III. DÉTENTE, THE HEYDAY OF MULTILATERALISM, AND THE LAST PEAK OF THE COLD WAR, 1973–1984

"There is probably no policy so controversial, so subject to contrasting and contradictory treatment and interpretation, as neutrality." Efraim Karsh, *Neutrality and Small States* (London: Routledge, 1988), 1.

"If an elephant has its foot on the tail of a mouse, and you say that you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality. If you are neutral in situations of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor." Archbishop Desmond Tutu

10. Political Relations and the Rise of Multilateralism

The twenty-fourth CPSU congress in March–April 1971 and the adoption of the party's "Peace Program" marked Brezhnev's takeover of supremacy in his country's foreign policy. Although the reconciliation with West Germany and the signing of the Moscow Treaty of 1970 had briefly reminded Soviet citizens of the Hitler-Stalin pact and sparked fears around the country that a new war was imminent,[1] détente became highly popular in the USSR. Brezhnev, like Gromyko, was convinced that a relaxation of international tensions best suited the interests of the USSR and its leadership.[2] The popularity of détente among the Soviet population strengthened the CPSU's legitimacy, and the USSR's urgent need for high technology could not be met without Western partners and, thus, détente. Furthermore, the escalating conflict with the People's Republic of China made peace on the USSR's western border even more precious. Nonetheless, Brezhnev – who, despite a circle of a few young and enlightened thinkers in the Central Committee apparatus, some of whom later became Gorbachev's advisors,[3] was surrounded by powerful hawks who demanded ever growing sums for the military-industrial behemoth – remained convinced that the unrestricted Soviet nuclear build-up that continued during the détente years promoted the relaxation of tensions rather than endangered it.

In the West the FRG, which Brezhnev became the first Soviet leader to visit, with its strong economic and financial basis, soon became the main trade and détente partner for the Soviet Union. In addition, with first steps at solving the US entanglement in the Vietnam War being taken, détente between the superpowers dawned. With North Vietnam's intransigence, the United States had been desperate to gain Soviet mediation for a diplomatic solution. The Kremlin, too, was interested in a rapprochement with the Western superpower. In 1969, the USSR had declared strategic parity with the United States and arms limitation negotiations seemed a wise choice. After President Lyndon B. Johnson's visit to Moscow in 1968 was cancelled due to the Warsaw Pact's invasion in Prague,[4] the summit of 1972 witnessed the signing of the SALT-I and ABM treaties and the declaration of the Basic Principles of US-Soviet Relations. Back channel diplomacy with the FRG and the

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[1] Edemskiy, "Dealing with Bonn," 21.

[2] Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 225, 203.

[3] Robert D. English, *Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 119–157.

[4] Adam Ulam, *Dangerous Relations: The Soviet Union and World Politics, 1970–1982* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 50–51.

US had brought about something like personal trust between Brezhnev and Chancellor Brandt and, later, US President Nixon.

An indicator for the friendly international climate was the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, one of Brezhnev's prestige projects, which was held in Helsinki and Geneva in 1972–75. But what had been expected to legitimize Soviet rule in Eastern Europe, to undermine Western organization, and to usher in a new era of East-West trade, also made human rights a growing concern for international relations and, in the long term, undermined rather than strengthened détente and the legitimacy of communist rule.[5] Furthermore, as a consequence of détente and the CSCE, East and West became more interdependent. During the 1970s, the Western share of Soviet foreign trade rose from 14 to more than 30 percent.[6] Western Europe became an importer of Soviet oil and gas and a provider of technology. The Kremlin calculated on some political consequences as a result of this interdependence: Oil and gas, Brezhnev revealed to his comrades in 1971, "change our possibilities, our relations to all of Europe (and not only to the socialist states where we can deliver gas and oil) – with France, with the FRG, Italy. We hold the keys."[7] What he did not envisage was that, in return, Eastern Europe became dependent on Western goods. Those who had no fossil fuels to offer in return, like Poland and Hungary, started to rely on Western credit.

Very much like the Moscow Treaty, détente, in Soviet eyes, was never seen to be a result of compromise, but of Soviet strength.[8] The CPSU "Peace Program" reaffirmed "peaceful coexistence" in its already traditional communist meaning of a "specific form of class struggle in the international arena."[9] Convergence between socialism and liberal capitalism was explicitly ruled out, and it was claimed that "for all mankind there is only one future – communism." The Soviet military preponderance in Europe was justified by the large civilian population of Western Europe. In general, the Soviet definition of "coexistence" remained a theoretical foundation for exactly what communist propaganda accused the West of: a continuation of the Cold War and a policy of "strength" and intimidation.[10]

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[5] Daniel C. Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect: International Norms, Human Rights, and the Demise of Communism* (Princeton: University Press, 2001), 159–184.

[6] Gromyko and Ponomarjow, *Geschichte der sowjetischen Außenpolitik 1945 bis 1976*, 559.

[7] Zapis' soveshchaniia po voprosu doklada TsK KPSS, 3 February 1971, in Kudriashov (ed.), *General'nyi sekretar' L.I. Brezhnev*, 96–113, 103.

[8] Aleksandrov-Agentov, *Ot Kollontai do Gorbacheva*, 186–187. Cf. L.I. Breshnew, *Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die nächsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Außenpolitik*, Informationsbulletin Sonderausgabe 1 (Prague: Frieden und Sozialismus, 1976), 22.

[9] Quoted in Michael S. Woslenskij, "Friedliche Koexistenz aus sowjetischer Sicht," in *Osteuropa* 23, no. 11 (1973), 848–855, 855. See also idem "Klassenkampf – Kalter Krieg – Kräfteverhältnis – Koexistenz," in *Osteuropa* 24, no. 4 (1974), 259–269, 264–265.

[10] For Western reactions to Voslenskii's article, see Klaus Mehnert, "Friedliche Koexistenz – Eine deutsche Meinung," in *Osteuropa* 24, no. 4 (1974), 270–274; and Gerhard Wettig, "Das sowjeti-

In the wake of 1968, a growing number of Soviet theoreticians of international law aimed at theoretically underpinning the Brezhnev Doctrine of limited sovereignty of the socialist states; they shifted their attention to the differences between the sets of laws regulating the relations between capitalist states or capitalist and socialist states, on one hand, and those regulating the relations between socialist states on the other. This new stage in the Soviet development of the theory of international law was marked by the appearance of the second edition of Professor Tunkin's *Theory of International Law*.[11] Despite the Soviet recognition of a single universal international law in 1955, the issue of "socialist international law" had been lingering in Soviet discussions ever since.[12] In the aftermath of the declaration of the Brezhnev Doctrine, the thesis was confirmed that neither general international law nor "peaceful coexistence" was applicable to relations between socialist states. These allegedly formed a higher stage of international relations and followed the rules of Socialist Internationalism, which were designed to preserve the "achievements of socialism" and foster the transition to communism.[13]

The neutrals, which had been able to contribute to a relaxation of tensions but not bring it about, remained determined to adhere to détente, as it widened their maneuvering room.[14] However, in the age of détente and most probably as its consequence, the Soviet interest in neutrality and nonalignment declined. Once the USSR had established more friendly relations with the leading Western powers and the CSCE was convened, the European neutrals seemed less crucial as mediators and promoters of Soviet ideas. In the Third World, the nonaligned movement had not achieved the historic shift of power the Soviet Union seems to have expected. And last but not least, the "Prague Spring" had shown how feeble the cohesion of the Eastern bloc was, and promoting neutrality was seen as endangering this cohesion further. All of these developments were reflected in the decreasing number of official statements promoting neutrality and nonalignment. The reports to the twenty-fourth (1971), the twenty-fifth (1976), and the twenty-sixth (1981) CPSU congresses did not promote neutrality[15] and the *Diplomaticheskii Slovar'* reduced

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sche Koexistenz-Konzept: Grundlage eines friedlichen Verhältnisses zwischen Ost und West?," in *Osteuropa* 24, no. 3 (1974), 180–187.

[11] Gregorij I. Tunkin, *Völkerrechtstheorie* (Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1972); Theodor Schweisfurth, "Einleitung," ibid., 9–19, 10–15.

[12] Schweisfurth, "Entwicklung und ideologische Grundlagen der sowjetischen Völkerrechtstheorie," 44–46.

[13] Meissner, Frenzke, Chilecki, *Sowjetunion und Völkerrecht 1962 bis 1973*, 16. On the genesis of the Soviet theory of socialist international law, see Theodor Schweisfurth, *Sozialistisches Völkerrecht? Darstellung – Analyse – Wertung der sowjetmarxistischen Theorie vom Völkerrecht „neuen Typs"* (Berlin: Springer, 1979), 182–220; on its contents, see ibid., 248–340.

[14] Bernard von Plate, *Zur Position und Rolle der Neutralen Staaten in der Entwicklung der Europäischen Ost-West-Beziehungen* (Eggenberg: Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik, 1975), 4.

