–76. The numbers increased in the following years. In 1987 there were 583 regular students, 251 of them from Egypt. *Hochschulbericht 1987*, vol. 2, 555. The high number of Egyptian students still reaching into the 1960s is possibly related to the Suez Crisis and Gamal Abdel Nasser’s pan-Arab as well as anticolonial sense of mission, which shaped Egypt’s migration policy at that time. See on this: Gerasimos Tsourapas, *The Politics of Migration in Modern Egypt. Strategies for Regime Survival in Autocracies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2019), 59–89.

and decolonization. In the 1950s and 1960s, numerous new states gained independence.⁵³ Due to the ideological and political tensions between the two superpowers, the young independent states increasingly became the focus of geostrategic considerations, especially after the conferences in Bandung (1955) and Belgrade (1961) and the formation of the Non-Aligned Movement. Both the USSR and the USA – among many other states – tried to gain influence in these countries with the help of development aid programs. In the 1950s and 1960s, special emphasis was therefore put on the education of students from the “Third World.”⁵⁴

After joining the OECD, Austria committed itself to provide development aid in the early 1960s. Precisely because of its official neutrality and simultaneous orientation towards the West, the idea was widespread that the country had a special foreign policy role to play in creating trust in former colonies and introducing them to the economic and value system of the West. One common assumption was that Austria was also predestined for this task because of its colonial integrity.⁵⁵ In a study on Austrian development aid published in 1963 – with the participation of the economic and social historian Alois Brusatti – this was even seen as a main reason for the migration movements to Austria.⁵⁶ That this account was without empirical evidence and rather provided insight into how academic and political elites wanted to see themselves internationally at the time was made clear by another study published a short time later. This overall survey of foreign students found that neither political reasons in general nor the “Myth of Colonial Immaculacy”⁵⁷ were relevant when it came to motivations for studying in Austria.⁵⁸

Analogous to the idea of “guest work,” the residence of foreign students was only intended to be temporary. After their return migration, they were to contribute to the building of their countries as a future elite, remembering the positive time they had spent in Austria. Bruno Kreisky shared this instrumental view. During his time as Foreign Minister, he emphasized the strategic im-

53 Rossen Djalalov/Christine Evans, “Moscow, 1960: How Soviet Friendship with the 3rd World was Imagined”, in Andreas Hilger (ed.), *Die Sowjetunion und die Dritte Welt. UdSSR, Staatssozialismus und Antikolonialismus im Kalten Krieg 1945–1991* (Munich: De Gruyter 2009), 83–105, 84–88.

54 Constantin Katsakioris, “The Lumumba University in Moscow: Higher education for a Soviet-Third-World alliance, 1960–91,” *Journal of Global History* 14 (2019) 2, 281–300, 282.

55 Hödl, *Österreich*, 68–80 and 199–200.

56 Brusatti, *Österreichische Entwicklungshilfe*, 35.

57 Clemens Pfeffer, “Koloniale Fantasien Made in Austria. Koloniale Afrikarepräsentationen im österreichischen Nationalrat am Wendepunkt zum Postkolonialismus 1955–1965,” in Manuel Menrath (ed.), *Afrika im Blick. Afrikabilder im deutschsprachigen Europa 1870–1970* (Zurich: Chronos 2012), 99–122, 103.

58 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 82–88.

portance of development aid for the victory of the Western system in the "polarization process" in a speech at the Europe Talks on 23 June 1962. Educating students from developing countries in Austria would help "to lead their peoples out of a-historicity," but also ensure that they "remain attached to Austrian culture and to the economic life of our country and will still render us valuable services in the future."⁵⁹ This argumentation was probably influenced by the near-escalation of the East-West conflict at Checkpoint Charlie in October 1961, but it also provides insight into Austria's political and economic self-interests that accompanied its commitment to development policy.

