

FOREWORD

Since 1993 the author has been occupied at the Leopold-Franzens-University of Innsbruck with the history of Austria's relationship to Europe and especially its connections with the dynamics of European integration after 1945. Together with Rolf Steininger, he founded the Working Group on European Integration Studies (Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration) with its own publication series. When the author received an offer from the University of Hildesheim in 2006, he accepted, went there, and the series was transferred to the Institute of History in Lower Saxony. Eleven volumes have appeared in this series since 1993.

While research on Austria's role during the Cold War progressed in the last twenty years,¹ research into the history of Austrian foreign and European integration policy after 1945 is still underdeveloped in Austrian contemporary history research. On the one hand the decade of State Treaty Negotiations (1945–1955) can almost be considered as over-explored.² On the other hand, the following decades, apart from detailed articles and a few individual monographs, are neither presented in depth nor analyzed in an overview and in larger historical contexts.³

An overall history of Austrian neutrality is still lacking today, although it was the foundation and reference point of all Austrian foreign policy after 1955.⁴ In this study, Austrian neutrality can be addressed primarily in terms of its relation to European integration.

The present overview is based on an updated and considerably extended version of a German written book version which appeared 2009. It can also only be a further attempt to build on previous monographs, few other preliminary works and more recent research.

¹ Günter BISCHOF, *Austria in the First Cold War, 1945–55. The Leverage of the Weak*, London – New York 1999; Maximilian GRAF – Agnes MEISINGER (Hrsg.), *Österreich im Kalten Krieg. Neue Forschungen im internationalen Kontext*, Göttingen 2016.

² See the titles in the bibliography: Gerald STOURZH 1975, 1980, 1985, 1998, 2005, 2018, Manfred RAUCHENSTEINER 1979, 2005, Günter BISCHOF 1999, Rolf STEININGER 2005, Michael GEHLER 2015).

³ The monograph *Österreichs Außenpolitik der Zweiten Republik. Von der alliierten Besatzung bis zum Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts*, 2 Bde, Innsbruck – Wien – Bozen 2005 can be seen as an exception.

⁴ Still valid Thomas ANGERER, *Für eine Geschichte der österreichischen Neutralität. Ein Kommentar*, in: Michael GEHLER – Rolf STEININGER (Hrsg.), *Die Neutralen und die europäische Integration 1945 bis 1995. The Neutrals and the European Integration 1945 to 1995* (Institut für Zeitgeschichte der Universität Innsbruck, Arbeitskreis Europäische Integration, *Historische Forschungen, Veröffentlichungen* 3) Wien – Köln – Weimar 1999, 702–708.

Numerous articles, collections, and editions have been published by the author on the topic in German (see bibliography), but a monograph in English on Austria's long road to Brussels from the end of the Habsburg Monarchy to the European Union is still missing.

It was obvious that the study would begin with the end of the First World War and the so-called Peace Treaty of Saint Germain-en Laye. One reviewer of the book manuscript asked for an additional chapter for the years before (1914–1918) in order to better understand the starting conditions for Austria's foreign and European policy after the First World War, a request that the author complied with.⁵ To end the study with the ratification of the Treaty of Lisbon also seemed plausible, especially since it marked a turning point for the new and enlarged unified Europe of the European Union.

With the confluence of a large number of circumstances, it has now been possible to bring this project to completion. Ten chapters cover nearly a century on Austria from the Treaty of Saint Germain (1919) and his pre-history (1914–1919) to the Union Treaty of Lisbon (2009).

In the case of Austria, a distinction was always made between “European” and “Integration policy”. “European policy” generally meant Austria's attitude to the idea of Europe in a broader sense, including its relationship to intergovernmental organizations such as the Organization of European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and the Council of Europe. “Integration policy”, on the other hand, meant Austria's actual relationship to the narrower economic and political sphere, also with regard to tendencies towards supranational integration.