[15] *XXIV. Parteitag der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion 30. März–9. April 1971: Dokumente* (Moscow: APN, 1971); Breshnew, *Rechenschaftsbericht [XXV. Parteitag]*; *XXVI. Parteitag der*

its coverage of neutrality, in its third edition published in 1971–73, from five pages to one. The nonaligned states' summit in Lusaka in 1970, which was attended by fifty-four countries, received only scanty coverage in Soviet media. This was also accompanied by a shift in the Soviet understanding of neutrality, whereby the gap between permanent neutrality and nonalignment was recognized more explicitly than before.[16] "Positive" or "active" neutrality was now equated by the USSR with neutralism or nonalignment, and proclaimed a characteristic of the emerging nations of the Third World, while permanent neutrality as maintained by Austria was no longer seen as a "form of peaceful coexistence." In addition, the growing assertiveness of the Kremlin convinced Soviet leaders that they should promote the interests of the USSR without being assisted by the neutrals, and more attention was given in Soviet statements to the differences between the neutral and socialist viewpoints. The problems the neutrals had created for the socialist camp at the CSCE might have been involved in these tendencies.

The decline in the Soviet interest in permanent neutrality did not mean, however, that the Soviet criticism of its allegedly improper implementation ceased. While in the following years, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland were criticized by the Soviet Union for not being neutral enough, paradoxically, Finland, from 1970 to 1989, was no longer recognized by the Kremlin as being neutral.[17] The Soviet tactic of including specific political wishes into an ever-growing list of alleged "legal obligations" of the neutrals continued: A monograph published in 1972 listed, in addition to the already well-known duty of "peaceful cooperation," other obligations of "neutral policy" such as the support of nuclear-weapon free zones in Europe, the struggle against the deployment of foreign (i.e. US) troops in Europe (in particular the Sixth US Fleet), the struggle for the liquidation of NATO, the recognition of the GDR, the maintaining of systematic consultations at interparliamentary and intergovernmental levels, and economic cooperation with socialist states.[18] In order to balance out such obligations, the publication named numerous "special entitlements" of neutrality, which was praised as the "highest form of sovereignty." These included a "right to jurisdiction," a "right to honor," and other trivialities.[19] Likewise, the Soviet tradition continued of criticizing permanent neutrals for their unwillingness to fulfill such "obligations" or to recognize specific aspects of Marx-

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KPdSU: Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die nächsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Außenpolitik, Berichterstatter: L.I. Breshnew, Generalsekretär des ZK der KPdSU, 23. Februar 1981 (Berlin: Dietz, 1981).

[16] "Neitralitet," in A.A. Gromyko, I.N. Zemskov, V.M. Khvostov (eds.), *Diplomaticheskii slovar'* 2, 3rd ed. (Moscow: Politizdat, 1971), 373–374; "Neprisoedineniia politika," ibid., 379–380; "Neutrality," in A. M. Prokhorov et al. (eds.), *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* 17, 3rd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 518–519. Cf. Vigor, *The Soviet View*, 191–194.

[17] See above, page 170.

[18] Iu. M. Prusakov, *Neitralitet v sovremennom mezhdunarodnom prave* (Moscow: Znanie, 1972), 60.

[19] Ibid., 13–14, 20, 28.

ism-Leninism, such as the theory of "just wars."[20] While it was seen disapprovingly "that the European permanent neutrals do not follow the principle of maintaining an active peace-loving policy and prefer to remain inactive and stand to the side in this regard, contradicting their international legal status,"[21] Switzerland had to bear the brunt of the criticism. It was attacked for maintaining an army that was considered too large for a neutral state and for having failed to establish real relations with the socialist states. In the Austrian case, the alleged violation of neutrality during the Hungarian uprising 1956, violations of the state treaty articles 9 and 12 regarding neo-Nazism and rearmament, and anti-Soviet propaganda were cited in the "book of sins." Despite such flaws, it was concluded that, "notwithstanding the cases of reactionary circles in and around Austria violating its international status of neutrality, the latter has passed the examination of time and become one of the factors preserving peace in the center of Europe."[22]

Kreisky, "active neutrality," and Austrian-Soviet relations

In 1970, the Austrian social democrats won the elections and Bruno Kreisky became chancellor.[23] Although the Kremlin in general preferred broad and stable coalition governments in Austria, and in 1966 the Soviet press had harshly criticized the formation of Klaus' "unicolored" cabinet, nothing of the like was expressed four years later. This was most probably due to the Soviet confidence in Kreisky's planned course. As foreign minister during the late 1950s and the 1960s, Kreisky had earned a certain amount of credit among Soviet diplomats for his cautious position with regard to Austria's European ambitions,[24] and even prior to that, for his commitment to strengthening détente. This is not to say that Kreisky and his party were not regularly reproached by Soviet propaganda on ideological grounds, for the SPÖ's reluctance to implement the revolutionary parts of its program, or for its critical statements about Soviet policy.[25] In a conversation during Khrushchev's visit to Austria in 1960, the Soviet leader had repeated this type of ideological criticism and even accused the Austrian minister of being "an ally of the West" in the

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[20] V.I. Lisovskii, *Mezhdunarodnoe pravo* (Moscow: Vysshaia shkola, 1970), 428.

[21] Prusakov, *Neitralitet v sovremennom mezhdunarodnom prave*, 24, 23, 32.

[22] Ibid., 43, 38.

[23] For a brief biography, see Wolfgang C. Müller, "Bruno Kreisky," in Herbert Dachs, Peter Gerlich, Wolfgang C. Müller (eds.), *Die Politiker: Karrieren und Wirken bedeutender Repräsentanten der Zweiten Republik* (Vienna: Manz, 1995), 353–365.

[24] Report Obshchii rynok i Avstriia, 26 September 1966, in AVPRF, 66/45/96/20, 31–37.

[25] G. Ardajew, "Eine Schlappe der österreichischen Revisionisten," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 23 (1958), 6–8; Vikenti Matwejew, "Wo liegen die Perspektiven?," ibid., no. 39 (1970), 18–19; W. Tschernoussow, "Vokabular von gestern," ibid., no. 14 (1974), 23; Hinteregger to Austrian MFA, 19 October 1978, in SBKA, UdSSR 4, Sammelakt. On several occasions, such as on 10 March 1971, in the summer of 1976, and in December 1979, *Izvestiia* and Radio Moscow criticized Kreisky's anti-communism.

Austrian cabinet.[26] Kreisky, indeed, had been an anti-communist and an Atlanticist, convinced that Containment had fostered détente and that steadfastness was needed to counter Soviet pressure (a conviction that had served him well in his clashes with Raab, Khrushchev and Gromyko).[27] Kreisky's staunch pro-Americanism seemed not to have deterred Soviet diplomacy from using him for certain missions – on the contrary: Whenever Khrushchev wanted a secret proposal or other statement be communicated or leaked to the US, he felt that Kreisky was the right man for the job.[28] Moreover, Kreisky's broad interpretation of his country's obligations arising out of neutrality as well as his active promotion of détente dovetailed with Soviet expectations concerning Austria's role. Due to these expectations, Kreisky's international activism, and his friendship with Willy Brandt, the Austrian foreign minister had been approached by the Soviet side as a "diplomatic postman" in the Berlin crisis – although, as it turned out, without success.[29] His image in the Kremlin seems nevertheless to have remained undamaged by this letdown. When, at the West German social democrats' conference in Munich in November 1960, Kreisky publicly advocated cooperation between socialist and capitalist states, the Soviet ambassador, in a letter to Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Semenov, recommended "that Kreisky […] be told in Vienna that he has made a contribution to good international relations and that this is very much appreciated."[30] Kreisky had also expressed in Munich his personal trust in the sincerity of the USSR's strategy to reach its goals by peaceful means – a belief that he later repeated in an interview in which he stated that the Soviet peace initiatives were not just "a communist maneuver aiming at the deception" of the West, but "corresponded to the true needs and wishes of the Soviet Union."[31] Although Kreisky's contribution to the solution of the Cuban missile crisis was not his own initiative, he nevertheless supported journalist Walter Lippman's proposal of a rocket trade-off between Soviet missiles in the Caribbean and US Jupiter missiles in Turkey.[32] It comes therefore hardly as

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[26] Kommuniquéverhandlungen, July 1960, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA GZ. 70033–6/60, Z. 79965–6pol/60. This characterization paralleled the assessment of the US ambassador to Austria, who in 1961 considered Kreisky to be "the strongest bulwark we have in Austria." Kofler, *Kennedy und Österreich*, 82.

[27] Höll, "The Foreign Policy of the Kreisky Era," 36–40; Pape, *Ungleiche Brüder,* 479–481. Cf. Bruno Kreisky, "Neue Perspektiven der politischen Ordnung in Mitteleuropa: Rede vor der Europa-Union in Basel am 3. April 1968," in idem, *Neutralität und Koexistenz*, 124–134, 125. Kreisky's Atlanticism and his critical attitude towards convergency were appreciated by the West German conservative diplomat Helmut Allardt, *Moskauer Tagebuch: Beobachtungen, Notizen, Erlebnisse*, 3rd ed. (Düsseldorf: Econ, 1973), 295; 387. For his clashes with Raab, Khrushchev, and Gromyko, see above, page 120, 129.

[28] Nikita Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*, ed. by Strobe Talbott (Boston: Little Brown, 1974), 501.