Sufficient support services and good study conditions as well as a discrimination-free everyday life were highlighted to illustrate Austria's "hospitality." At the same time, there was a general expectation that the so-called "right of hospitality" should not be abused through ingratitude or even political activity.⁶⁰ Such ideas also found their way into media discourses. In the *Tiroler Tageszeitung* – the daily with the largest circulation in Tyrol – criticism of widespread discrimination was voiced by a journalist at the beginning of the 1960s. Social isolation, prejudices, and inflated room rates would ultimately damage Austria's reputation. Foreign students were considered representatives of their countries and negative experiences thus had far-reaching consequences: "The image they take with them here of our European culture and the Occident determines the attitude of their countries towards Europe."⁶¹ In the logic of the East-West conflict and the fear of decolonization, it was further argued that a lack of "hospitality" had led people like Jomo Kenyatta, Ho Chi Minh, and also leading heads of Red China to turn to communism.⁶² Given the high number of foreign students in the early 1960s and their strategic importance, it is not surprising that they became the subject of increased regulation and attention in the following years.

59 Bruno Kreisky, "Die Rolle Österreichs im Rahmen der Entwicklungshilfe Europas, Europagespräch, Wien 23. Juni 1962," in *Kreisky Reden*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Österreichische Staatsdruckerei 1981), 350–359, 351 and 356–357.

60 In the case of political activities, critics repeatedly spoke of an "abuse of the right to hospitality," for example in connection with the politicization at the beginning of the 1960s: *Der Innsbrucker Student* 4 (June 1963), 4.

61 "Studierende aus fünf Erdteilen in Innsbruck," *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, 27 April 1960, 3.

62 *Ibid.*, 3.

IV. Educational Migration as an Object of Regulation and Attention

The increase in the total number of students at the beginning of the 1960s revealed structural problems in the Austrian university system such as chronic underfunding as well as personnel and infrastructural bottlenecks. As a result of economic boom and educational expansion, the *Ordinarienuniversität*, which had been restored by the *Hochschul-Organisationsgesetz* (Law on the Organization of Higher Education) of 1955, was confronted with demands that required, on the one hand, a rationalization of university education in the sense of a faster “production” of academics for the labor market and, on the other hand, a more efficient design of the educational content in line with technological innovations. However, the education budget lagged behind these ambitions.⁶³

In the area of responsibility of the *Österreichische Volkspartei* (Austrian People’s Party, ÖVP) – which formed a unitary government in 1966 – a forward-looking education policy began in the mid-1960s, which brought about infrastructural expansions, budget increases, and the institutionalization of educational research. It also meant a changed approach to foreign students. Initially, some fields of study were devoted to the situation of foreign students, especially from so-called developing countries.⁶⁴ Catching up on knowledge production was accompanied by regulations. In particular, the varying level of proficiency in German posed problems for the universities. At the University of Innsbruck, a compulsory German examination was therefore introduced as early as 1962.⁶⁵ Other universities also adopted similar measures within their autonomous sphere of influence.⁶⁶ To acquire the necessary qualifications, language courses and, from 1962/63, pre-study programs were set up. These measures established new hurdles with critical consequences: While the number of extraordinary students increased, the number of educational migrants decreased, levelling off at around 9,000 in 1963/64.⁶⁷ The General Law on Higher Education (AHStG) of 1966 was also a sign of regulation, creating a legal basis for the admission of foreign students based on an equivalence assessment, the availability of places,

63 Wolf Frühauf, “Einleitung zu Hertha Firnberg. Die Wissenschaft in der modernen Welt,” in Hubert Christian Ehalt/Oliver Rathkolb (eds.), *Wissens- und Universitätsstadt Wien. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte seit 1945* (Göttingen: V&R unipress 2015), 107–112, 107.

64 From 1963 onwards, the ÖAD Research Institute published the series “Österreichische Schriften zur Entwicklungshilfe.”

65 Protocol of the Academic Senate of the University of Innsbruck, 25 October 1962. Senate meeting minutes. University Archive Innsbruck.