The development from the end of the First World War in 1918 and the Treaty of Saint Germain in 1919, through the “Anschluss” in 1938 to the Austrian exile and the end of the war in 1945 is dealt with in this book only to the extent that it was relevant for the overall understanding of European development and Austrian foreign and European policy in the second half of the 20th century. The focus of this book is clearly set on the development from the second half of the 1940s with the introduction of Western European integration policies through the Marshall Plan and the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) via the European Communities (EEC and EURATOM) and the European Union (EU) to the Treaty of Lisbon in 2009. In terms of European policy and integration policy, the 1970s

⁵ However, the author did not necessarily and completely want to comply with another request of an expert reading the manuscript: It was his wish to always quote the monographs of corresponding authors, which were also published simultaneously in English. Here I'm of the opinion that the German-language monographs can also be quoted. Basically, it can be said on this question that, apart from a few exceptions, a large number of Anglo-American historians expect their European colleagues to speak and write automatically and constantly in English as a matter of course, while conversely there is a striking imbalance. It cannot therefore be too damaging if the other side takes note of the German-language titles of the scientific community at least once, even if they cannot read them. It is also not good for the European languages to neglect themselves in a permanent act of submission to the certainly global English language.

were a rather calm phase for Austria, which is why this chapter was not as detailed as, for example, the chapter for the 1960s.

At the beginning of each chapter, the larger historical background and the respective status of the development of the history of European integration are presented. In the course of the presentation, the larger context of Austrian foreign policy with regard to other tasks and challenges must also be taken into account, such as events and developments in the immediate neighbourhood such as the crisis and uprising in Hungary (1956), the suppression of the “Prague Spring” (1968), German unification (1989–90), the crisis and the incipient disintegration of Yugoslavia (1991–92) with the climax of the so-called “Kosovo War” (1999), the Iraq Crisis (2002–03) and last but not least the relationship with Italy in the context of the South Tyrolean question as close as possible (1945–46; 1961–62, 1967 and 1992).

This book follows manyfold objectives. In a longitudinal analysis that is set up step by step, it deals with the following:

- showing Austria’s path towards and access to conceptions of Europe;
- reconstructing its proposals for rapprochement and solutions with regard to integration policy and its successes;
- illustrating the obstacles and resistance along this path and conveying the role of the State Treaty and of neutrality answering the question
- to what extent was “Europe” also a part of Austria building its identity and finding itself?
- How neutral Austria was able to achieve several arrangements with the European Communities from the 1950s to the 1980s and later on with the European Union;
- how it became a member of the EU in 1995 and how it behaved as member within the EU?

These are the main questions that are answered in this book and in the final chapter.

With a step-by-step-approach, Austria was able to join Europe’s unification enterprise and managed to be one part of the Union project despite its status of being occupied (1945–55), “independent”, “sovereign”, and officially “neutral” from 1955 up to now. When studying the subject, it will become clear in the end that this ambivalent relationship was also part of a process of building a specific Austrian national identity.

According to the author, the key years of Austria’s post-war foreign and European policy were 1955–56, 1967–68, 1987–1990, 1991–92, 1993–1995 and 1998–2000. They are seen in their respective specific contexts and treated and analyzed accordingly in detail. We will come back to the importance of these key years also in the conclusion.

It should be noted that this book can not and will not be the last word on the history of the Austria's road to Brussels. Not all documents of the EU accession process from 1987 to 1995 have yet been available, catalogued and evaluated. This complex of topics alone would be worth an edition and an independent monograph based on files of all the involved ministries. Therefore this book could only provide an overview and summary of this complex of topics. Excessive questioning of contemporary witnesses was attempted to strike a balance, but historical research will always only be able to penetrate to a certain degree and will therefore remain temporary.

This book is primarily dedicated to Austria's relationship with the European Communities and the European Union, as its title already unmistakably states. The view of Austria by EC and EU institutions and their respective assessments could be taken into account selectively. A future task for Austria's history of European integration is to systematically document and determine this subject area in detail and in a differentiated manner.

Quotations in German from the files and from interviews were consistently translated into English for the main text. In order to check the authenticity, the footnotes contained the original statements in German language.

As far as possible, archive material was used for the individual chapters. This was no longer possible for the last two chapters (VIII, IX), so that printed works and newspaper reports had to be used.

At the end of the book there is an appendix with a number of selected, large parts of still unpublished reports and documents on the subject. As far as possible, English language sources have been used.