[29] See above, pages 105–106.

[30] Soviet embassy Bonn to Soviet MFA, 23 November 1960, in AVPRF, 66/39/79/23, 1–6.

[31] Kreisky, *Neutralität und Koexistenz*, 122.

[32] Kofler, "Kreisky – Brandt – Khrushchev," 179–180.

a surprise that the SPÖ, when forming a minority government in 1970, was *not* attacked by the Soviet press and received praise and blessings from even the Austrian communists – something that would not have been possible ten years earlier. However, on the occasion of Kreisky's inauguration, both the Austrian-communist *Volksstimme* as well as *Izvestiia* issued the traditional warnings that Austria was not to deviate from its traditional path of foreign policy.[33]

Kreisky's attitude that an active and, on occasion, mediatory role in international politics was of the highest priority and the most effective tool of Austrian foreign and defense policy was in alignment not only with Austria's security interests as defined by prominent experts in international law,[34] but also with the Soviet understanding of Austria's role as a neutral. The growing convergence of Soviet and Austrian interests with regard to foreign policy activism was reflected by the Austrian government's adoption of the Soviet thesis that a neutral country "cannot be content with the role of merely observing foreign development," as expressed in Kreisky's 1979 government policy statement.[35] Even earlier, his SPÖ – albeit unsuspectingly – had subscribed to the concept of "active" neutrality.

In the early 1970s, with progressing détente the expression of "peaceful coexistence," once anathema in the West because of its Janus-faced character and its declared aim of promoting the transition of the West to communism, became part of the vocabulary in East-West declarations. Notwithstanding a number of Austrian gaffes, such as that committed during the 1960 Khrushchev visit, the term had been cautiously circumscribed in the West and in UN declarations during the 1960s as "peaceful and friendly *relations*" or even "cooperation,"[36] as for instance in the UN "Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States" of 24 October 1970, which the Soviet side claimed to contain the principles of "peaceful coexistence."[37] However, in the wake of détente, the term had been adopted by Austrian and other Western diplomats.[38] Kreisky himself, who was well aware that the term was ambivalent and full of "meaningless and misleading" interpretations, nevertheless, in the spring of 1968, praised "peaceful coexistence" for having ended the Cold War in Europe.[39] During his visit to Moscow in January 1971, Foreign Minister Kirchschläger claimed that "the maxim of Austria's foreign policy remains peaceful coexistence,"[40] the Prin-

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[33] Moser, "Die Stellung der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs," 48.

[34] Cf. Zemanek, "Austria's Policy of Neutrality," 20; Neuhold, "The Permanent Neutrality," 56.

[35] Quoted in Haymerle, "Die Beziehungen zur Großmacht im Osten," 189.

[36] Lewin, "Grundprinzipien des modernen Völkerrechts," 74. For a critical analysis of the content and development of "peaceful coexistence" from 1956 until the mid-1970s, see Standenat to Austrian MFA, 22 December 1975, in ÖStA, AVA, NL Bielka, File 115.

[37] Schweisfurth, "Einleitung," 15–16.

[38] Ginther, *Neutralität*, 99–105; Verdross, *Die immerwährende Neutralität Österreichs*, 75–79.

[39] Bruno Kreisky, "Neue Perspektiven der politischen Ordnung in Mitteleuropa: Rede vor der Europa-Union in Basel, 3 April 1968," in idem, *Neutralität und Koexistenz*, 124–134, 125.

[40] *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 11 (1971), 46. Cf. the communiqué ibid., 48.

ciples of Relations between the USSR and France of the same year also used the once forbidden term, and the Basic Principles of US-Soviet Relations, signed by Richard Nixon and Brezhnev in 1972, even stated that there was "no alternative to conducting the mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence."[41] Kreisky's statement that the alternative to "peaceful coexistence" was "nonexistence"[42] – a notion that had its genesis in Soviet propaganda – had become mainstream opinion; later Austrian diplomats and leaders would repeat the Soviet claim that Austrian-Soviet relations had been the "first example" of "peaceful coexistence."[43] Kreisky himself adopted the Soviet terminology when he stated that "the importance of all these [mutual] visits went far beyond the framework of our bilateral relations: By means of the *Austrian example*, *peaceful coexistence was demonstrated* and further détente induced."[44]

With the beginning of the new West German *Ostpolitik* under Willy Brandt, it became easier for Austria to continue its *Nachbarschaftspolitik*, though it was less exclusive.[45] Already in 1967 the FRG had offered the "people's democracies" full diplomatic relations, thus, de facto abandoning the Hallstein Doctrine.[46] After Brandt's rise to leadership in Bonn, Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchschläger stressed in 1970 that his country was now "in the happy position of no longer having to make special mention of *Ostpolitik* as such."[47] During Kreisky's chancellorship, Austria's travel diplomacy to Eastern Europe was intensified and the government's center of gravity shifted somewhat in this direction. In the years 1956–69, the Aus-

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[41] Quoted in Tunkin, *Theory of International Law*, 72–73. On the two declarations, cf. Heinz Fiedler, "Politische Verträge mit westlichen Staaten und Entwicklungsländern," in Dietrich Geyer (ed.), *Osteuropa-Handbuch Sowjetunion Außenpolitik III: Völkerrechtstheorie und Vertragspolitik* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1976), 194–223, 203–205. On US-Soviet détente, see *Sovetsko-amerikanskie otnosheniia: gody razriadki, 1969–1976: sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 2007), on the US-Soviet memorandum, cf. Raymond L. Garthoff, *Détente and Confrontation: American-Soviet Relations from Nixon to Reagan*, 2nd ed. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 1994), 326–335.

[42] Bruno Kreisky, *Voraussetzungen der Koexistenz* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1960), 9. Cf. Mojoryan [Modzhorian], "Neutrality in Present-Day International Law," 218: "The only alternative for mankind is peaceful coexistence or catastrophic thermonuclear war."

[43] Conversation Kreisky with Kosygin, Vienna, 2 July 1973, in SBKA, Länder, UdSSR 4; Protokoll über den bilateralen Meinungsaustausch, 12–13 June 1975, in ÖStA, AdR, II-Pol, Z. 225.18.02/12-II.3/75.

[44] Ansprache Kreisky in Moskau, 28 May 1974, in *UdSSR – Österreich*, 165–167. *Emphasis* mine.

[45] Alexander Jehn, "Nachbarschaftspolitik im Donauraum: Die besonderen Beziehungen Österreichs zur Tschechowakei, zu Ungarn und Jugoslawien in der Ära Kreisky" (PhD thesis, Würzburg: 1996). Cf. Bielka, "Österreich und seine volksdemokratischen Nachbarn."

[46] In 1967, diplomatic relations were established with Romania and Yugoslavia. Loth, *Overcoming the Cold War*, 92–94. On Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, cf. Peter Bender, *Die Neue Ostpolitik und ihre Folgen* (Munich: dtv, 1995); on the GDR's viewpoint, cf. Mary E. Sarotte, *Dealing with the devil. East Germany, détente, and Ostpolitik, 1969–1973* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

[47] *Die Presse*, 6 June 1970.

trian president, chancellor and foreign minister paid 159 official visits to OEEC (OECD) states and only 64 to CMEA members, but in the years 1970–84 the score had become 153 to 113.[48] Although no Austrian chancellor ever challenged Finnish president Kekkonen's record of thirty-one visits to the USSR,[49] Josef Staribacher, Kreisky's minister of commerce, paid seventeen official visits to the Soviets, but failed to travel to the United States a single time.[50] While this record can be explained, to a certain extent, as being the result of the bilateral trade commission sessions, it also reflects a shift in Austria's economic interests.

On the bilateral level, during the Kreisky years, which were undoubtedly the most active period of Austrian foreign affairs since 1955,[51] the exchange of high-level visits in a demonstratively friendly atmosphere between Moscow and Vienna continued. Negotiations dealt with bilateral political, economic, and cultural relations as well as exchanges of opinion concerning the international situation, détente, disarmament, the UN agenda and the CSCE.

During Kosygin's visit to Vienna in July 1973, both sides expressed their wish to raise the level of the bilateral cooperation and to intensify the exchange of information. A number of agreements were signed, including a treaty on economic, scientific-technical and industrial collaboration, and a program on bilateral cultural and scientific cooperation. With regard to the CSCE, Kosygin expressed the Soviet hope for Austrian "cooperation" (i.e. its support for Soviet proposals) and stated that the conference would be successful only if all participants "accepted European reality as it is,"[52] i.e. the existence of the communist bloc and the partition of Germany. The communiqué praised the importance of the state treaty and neutrality for détente, the deepening of the bilateral ties, and the open and trusting atmosphere of the talks.[53] Kosygin's arrival was interpreted in Vienna as proof that the neutrals' free-trade agreements with the EEC in 1972 had not damaged Soviet-Austrian relations. During the official talks, the premier had not touched upon the EEC issue; only in a press conference, in response to a question posed by a journalist, did Kosygin refer to the Soviet-Austrian exchange of memoranda confirming that the Austrian arrangement with the Common Market did not contradict neutrality or

[48] Skuhra, "Austria and the New Cold War," 123.