66 Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 60.

67 *Hochschulbericht 1969*, 60; Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 60.

and a performance-oriented ranking of applicants.⁶⁸ If equivalence was not determined by the rectorate or a subordinate body, supplementary examinations, university courses, and language courses could henceforth be demanded by law.⁶⁹ Aside from that part of the student population for whom special provisions existed on the basis of bilateral agreements, the AHStG thus brought with it significant hurdles.⁷⁰ Despite Austria-wide standardization, however, the law offered a great deal of room for interpretation, which led to different implementations at the individual university locations.

In addition to the regulation of access to higher education, the need for support institutions also became apparent with the increase in foreign students. Among the institutions founded at this time were the *Hammer-Purgstall-Gesellschaft* (Hammer-Purgstall Society, 1958), the *Afro-Asiatisches-Institut* (Afro-Asian Institute, 1959), the *Österreichischer Auslandsstudentendienst* (Austrian Foreign Student Service, 1961) and the *Österreichische Lateinamerika-Institut* (Austrian Latin America Institute, 1965). For a larger proportion of foreign students, the ÖAD, which had been initiated by the *Österreichische Rektorenkonferenz* (Austrian Rectors' Conference) and the *Österreichische Hochschülerschaft* (Austrian Student Union, ÖH), was of particular importance. The offices in the individual university towns provided information on questions about studies, scholarships, and residence requirements and arranged rooms and work. The ÖAD also had its own publications, *Nota Bene* and *Briefe aus Österreich* (Letters from Austria), which informed foreign students about life in Austria and were intended to promote a positive image of the country. An information and documentation center also served as a networking forum with various development aid institutions. From 1963 until its fusion with the *Afro-Asiatisches-Institut* in 1966/67, it published a series of studies devoted to various facets of educational migration to Austria. From 1962, the ÖAD also took over the disbursement of scholarships, but only relatively few students came to Austria through such programs – the majority of foreign students were financed by their families.⁷¹

The ÖAD was not only a support structure but also exercised a controlling function. Against the background of the student movement and its aftermath, this repeatedly led to conflicts that came to a head in the mid-1970s. At that time, the university was already characterized by a restrictive attitude towards foreign students.

68 AHStG 1966 §7 (6), RIS, https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1966_177_0/1966_177_0.pdf (19 November 2021).

69 Ibid., §7 (7–10).

70 Ibid., §7 (11).

71 Dippelreiter, *50 Jahre*, 24–25 and 30–33; Meyer, *Die ausländischen Studenten*, 65.

V. Semi-Opened Universities: Educational Migration in the 1970s

In the 1970s, the number of students increased significantly – especially with the fall of tuition fees. In 1969/70, less than 41,000 Austrian students were enrolled, this number increasing to almost 59,000 in 1973/74.⁷² However, the expansion of the (Austrian) student quota pushed by the *Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs* (Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ) with its guiding principles “education for all” and “education is a human right” relied on a national mindset and paradoxically aggravated the situation for foreign students in Austria. Opening and democratizing the universities can therefore only be understood as modernization by halves. This was already made clear by the *Hochschul-Taxengesetz* (Law on Higher Education Fees) of 1972, which differentiated by nationality. Those foreign students who were not exempted from paying tuition fees because of existing bilateral agreements or because they came from a “developing country” still had to pay fees.⁷³ Inequalities also became apparent in the reform of the *Hochschülerschaftsgesetz* (Student Union Law) in 1973. Until then, the ÖH had only been defined as an association of Austrian students, which meant that large sections of students were also excluded from the right to vote. This was increasingly problematized by the student movement, especially because the exclusion of foreign students in the ÖH was a weak point for general demands for co-determination. An expansion of political participation opportunities therefore received the support of most student factions of the time.⁷⁴ However, the question of passive voting rights became a central bone of contention between progressive student representatives, academic senates, and the Rectors’ Conference.⁷⁵ The exaggerated fear that foreign students could influence Austrian legislation and perhaps even lead to communist infiltration caused critics of full voting rights to raise concerns. In addition, there was the anxiety of a retroactive effect on the redrafting of the *Arbeitsverfassungsgesetz* (Labor Constitution Law). A passive ÖH right to vote could therefore have served as a basis for argumentation to implement such a right for work council elections as well. Finally,

72 *Hochschulbericht 1975*, 26.