Under the sign of a long and very dominant historiography that appears as "cultural studies" and "postmodern" (which, however, seems to be pleasingly in decline), independently compiled contemporary historical source editions have been lost at universities in German-speaking countries. This state of affairs can be seen as an indicator for the end of basic research. However, it is only through basic research that history can continue to exist as an innovative discipline. New insights can be gained above all from newly developed source materials. Austrian contemporary history research does not only suffer from this. Although much has been researched and written at the regional and national levels in recent decades Austrian contemporary history research is also very austrocentric and sometimes provincial. To my knowledge, there is no established research on contemporary history of international relations and European integration at Austrian universities. This astonishing lack of European and international dimensions must be countered.⁶

⁶ It is therefore all the more astounding to find the opposite course direction, namely that international contemporary history research, which had been oriented towards basic research since 2013, has been abolished and transformed into "Balkan Research" and Habsburg Monarchy at the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. In times of massive political changes

A particularly sensitive problem in English as a non-native is the use of upper and lower case letters, which can sometimes confuse the reader. In order to ensure a high degree of uniformity, fixed terms such as European and Austrian offices, bodies, organs and institutions as well as EU terms have always been capitalised. The nouns “Europe”, “Pan-europe”, “Eastern Europe”, “Western Europe” etc. have also been capitalized. Official titles and political functions such as “Ambassador”, “Chancellor”, “President of the Commission”, “Minister”, “Prime minister” etc. were also capitalised if they were directly linked to a specific personal name, while general mentionings were in lower case letters. Geographical terms were capitalised if they had a political connotation, e.g. in the context of the Cold War or the East-West conflict; if, on the other hand, they had a purely geographical meaning, they were not capitalised, nor were adjectives (political parties/philosophies) such as “christian democratic”, “conservative”, “liberal”, “social democrat” or “socialist”. Proper names, technical terms and historical special terms in German were written in italics and in normal script if they were in brackets as a translation.

I am very grateful to my translator Philip Isenberg, who carried out the enormous job of rendering the work into English, to Ambassador Manfred Scheich for providing me with dozens of interviews over twenty hours, his private papers and photos, also all the other diplomats and politicians who served as eyewitnesses over decades, to helpful archivists in Bern, Bonn, London, Paris, Vienna, and Washington for having given me access to unpublished materials, and to Ms. Eva Loew, who prepared the transcripts of the documents in the appendix. My thanks also go to Frank Binkowski, Tonia Müller, Ronja Schäfer, Wolfgang Mueller, Arnold Suppan and Tjark Strich for advice and corrections as well as the Publication Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press in Vienna accepting the manuscript after an international peer review process. Special thanks again are due to Manfred Scheich, who played a key role in the history of Austria’s EU membership. He not only served as Head of the Austrian Delegation for the EU accession negotiations (1993–1994), but was also previously Head of the Austrian

in international architecture and global structures, this is a strange process. Internationality, openness, cosmopolitanism and future viability do not seem to hide behind this decision. To thin out and finally dissolve an already established Institute for Modern and Contemporary Historical Research (INZ), which has been positively evaluated in its “long-term projects”, is a rare organisational achievement. This book appears in a series that was originally founded at the INZ, but was outsourced from there against the will of the editors and is now only free-floating. This is communicated to astonished readers of this series. This book also deals with a lovable country, which has no lack of subtle malevolence and surreal craziness.

Mission (1983–1986) and subsequently Permanent Representative (1993–1999) in Brussels. Not only did he provide numerous documents and photographs for this book, but he has also been a great help to me in recurring conversations with information for two decades, for which he deserves my sincere thanks.

I am grateful also to Dr. Otto May/Hildesheim, who again generously provided me with postal documents (stamps, first day covers and postcards) as well as to Gustav Peichl (Ironimus, who died 2019), the great caricaturist of Austria, who helped me to illustrate the text with his wonderful caricatures.

I would like to thank Gerhard Egger of Auer Grafik Buch Web very much for his very patient, lenient and understanding handling of all correction and layout requests, which was not a matter of course in view of the volume of this entire book. The author is responsible for all remaining errors and mistakes.

Last but not least, I would like to express my thanks to the *Österreichische Zukunftsfonds* for providing the funds for the translation.

Hildesheim, February 2020

Michael Gehler