[49] Kari Möttölä, "Managing the Finnish-Soviet Relationship: Lessons and Experiences," in Bo Huldt and Atis Lejins (eds.), *European Neutrals and the Soviet Union* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1985), 35–57, 51.

[50] Karsh, *Neutrality and Small States*, 153.

[51] Höll, "The Foreign Policy of the Kreisky Era," 53.

[52] Ansprache Kosygin in Wien, 2 July 1973, in *UdSSR – Österreich*, 149–152. Cf. Conversations Kreisky with Kosygin, Vienna, 2–3 July 1973, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4.

[53] Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzlers in der Sowjetunion, May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3. The communiqué is printed in *Vneshniaia politika 1973*, 85–89. See also *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 13 (1973), 225–229. Cf. the Soviet draft communiqué in Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, Kommuniquévorschlag, 26 June 1973, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 32.376-6/73, Z. 40.810.

the state treaty.[54] That in the coming years the Kremlin reduced the intensity of its demand that neutrals maintain economic equidistance from both economic blocs might be attributed to the fact that the USSR, due to exports of natural gas, in the 1970s achieved an active trade balance with Western Europe.[55] On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic contacts between Austria and the Soviet state, the latter's prime minister, in his congratulatory telegram, characterized the relations as having "passed the test of time" and as being "consolidated and multifaceted."[56] On the twentieth jubilee of the signing of the state treaty, Radio Moscow mentioned the continuous improvements in the relations and stated: "The Soviet Union and the Republic of Austria are, despite differing historical fates and social systems, united by a wide circle of mutual interests in various areas, including politics, economy, and culture."

Kreisky's return visit to Moscow from 28 May to 1 June 1974 was primarily economically motivated. A slight shadow was cast on the trip – but not, as one would have expected, by the presence in the Austrian delegation of the right-wing Freedom Party's chairman and former SS Obersturmführer Friedrich Peter, whose unit had taken part in the mass murder of thousands of Soviet Jews during World War II.[57] The clouds over the meeting were caused by Austrian newspaper reports on the Warsaw Pact's alleged *Polarka* war plan, which had been revealed to the West by a Czech defector, Major General Jan Šejna. The plan foresaw a Warsaw Pact attack on Yugoslavia through Austria.[58] As usual in such cases, the Eastern bloc denied the message and attacked the messenger. Although Kreisky remained firm and stated that the Austrian government neither could nor would exert censorship on the Austrian media, the negotiations ended positively. Another stumbling block was Kreisky's insistence that the CSCE would not come to a successful conclusion if a satisfactory solution for the neutrals' demands regarding human contacts was not found.[59] Due to a "diplomatic cold," which was most probably caused by such differences, a meeting with Brezhnev was cancelled on short notice by the Soviet

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[54] Pressekonferenz Kosygin, 5 July 1973, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 32.376-6/73; Protokoll über das Arbeitsgespräch mit MP Kosygin, 2–3 July 1973, ibid., Z. 42.521.

[55] Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 150–152.

[56] Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzlers in der Sowjetunion, May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[57] Peter had already traveled to the USSR at an earlier point in time. Reise von Klubobmann Peter, 22 Dezember 1972, ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 152.498-6/72, Z. 168.496. In 1970–71, Peter's FPÖ had supported Kreisky's minority government. In 1975, Simon Wiesenthal published documents on Peter's war-time past. Kreisky reacted by accusing Wiesenthal of using "mafia methods" and of collaboration with the Nazis. In 1992, Peter left the FPÖ in protest against Jörg Haider and the party's anti-EU line.

[58] The plan was published in Austrian journals in 1974. Its authenticity, however, remained questioned. Harrod, "Felix Austria," 737–740.

[59] Conversation Kreisky with Kosygin, 31 May 1974, in SBKA, NL Thalberg, Depositum 1, Box 2, File 3; Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 119.

side. Nonetheless, Gromyko praised the "positive role" of the neutrals in preparing the CSCE,[60] and the bilateral communiqué underlined the quality of the bilateral relations and the importance of the subjects touched upon in the talks. These included the agenda of the United Nations, peace enforcing measures, security in Europe, as well as arms limitation.[61]

When Kreisky went to Moscow in February 1978, he was granted the honor of being received by Brezhnev, who remarked that the two sides had found "a common language."[62] The CPSU secretary used the occasion for repeating the Soviet praise for the state treaty being a catalyst for European détente, and stressed that on the whole it was in the best interests of small countries to support the CSCE process and resist all attempts at the Cold War being re-launched.[63] Despite such encouragement, Brezhnev did not conclude the meeting with Kreisky without polemicizing against Western insistence on improved standards of human rights, or without calling on the chancellor to join the struggle against the deployment of US neutron warheads in Europe. In the draft communiqué, the Soviet side made an attempt to put Austria at the front of the Soviet propaganda chart against Western rearmament and in favor of Soviet proposals at the Belgrade CSCE meeting. The Austrian delegation, however, saw through this tactic, and the Soviet draft was modified.[64] The CPSU secretary later agreed to hold the SALT-II signing ceremony and the summit meeting with Jimmy Carter in June 1979 in the Austrian capital.

In May 1975 and 1980, Andrei Gromyko attended the ceremonies on the occasion of the twentieth and twenty-fifth anniversaries of the signing of the state treaty in Vienna.[65] Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov visited Austria from 6 to 10

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[60] Quoted in Zhiriakov, *SSSR – Avstriia*, 102. Cf. Speech Kosygin in the Austrian embassy, May 1974, in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 64–67.

[61] Wortlaut des sowjetisch-österreichischen Kommuniqués, 31 May 1974, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 14 (1974), 182–186; *Vneshniaia politika 1974*, 71–76. Cf. Haymerle, "Die Beziehungen zur Großmacht im Osten," 170–171; F. Gorjunow, "Ersprießliche Bilanz," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 23 (1974), 16.

[62] Conversation Kreisky with Brezhnev, [February 1978], in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3. For a summary of Brezhnev's statement, see pages 330–333.

[63] Cf. Igor Melnikov, "Partner im Alpenland," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 7 (1980), 12–13.

[64] Information, [February 1978], in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4, File Moskaureise; Aus dem sowjetisch-österreichischen Kommuniqué, 9 February 1978, in *UdSSR – Österreich*, 190–192; *Vneshniaia politika 1978*, 12–15. Cf. Conversation Kreisky with Kosygin, 7 February 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4, File Moskaureise.

[65] *25 Jahre Staatsvertrag: Protokolle des Staatsaktes* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1981)*; 25 Jahre Staatsvertrag: Protokolle des wissenschaftlichen Symposions* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1981). Gromyko's speech is also printed in *Vneshniaia politika Sovetskogo Soiuza i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia 1980* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1981), 67. On Kreisky's conversation with Gromyko in Vienna in May 1980 on issues concerning Afghanistan, the Near East, and the United States, see Hinteregger, *Im Auftrag Österreichs*, 260–263.

April 1981, in his first (and only[66]) journey as an incumbent Soviet head of government to a Western country. During his trip, both sides lauded the high level of the talks, stating that they were the "result of the permanent efforts of both sides, their joint interest in mutually profitable cooperation, and the high esteem held by the Soviet and Austrian peoples towards one another."[67] As usual, the state treaty and Austria's neutrality were stressed as positive phenomena, and agreement regarding various international issues was emphasized. The resumption of the Soviet leaders' habit of choosing Austria as the destination of their first Western visit was quite telling with regard to the cooling of East-West relations, since during détente Kosygin and Brezhnev had broken with the tradition and chosen France instead.[68]

In the years 1979–83, visits were paid to the USSR not only by the Austrian foreign minister, but also by the ministers of defense, of transport and communications, of trade, commerce and industry, of agriculture and forestry, of social affairs, and of building and technology.[69] Until then, i.e. from 1955 until 1978, no less than twelve mutual visits had been undertaken by the Austrian and Soviet heads of state and government, by foreign ministers, as well as party leaders – and this number does not include the dozens of trips by various other ministers and delegations. In 1981 and 1982, trips were undertaken on the Austrian side by Kirchschläger as federal president,[70] a parliamentarians' delegation, four delegations of different provincial administrations, a group of VOEST-Alpine representatives and a group of Austrian bankers that included the former minister of finance Hannes Androsch and the later chancellor Franz Vranitzky.[71]

After Kreisky stepped down in 1983, his successor, Fred Sinowatz, was welcomed in Moscow a few months later.[72] Sinowatz had paid his first foreign visit as chancellor to the "people's democracy" Hungary, a fact that was very well received in Moscow. The Hungarian ambassador expressed to his Soviet colleague his high opinion of this "intelligent and knowledgeable politician with great diplomatic talent,"[73] a politician who, at home, never managed to escape the shadow of Kreisky and was subjected to mockery about his clumsiness.

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[66] Hinteregger, *Im Auftrag Österreichs*, 236.

[67] Quoted in I.G. Zhiriakov, *SSSR i Avstriia posle Khelsinki* (Moscow: Molodaia gvardiia, 1983), 13. Cf. the communiqué, 11 April 1981, in *Vneshniaia politika Sovetskogo Soiuza i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia 1981* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1982), 27–30.