73 *Hochschul-Taxengesetz* § 10 u. 11, RIS, https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblPdf/1972_76_0/1972_76_0.pdf (30 November 2021).

74 Michael Ruß, “Demokratisierung der Hochschule ohne Ausländer?,” *Signum* 4 (July 1968), 7–11, 7; Letter from the Austrian Student Union to the Presidium of the National Council “Begutachtung Hochschülerschaftsgesetz-Novelle,” 7 May 1995, Republic of Austria. Parliament, https://www.parlament.gv.at/PAKT/VHG/XIX/SNME/SNME_00325/imfname_446070.pdf (23 November 2021).

75 For example: Protocol of the Academic Senate of the University of Innsbruck, 29 October 1970, 8. Senate Meeting Minutes. Innsbruck University Archives; “Vernichtende Kritik am ÖH-Gesetzentwurf,” *Unipress* 3 (WS 1972/73), 2.

resistance from employee representatives ensured that the new ÖH law only provided for active voting rights for foreign nationals.⁷⁶ The democratization of the university thus made decisive progress, but the extent to which it was realized varied along passport lines.

Unequal treatment and hierarchies shaped by the nation state were also evident in the regulation of so-called studies for foreigners. The Higher Education Report of 1972 already stated that the increased enrolment of Austrian students would have a negative effect on the availability of university places for foreign nationals.⁷⁷ However, restrictions on admission in other European countries were particularly significant for the debate on limiting the number of foreign students. The *numerus clausus* introduced in West Germany in 1968 led to a steep increase of student numbers in certain fields of study. With the traditionally highest proportion of West German students, the University of Innsbruck came under particular pressure. In the winter semester of 1972/73 alone, there were about 3,000 applicants from West Germany.⁷⁸ The situation preoccupied universities, the Rectors' Conference, and the Ministry of Science in the mid-1970s. The result was a more restrictive interpretation of the existing law.⁷⁹ In addition to a strict handling of the "equivalence clause," affecting the recognition of qualifications acquired abroad and possible allocation to pre-study programs, "maximum quotas" for foreign students were introduced for certain subjects. From 1973/74 onwards, the Academic Senate determined each semester which courses at the university were to be open, partially accessible, or completely closed to foreign students. The heavily regulated subjects included medicine and psychology as well as biology, chemistry, geography, and architecture.⁸⁰ In addition, the Rectors' Conference set up a "Committee for the Assessment of Foreign Matriculation Certificates" in the summer semester of 1974. This committee drew up a paper on the "Admission Requirements for Foreign Applicants to Austrian Universities of Applied Sciences" which formed the basis for "recommendations" by the Rectors' Conference. Although this was not a legally binding regulation, the rectors agreed to take the paper into account as an "implementation guideline." At the same time, this was supposed to lead to an Austria-wide "harmonization" in dealing with foreign students, who had been treated differently due to different interpretations of the existing legal situation

76 "Profil über ÖH-Wahlen," in *Unipress* 4 (WS 1973/74), 14; "AK-Stellungnahme," *Unipress* 3 (WS 1972/73), 3. On the link between the ÖH Law and the Labor Constitution Law, see also: "Arbeiterkammer: Um das Wahlrecht für Ausländer," *Tiroler Tageszeitung*, 24 April 1973, 2.

77 *Hochschulbericht* 1972, 74–75.

78 *Hochschulbericht* 1972, 261; *Hochschulbericht* 1975, 38.

79 *Hochschulbericht* 1978, 24.

80 *Hochschulbericht* 1974, 38.