[68] Oudenaren, *Détente in Europe*, 77.

[69] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 95.

[70] See the communiqué, 30 May 1982, in *Vneshniaia politika Sovetskogo Soiuza i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia 1982* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1983), 41–43. Cf. *Sowjetunion heute* 28, no. 7–8 (1982), 8–11.

[71] *Außenpolitischer Bericht* (1982), 401–402.

[72] *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für internationale Politik* 1 (1984), 216–217.

[73] Conversation Ambassador Efremov with Ambassador Rande, 21 November 1983, in AVPRF, 66/62/135/8, 4–9. Mikhail T. Efremov was the Soviet ambassador in Austria from 1975 until

In general, during the 1970s Soviet-Austrian relations were described by both sides as "friendly" or even "excellent." The passage concerning Austria in Brezhnev's report to the twenty-fifth CPSU congress in 1976 read: "In general, our relations to the West European countries can be assessed positively. This also regards our relations to Great Britain and Italy. In addition we appreciate the traditional good-neighborly relations with Finland, the Scandinavian countries, Austria, Belgium and the other European states."[74] An Austrian report listed the characteristics used by the Soviet side to describe Soviet-Austrian relations: multifaceted, strong, generally good, ascending, developing well, and successful; the bilateral cooperation was characterized as broad, mutually beneficial, and fruitful.[75] Brezhnev and Kosygin declared themselves "good friends of Austria,"[76] and the Soviet press regularly repeated the paradigm of Austria being an "example of peaceful coexistence."[77]

The USSR and Austria on the international stage

While from 1955, Austrian politicians saw international activity promoting mutual understanding and détente as a means not only to raise their country's profile but also its security, the Kremlin's interest in the matter was twofold – first, to promote neutrality by boosting Austria's international prestige, and second, to gain the neutral country's support for Soviet initiatives. This included, as mentioned above, the Soviets drawing on Austria's good services as a mediator in the Berlin crisis. In 1965, the Austrian ambassador in Moscow had been used as a back channel for communicating Soviet proposals on Vietnam to the US embassy,[78] and in January 1966, after the British prime minister had announced his intention to hold talks in Moscow, a Soviet intermediary asked the Austrian embassy in Moscow to forward Soviet proposals regarding an extension of the current pause in the US bombing campaign in North Vietnam to Harold Wilson.[79] The Soviet side, which had expressed the wish that the British embassy in Moscow not be informed, demanded that the US air raids and all troop transports to South Vietnam be ceased immediately, with no conditions. If this were done, North Vietnam would be prepared to start talks. In light of the recent visit to Hanoi by a Soviet delegation headed by

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1986. For a short biography of Ambassador Efremov who had served as the Soviet ambassador to the GDR in 1971–75, see Kudriashov (ed.), *General'nyi sekretar' L.I. Brezhnev 1964–1982*, 230.

[74] Breshnew, *Rechenschaftsbericht [XXV. Parteitag]*, 25.

[75] Bilaterale politische Beziehungen Österreich – Sowjetunion, [1981], in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 5, File Offizieller Besuch des MP der UdSSR Tichonov, April 1981.

[76] Zhiriakov, *SSSR i Avstriia v 1945–1975 gody*, 50;

[77] Stifter, "Das politische Österreichbild," 236.

[78] Caroline Kennedy-Pipe, *Russia and the World* (New York: Arnold, 1998), 131.

[79] Telegram Wodak to Austrian MFA, top secret, 14 January 1966, in ÖStA, AVA, E/1785 Wodak, File 99/2; Telegram Bielka to Austrian embassy Moscow, 24 January 1966, ibid.

CPSU Presidium member Aleksandr Shelepin, the Austrian embassy considered the offer genuine. Wilson communicated his interest in the proposals, despite their one-sidedness. Although the British premier's trip in July brought no success, the Soviet side remained interested in Austria's efforts in the Vietnam War. In March 1968, most probably on Soviet instructions, Hungarian diplomats arranged a meeting between North Vietnam's ambassador to Hungary, Hoang Luong, and Foreign Minister Waldheim in Vienna. When Waldheim mentioned the meeting in a conversation with Deputy Foreign Minister Vasilii Kuznetsov, the Soviet diplomat encouraged Waldheim to continue the Austrian mediation efforts.[80]

Another tactic for raising the neutral's profile and thus the prestige of neutrality, and for gaining Austria's support for Soviet proposals concerned the United Nations. Despite the Kremlin's variable attitude towards the UN,[81] this organization was, over the decades, one of the most important forums for Soviet initiatives. Prior to the 1960s, the General Assembly had generally been balanced in favor of the West. In order to shift this balance of power, the USSR was interested in integrating the decolonized states of Asia and Africa into the UN, of which the majority were nonaligned. Neutral Austria was also part of this picture. Although in December 1955, the USSR, most probably for tactical reasons, had turned down a draft resolution outlined by Brazil and New Zealand concerning the admission of eighteen countries to the UN, among them Austria, the country was shortly thereafter admitted into the United Nations together with fifteen of these states.[82] Both sides – Austria as a rule, the Soviet Union since 1955 and particularly following 1966 – were interested in raising the status of the United Nations, as was expressed in joint communiqués.[83]

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[80] Conversation Waldheim with Kuznetsov, 20 March 1968, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 110.044–6/68, Z. 115.353–6pol/68; Schlesinger, *Austrian Neutrality in Postwar Europe*, 129.

[81] Information für den Herrn Bundeskanzler, Die Evolution der sowjetischen Haltung in den Vereinten Nationen, [1974], in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR, File Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzlers in der Sowjetunion. Cf. Dallin, *Die Sowjetunion und die Vereinten Nationen*.

[82] On 8 December the UN General Assembly recommended the accession of eighteen countries, among them Austria. Not included were divided states such as North and South Korea. In the Security Council, the delegate of the Republic of China (Taiwan) as a permanent member occupying the Chinese seat brought forward a motion regarding the accession of South Korea and South Vietnam. The USSR vetoed this motion, and China retaliated with a veto against the UN membership of Mongolia, thus inducing the USSR to veto the accession of all nonsocialist countries, including Austria. Only after the West had withdrawn Japan from the list of candidates did the USSR agreed on withdrawing Mongolia from the list, thus allowing the remaining sixteen countries to enter the UN. Strasser, *Österreich und die Vereinten Nationen*, 31–32. By blocking Japan's accession to the United Nations, it seems that the USSR wanted to retain leverage over the Western veto against the socialist nominees. Harto Hakovirta, *East-West Conflict and European Neutrality* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 59.

[83] Wortlaut des gemeinsamen sowjetisch-österreichischen Kommuniqués, 31 May 1974, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 14 (1974), 182–186, 184.

In order to lift the prestige of neutrality in the UN and to restrain the influence of the West in this organization, the USSR supported the Austrian candidacy for hosting the headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency (since 1956) and of the UN Industrial Development Organization (since 1967), as well as, in 1979, for becoming the location for the third seat of the United Nations. It also supported Austria's application for nonpermanent membership in the UN Security Council in 1973–74, and for Waldheim's candidacy as UN secretary general in 1971 and 1976. In 1960, at the height of his struggle to make the UN more "neutral," Khrushchev even proposed the transfer of the main UN headquarters from New York to Vienna.[84] This proposal, however, was declined by the Austrian government. Although the United States did not agree with the Soviet suggestion to hold the 1955 summit in Vienna (so that neutrality would not be promoted for West Germany),[85] with Soviet consent – and despite Khrushchev's preference for Helsinki[86] – the Austrian capital was nonetheless chosen as the site for the Kennedy-Khrushchev summit in 1961, for the SAL and MBFR talks, for a Brezhnev-Carter summit including the SALT-II signing ceremony, for US-Soviet meetings of foreign ministers such as between Gromyko and Kissinger in 1975 and Gromyko and Shultz in 1985, another meeting between Gromyko and West German foreign minister Hans Dietrich Genscher at the height of the rearmament debate in 1983, a CSCE follow-up meeting in 1986–89, and for several major UN conferences. Naturally, some of the regular international gatherings commemorating the signing of the state treaty in the Austrian capital were also used for high diplomacy: US Secretary of State Dean Rusk discussed the situation in Vietnam when he met with his Soviet colleague in Vienna in 1965, and at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the state treaty, Secretary of State Edmund Muskie met with Gromyko the first time.[87]

The Soviet efforts to use Austria to promote communist initiatives, as well as to monitor Austria's viewpoint, included establishing regular bilateral talks that aimed at coordinating the two countries' foreign policies. These efforts to harmonize Soviet and Austrian approaches concerned various international questions, both within the United Nations and without. Although Austrian diplomats in the 1980s insisted that until then there had been only a single Soviet attempt to influence Austria's voting in the UN General Assembly,[88] it cannot be ignored that, for

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[84] Verclytte, "Austria between East and West," 113. On Austria's policy as a nonpermanent member in the UN Security Council, see Christian Pellegrini, "Die Rolle Österreichs im Sicherheitsrat der Vereinten Nationen: Möglichkeiten kleinstaatlicher Außenpolitik" (Vienna, MA Thesis, 1994).

[85] Stourzh, *Um Einheit und Freiheit*, 524.

[86] Khrushchev felt that "the Finns had a better understanding of our policy than the Austrians." Khrushchev, *Khrushchev Remembers: The Last Testament*, 492.

[87] Anatoly Dobrynin, *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents 1962–1986* (New York: Times Books, 1995), 139, 456.

[88] Haymerle, "Die Beziehungen zur Großmacht im Osten," 153. This referred to a vote concerning the Hungarian crisis of 1956, when the USSR delegate told his Austrian colleague that casting a vote would not suit a neutral country. Cf. Rauchensteiner, *Die Zwei*, 346.

the most part, the intensive bilateral Soviet-Austrian dialog on issues concerning the agenda of the United Nations had, from the Soviet side, this very aim: to influence Austria's voting. This went back to as early as May 1958, when the Soviet Foreign Ministry noted that Austria, during the 1956 and 1957 sessions of the UN General Assembly, had, "in a series of important international questions, adopted a position undesirable to us."[89] Similar criticism had been voiced by Deputy Foreign Minister Valerian Zorin, who, in a conversation with the Austrian ambassador in 1957, found fault with the voting behavior of Austria regarding the Soviet intervention in Hungary, behavior that, in his eyes, "destroyed the credit Austria had gained among the socialist states, who had hoped for more objectivity."[90] Consequently, the Soviet embassy in Austria recommended "informing the Austrian government in advance of our position on those questions where support from Austria is desirable for us."[91] This, the ministry argued, would not only result in Austria adopting certain Soviet positions, but would also be conducive to "separating Austria from the Anglo-American bloc." Discussions about the Austrian voting behavior in the UN became an issue that was regularly brought up by Soviet officials in their talks with the Austrian ambassador. Bischoff reported in 1959: "The Russians, doubtlessly, imagine that a solid Austrian policy of neutrality should find its expression in *grosso modo* balanced voting at crucial decisions over a certain period of time."[92] Indeed, a similar opinion was voiced by Soviet diplomats in the 1960s, when they criticized that the Austrian vote was "too often for the West."[93] After Austria, together with the majority of the UN General Assembly, had turned down the Mongolian proposal to condemn the US-supported landing of Cuban émigré forces in Cuba in April 1961, the Soviet delegate Valerian Zorin openly criticized the Austrian conduct as having left the course of neutrality.[94] Before the session, the Soviet ambassador in Vienna had solicited Austrian support for the motion. The Soviet criticism was repeated during Chancellor Gorbach's visit to Moscow. In a conversation with Kreisky, Gromyko claimed that the Austrian voting behavior did not conform with neutrality – a groundless allegation that was parried by the Austrian minister with his usual response that similar reproaches by certain Western states were proof of Austria's objectiveness.[95]

In general, however, the pattern emerged of Soviet diplomats communicating in advance which Austrian decision they hoped to see in the impending session of the General Assembly, be it for a Soviet draft declaration against Western military

[89] Lun'kov to Novikov, 26 May 1958, in AVPRF, 66/37/72/13, 9.
[90] Bischoff to Austrian MFA, 16 November 1957, ÖStA, AdR, AVA, NL E/1770: Bischoff, File 126.
[91] Lun'kov to Novikov, 26 May 1958, in AVPRF, 66/37/72/13, 9.
[92] Bischoff to Austrian MFA, 17 October 1959, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 236.711-pol/59, Z. 249.334.
[93] Wodak to Kreisky, 6 August 1964, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, Pol. Berichte Moskau.
[94] Zhiriakov, *SSSR i Avstriia v 1945–1975 gody*, 62; Kofler, *Kennedy und Österreich*, 40, 106.
[95] Information, 1962, Kopie, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E/1736 Bielka, File 115.

bases in the Third World in 1966, or for Soviet disarmament initiatives.[96] A similar habit of alerting the neutral was acquired by other powers as well, in particular the United States. When neutrals like Austria and Sweden subscribed to Soviet projects, even if in a modified way as was the case regarding a declaration against colonialism in 1960, their support was widely propagandized in communist media.[97] Here, again, it was not only Austria itself that mattered to Soviet politicians; the small neutral was expected to serve as a model for similar Western states. Since Austria, due to the alphabetical order that ballots were cast, was among the first countries to vote, Soviet diplomats hoped, as was intimated by Gromyko to Waldheim, that its voting behavior might exert some influence on other permanent neutrals and small Western states.[98]

Hence, in a growing number of cases, international issues were included on the agenda at bilateral Soviet-Austrian meetings. Although the most important Soviet attempt to use Austria as a promoter of Soviet ideas, encouraging it to call for the CSCE, failed,[99] in other cases the Soviet side succeeded. In their March 1968 meeting, Gromyko pushed Waldheim to publish declarations regarding Vietnam and Israel.[100] Both issues were included in the communiqué, albeit with modified wording.[101] When the ministers met in New York later that year, Gromyko showed his interest in the Austrian attitude towards the Soviet proposals in the UN General Assembly and stated that the USSR expected many countries to follow the Austrian example.[102] In order to make sure that Austria was aware of the Soviet position on various issues, two months later the Soviet minister proposed establishing regular consultations between Soviet and Austrian diplomats and political representatives. Waldheim agreed to the idea. But while Austria's opinions hardly had an effect on the superpower, these consultations bore the risk of the USSR exerting influence on the smaller neutral.[103] Austria was the third Western country (following France and the United States) to establish such opinion exchanges with Soviet leaders on a regular basis.[104]

[96] Conversation Tončić-Sorinj with Gromyko, New York, 30 September 1966, Copy, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E/1736 Bielka, File 115; Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 21 September 1971, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ., Z. 110.219-6/71.

[97] Haymerle to Kreisky, 17 January 1961, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, Pol. Berichte Moskau.

[98] Conversation Waldheim with Gromyko, New York, 23 September 1969, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol. GZ. 164.082-6/69, Z. 165.373-6/69.

[99] See above, pages 162–171.

[100] Conversation Waldheim with Gromyko, 22 March 1968, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 110.044–6/68, Z. 115.353–6pol/68.

[101] Aus dem sowjetisch-österreichischen Kommuniqué, 24 March 1968, in *UdSSR – Österreich*, 134–136.

[102] Telegram Austrian embassy New York to Austrian MFA, 24 September 1968, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 164.082–6/69, Z. 164.089.

[103] Conversation Gromyko – Waldheim, 21 May 1968, in AVPRF 66/47/101/11, 49–56.

[104] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 104.

Through the postwar years, Austria took a friendly position on many occasions towards Soviet initiatives. This is not to say that Austria always ceded to Soviet pressure. Nevertheless, as outlined above, there were a number of coinciding interests between the two states. In the debate on the question of colonies during the fifteenth session of the UN General Assembly, Austria explicitly welcomed the Soviet contribution to the subject – but this did not risk the alienation of too many countries, since the resolution was adopted by eighty-nine votes with nine abstentions. In the UN Economic Commission for Europe, which had repeatedly been used by the USSR in its attempt to contain and undermine the EEC,[105] Austria also supported a number of Soviet proposals.[106] Other cases of parallel positions existed with regard to the Soviet and Austrian assessments of détente and the Near East problem.[107] In March 1960, the Austrian parliament welcomed the Supreme Soviet's 1959 initiative for disarmament, and the Austrian government, in many joint communiqués with the Soviet government, greeted disarmament as a political necessity. After the USSR, in the UN General Assembly in 1959, voted in favor of an Austrian-Swiss-Japanese initiative to call for a ban on nuclear tests, Austria, in return, 1960 declared its support of the respective Soviet proposal. Austria also took a positive stance towards the proposed nonutilization of force[108] and nuclear nonproliferation, and in 1967 the neutral and the Soviet Union co-authored a draft resolution on these matters that was adopted in the twenty-second session of the UN General Assembly.

In some cases, the score was kept even by mutually supporting the other side's candidacies in the UN. After the USSR had promoted Waldheim's candidacy as a UN secretary general, Austria signaled support for the Belorussian candidacy for nonpermanent membership in the Security Council.[109] On principle, the Austrian delegate to the UN General Assembly was instructed to vote according to "factual considerations," rather than with an eye to East-West bloc voting patterns.[110] In a few cases, Austria voted with the East when the same was done by a large majority of states. In general, however, the country supported the West, albeit from the late 1960s, voting with small Western states rather than with the US. When the Soviet Union, in the twelfth session of the General Assembly in 1957, brought forward a

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[105] Mueller, "Die UdSSR und die europäische Integration," 636, 638, 651.

[106] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 44–47. Cf., on Soviet and Austrian positions in the UN, Information für den Herrn Bundeskanzler, Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzler in Moskau, 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[107] Zhiriakov, *SSSR – Avstriia*, 66–69; 93; 149. Cf. Zhiriakov, *SSSR i Avstriia v 1945–1975 gody*, 59–72. On other topics of multilateral diplomacy, cf. N.I. Egorova and I.A. Aggeeva (eds.), *Mnogostoronniaia diplomatiia v gody kholodnoi voiny* (Moscow: Institut Vseobshchei Istorii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 2008).

[108] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 49.

[109] Offizieller Besuch des Vorsitzenden Kosygin, 25 June 1973, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 32.376-6/73, Z. 39.973-4a/73.

[110] Strasser, *Österreich und die Vereinten Nationen*, 83–87; 92–106.

draft resolution supporting "peaceful coexistence," which was opposed by Western states due to the ambiguous nature of the concept as a means for fostering the transition to socialism, an Indian-Yugoslav-Swedish draft that supported the "peaceful relations among states," but avoided the Soviet propaganda term, was adopted unanimously. Four years later, Austria – together with the West – rejected another attempt to make the idea mandatory. Soviet projects for reforming the United Nations into a more Soviet-friendly organization were also discarded by the European neutrals, including Finland.[111] Furthermore, Austria did not support proposals sponsored by the Soviet Union and its satellites with regard to Cuba and Cambodia. In the case of the Soviet military interventions in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, Austria tried to express its disapproval – very much in contrast to Finland, which abstained from voting against the Soviet Union in these instances.[112] In 1973–74, Austria gave a positive appraisal of the Soviet proposal on banning nuclear weapons, supported another on a global conference on disarmament, but abstained from voting in a third case that proposed cutting defense budgets by 10 percent.[113] Throughout the 1960s, Austria abstained from supporting the accession of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. When the risk of doing so had diminished, Austria – as one of the first Western countries – recognized the People's Republic of China in 1971 and the GDR in 1973, although in the latter case, only after the two German states had signed the *Grundlagen* treaty.[114] Despite repeated Soviet interventions, Austrian foreign policy had – out of loyalty to the United States – hitherto rejected recognizing the communist regime in Beijing at the expense of Taiwan.[115] Among the other neutrals, Sweden in particular was applauded by Soviet propaganda for championing the PRC's accession to the United Nations.

Although Austria's voting pattern in the UN General Assembly rarely coincided with the Soviet bloc, over the first twenty years of its membership, its voting record index, on a spectrum ranging from 0 (i.e. voting with the Soviet bloc) to 100 (i.e. voting with the United States), fell from 95 (1956) to 63 (1976),[116] thus

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[111] Haymerle to Kreisky, 28 November 1960, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, Pol. Berichte Moskau.

[112] Hanhimäki, "The Lure of Neutrality," 269; Steve Lindberg, "Finnish Neutrality in a Changing Environment," in Bo Huldt and Atis Lejins (eds.), *European Neutrals and the Soviet Union* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1985), 7–34, 20.

[113] Materialy dlia peregovorov s kantslerom Avstrii Kreiskii, [30 April 1974], in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 86–95.

[114] Höll, "The Foreign Policy of the Kreisky Era," 38; Ginsburgs, "Neutralism à la Russe," 34.

[115] Kofler, *Kennedy und Österreich*, 108–109.

[116] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 100. Cf. Paul Luif, "Österreich zwischen Ost und West: Österreichs Abstimmungsverhalten in der Generalversammlung der UN," in *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für Politik 1984* (1985), 261–274, 263. US analyses of the 1983 session of the General Assembly, however, indicate a much lower voting conformity of Austria with the United States, and rank Austria with only 36.7 percent, the last but one of all OECD states. The difference between the US data and that of Luif can be explained insofar as Luif compared the Austrian voting

showing a clear weakening of its Western-oriented loyalty and growing independent-mindedness or "neutrality." During the same period, this phenomenon can also be seen in countries like Ireland (falling from 100 to 80) and Sweden (falling from 80 to 67). By the early 1980s, the voting pattern of Ireland had declined still further (to 68), while Austria's and Sweden's voting record remained stable in the 60s – where Finland had ranked ever since 1956. This deviated notably, on one hand, from other small West European democracies that were NATO members, such as the Netherlands whose voting coefficient was between 83 and 100; on the other hand, however, it was far from the voting behavior of the nonaligned states, with Yugoslavia ranging between 9 and 33 and India between 25 and 36. An analysis of Austria's voting patterns in the 1970s demonstrated that the highest affinity existed with countries like Ireland (89.5/100), Denmark (88.6/100) or Iceland (86/100), while the similarity with the United States was intermediate (51.3/100) and with the USSR quite low (25.4/100).[117] In embattled cases, however, Austria's voting behavior in the 1980s became, in comparison to other neutrals, "conspicuously cautious," with many abstentions.[118] In 1978, former vice-chancellor Fritz Bock even proposed that Austria abstain from all votes.[119] Nevertheless, Austria avoided being absorbed by the communist or the nonaligned bloc in the United Nations.

At the CSCE preparatory talks in Dipoli, Austria tempered its support for the Western proposal of parallel talks on MBFR by endorsing the Soviet bid for the Ten Principles Guiding the Relations between Participating States.[120] Although the Soviet media's reaction to the Austrian support of the Western call for talks on MBFR had been the hope that the neutral, in the future, would display "more independence," certain Austrian activities at the CSCE meetings themselves were highly commended by the same media. The steady flow of Soviet propaganda addressing Austria and the other neutrals during the CSCE can be interpreted as an attempt, by means of praise, encouragement, demands, criticism, or even threats, to influence their behavior and to induce or suppress certain actions.[121] While the Soviet representative at the CSCE repeatedly reproached the neutrals for not being active enough,[122] it seems that, from the Soviet perspective, the desired position of the neutrals was to be active promoters of the conference idea itself, but silent support-

record not with the US position, but with the general "Western" one, and only took those cases into account in which there was a united position of the United States, the United Kingdom, and France against the USSR. For further detail on the various cases, see Schlesinger, *Austrian Neutrality in Postwar Europe*, 90–91.

[117]   Peter Jankowitsch, "Das Problem der Äquidistanz: Die Suche der Zweiten Republik nach außenpolitischen Leitlinien," in Manfried Rauchensteiner (ed.), *Zwischen den Blöcken: NATO, Warschauer Pakt und Österreich* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2010), 451–495, 476.

[118]   Skuhra, "Austria and the New Cold War," 120.

[119]   Molden, "Die 'Ost-West-Drehscheibe,'" 754.

[120]   Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 57; idem, *SSSR i Avstriia v 1945–1975 gody*, 83.

[121]   Petersson, *The Soviet Union and Peacetime Neutrality*, 87–90.

[122]   Fischer, *Neutral Power in the CSCE*, 171.

ers of Eastern proposals, or at least passive hosts for the negotiations. Thus, Prime Minister Kosygin's visit to Vienna from 2 to 5 July 1973 as well as his trips to the two Scandinavian neutrals in the same year served, at least in part, to ensure that they would support Eastern proposals and not waver at the CSCE.[123] Earlier visits by Soviet diplomats, such as the deputy head of the Soviet delegation to Helsinki, Lev Mendelevich, had served the same objective.[124]

The neutrals, however, envisaged their role differently; they promoted their own ideas and in some important cases, even supported Western ones. The differences between the neutrals and the states of the Warsaw Pact on questions of military security, disarmament, confidence building measures (information about armed maneuvers), mediation, and human contacts,[125] as they developed before and during the conference, must have disappointed the Soviet Union. The Soviet side had hoped that at least Austria, Sweden and Finland would be less outspoken and more manageable than was indeed the case. Most of the neutral and nonaligned (N+N) group's initiatives were annoying to the Kremlin rather than pleasing. Despite Soviet resistance, human rights issues were included in the famous Basket III of the conference, as had been proposed by the Western and neutral states, and all Soviet attempts at restricting their legal value by claiming that sovereignty was superior to human rights were repulsed. On the other side, Kreisky's peculiar idea to include the Near East issue on the CSCE agenda[126] was rebuffed by the Kremlin (and also by the West), as were the Swiss proposal concerning a mechanism for a peaceful settlement of disputes and Sweden's and Austria's drafts regarding military security and the idea of not only linking disarmament to the conference, but actually including it. In the latter case, the Soviet Union tried to assuage Austria's disappointment by proposing Vienna as a site for MBFR talks.[127] When the Soviet strategy to block conventional arms control and disarmament negotiations had failed, further Soviet tactics aimed at, unsuccessfully, including the neutrals in the talks and thus either reassigning such negotiations to the state-to-state level (thereby weakening NATO) or putting the blame for refusals on the United States.

At the signing ceremony of the Helsinki Final Act, the Soviet side must have been particularly annoyed at three points stressed by Kreisky: the continuing ideological struggle between communism and liberal democracy, the Western determination to achieve a breakthrough for democracy, and the right of every country

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[123] Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 172–173.
[124] Steiner, *Diplomatie – Politik*, 48. In 1972, Steiner was Political Director in the Austrian MFA.
[125] Fischer, *Neutral Power in the CSCE*, 120–138, 177–187, 240–245, 250–254, 263–266, 278–297; Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 104–108, 110–119; Schalhorn, "Sowjetische Westeuropapolitik I," 133–135.
[126] See Kreisky's speech in the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, 25 January 1971, in Jacobsen, Mallmann, Meier, *Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE)* II/1, 260–262, 262.
[127] Wettig, *Europäische Sicherheit,* 176.

to choose its own political system as declared in the Final Act. Kreisky turned the anti-Western orientation of "peaceful coexistence" into an anti-communist one:

> "Hundreds of millions of people live in countries that are strongly linked to the idea of political democracy; other hundreds of millions live in countries where the political ideas of communist parties have been realized […] It would make little sense to diminish or ignore the fundamental differences between these different political systems and societal orders. Therefore it should be welcomed that, again and again, it has been shown that coexistence – which we perceive as the form of peaceful relations possible today – does not apply to the field of ideology. I welcome this clarification, because the Western states are determined to help the idea of democracy to gain a breakthrough […]."[128]

When at a conference in 1976 the chancellor aired the idea that Helsinki might exert influence on the public sentiment and social order in the USSR, he was reproached by Soviet propaganda.[129]

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[128] Kreisky's speech is printed in Jacobsen, Mallmann, Meier, *Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE)* II/2, 856–859, 858. Cf. Oliver Rathkolb, *Internationalisierung Österreichs seit 1945* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2006), 63.

[129] W. Iwanow and D. Nikolajew, "Wider den Geist der Entspannung," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 44 (1976), 26–27.

11. A Thorn in the Side: Personal and Cultural Contacts

Soviet dissidents, the Jewish exodus from the USSR, and the Austrian media

During the Kreisky era, what tensions that arose in Soviet-Austrian relations came mainly from Austrian media reports about the fate of Soviet dissidents. Various hardships in the USSR also weighed on its Jewish population, thus influencing many of them to emigrate.[1] The maltreatment of critical intellectuals in the Eastern bloc and the restrictions on Soviet citizens who were willing to emigrate created an uproar among their West European and North American colleagues. Austrian intellectuals, in an open letter to Kosygin, protested against the "drastic steps taken by the Soviet government, such as imprisonment, deportation and confinement in psychiatric wards, against citizens who use their right for analyzing and criticizing the current conditions."[2] Among the signatories of the appeal were journalists and the newspaper editors Paul Blau, Fritz Csoklich and Günther Nenning, writer Hilde Spiel, artists, a few trade unionists, and members of parliament, including Heinz Fischer. Most of them were social democrats or had no party affiliation; however, a number of conservative university professors, such as Erich Streissler, also supported the initiative. A second appeal by social democrats and trade unionists such as Anton Benya, Bruno Pittermann, Franz Probst and Felix Slavik, which aimed at pressuring Soviet authorities to allow Jewish citizens to emigrate, was dismissed by Soviet diplomats as "Zionist propaganda."[3]

Trying to support Soviet dissidents was not without risk. After the Austrian Foreign Ministry intervened on behalf of two dissidents who had been sentenced to death, employees at the Austrian embassy in Moscow were subject to Soviet criticism.[4] When an Austrian exchange student in the USSR was accused by Soviet authorities of having tried to smuggle refugees out of the country, he could only be saved from imprisonment by another intervention.

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[1] Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 186–188; Natan Sharansky with Ron Dermer, *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom to Overcome Tyranny and Terror* (Green Forest: Balfour, 2006), 112–123.

[2] APA, 3 July 1970, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 80916-6/70, Z. 89223.

[3] Quoted in Wodak to Kirchschläger, Streng Vertraulich, 2 June 1971, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 105.880-6/71, Z.113.202.

[4] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 20 January 1971, Copy, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, File Informationen für Herrn Botschafter Dr. Halusa; Karl Vogelmann, 18 August 1971, ibid., GZ. 106.113-6/71, Z.116.855.

During and after the CSCE meetings in 1973–75, freedom in the USSR diminished considerably. The Soviet regime lost no time in cracking down on human-rights activists and groups who had been inspired by the Helsinki declaration.[5] In October 1977, Soviet physicist and dissident Andrei Sakharov appealed to all signatory states of the Helsinki agreement to protest the restrictions imposed by communist regimes on free emigration. In several letters to the prime ministers Kosygin and Tikhonov, Kreisky intervened on behalf of Soviet dissident (and later Israel's minister) Anatolii (Nathan) Shcharanskii,[6] imprisoned human-rights activist Ida Nudel,[7] the family of ballet dancer Rudolf Nureyev, as well as other people eager to emigrate. The much-adored dancer had settled in Vienna, after defecting from his country.[8] In 1982 alone, the number of hardship cases pending in Soviet-Austrian negotiations reached sixty. Austria, according to its ambassador in Moscow, was the only Western state, whose interventions were answered by the Soviet government.[9] However, the success of the Austrian efforts was "disappointing,"[10] as seen in the Soviet handling of Kreisky's appeal to Soviet leader Iurii Andropov to let imprisoned dissident Iurii Orlov emigrate to Austria. On Andropov's order, the official letter was intentionally left unanswered by the Kremlin.[11] Due to his engagement for Soviet dissidents, a public lecture by Kreisky in Moscow was cancelled and the chancellor was criticized in the Soviet press.[12] Responses of this kind were not unusual: When the Canadian prime minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, wrote a letter to Andropov on behalf of Anatolii Shcharanskii, Andropov, the former chief of the KGB and of hundreds of political prisons, labor camps and isolators who had staged the prosecution of countless dissidents, ordered: "Reply to the Canadian: 'We

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[5] Svetlana Savranskaya, "Human Rights Movement in the USSR after the Signing of the Helsinki Final Act, and the Reaction of the Soviet Authorities," in Leopoldo Nuti (ed.), *The Crisis of Détente in Europe: From Helsinki to Gorbachev, 1975–1985* (London: Routledge, 2009), 26–40; idem, "Unintended Consequences: Soviet Interests, Expectations, and Reactions to the Helsinki Final Act," in Oliver Bange and Gottfried Niedhart (eds.), *Helsinki 1975 and the Transformation of Europe* (New York: Berghan, 2008), 175–190.

[6] SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 5.

[7] Kreisky to Tikhonov, 19 November 1982, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 7.

[8] Hannes Leidinger and Verena Moritz, *Russisches Wien: Begegnungen aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 190.

[9] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, On Soviet-Austrian Relations, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E-1736: Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

[10] Information Austrian MFA, 7 October 1982, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 7.

[11] Kreisky to Andropov, 5 July 1983, in RGANI, 89/28/26, 5. A note to Andropov originating from the Central Committee apparatus recommending leaving Kreisky's intervention without an answer bears the handwritten words "*Soglasen* [I agree]. Andropov." Information for Andropov, 29 July 1983, ibid., 89/37/38, 2.

[12] Oliver Rathkolb, "International Perception of Austrian Neutrality," in Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, and Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Neutrality in Austria*, Contemporary Austrian Studies 9 (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2001), 69–91, 81; Ginther, *Neutralität und Neutralitätspolitik*, 72.

don't need to prove our humanity, Mr. Prime Minister. It is part of the very nature of our society.'"[13]

Such claims notwithstanding, from 1945 to 1968, 8,296 Soviet Jews had left their country for Israel. In the early 1970s, despite the rising emigration fees, the exodus accelerated, with 13,711 leaving in 1971 and 34,733 in 1973.[14] The United States tried to pressure the Soviet regime into letting all people willing to emigrate do so. Most Jewish emigrants from the USSR left via Austria. In 1960, only 106 people had used this route, but by the early 1970s the numbers had risen steeply, to 13,082 in 1971 and 31,804 in 1973, and thus almost all the Soviet Jewish emigrants of these years.[15] From 1960 until 31 August 1973, a total of more than 72,000 Jews had emigrated from the Soviet Union by traveling to Austria. But after three immigrants and one customs officer were kidnapped in Austria in September 1973 by Palestinian terrorists, the Viennese government agreed to close the transit camp of the Jewish Agency in Schönau. However, a new procedure was found to enable Jewish migrants leaving the USSR to enter Austria with transit visas and, from 1977, their number rose again, in 1979 surpassing its previous high point. In 1980, due to new Soviet restrictions, the number dropped again significantly, with emigration resuming its rise only after Gorbachev's *perestroika*, reaching an all-time high of 71,000 in 1989 alone.[16] From 1955 to 1989, a total of more than 200,000 Jews from the USSR passed through Austria.[17]

The sad fate of the Soviet dissidents and Soviet Jewish population did not remain unnoticed by Austrian journalists, who did their best to make the Austrian public aware of the urgent situation. In 1974, Erhard Hutter, the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation's (ORF) representative, who in February 1972 had received his accreditation as the first – and, in the early 1970s, the only – permanent Austrian correspondent in Moscow,[18] filmed the documentary *Zwischen*

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[13] Quoted in Dmitri Volkogonov, *Autopsy for an Empire: The Seven Leaders Who Built the Soviet Regime* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 374.

[14] B. Morozov (ed.), *Evreiskaia emigratsiia v svete novykh dokumentov* (Tel-Aviv: Ivrus, 1998), 169; 230.

[15] SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 7. Cf. O.V. Budnitskii and O.V. Belova (eds.), *Evreiskaia emigratsiia iz Rossii 1881–2005* (Moscow: Rosspen, 2008).

[16] *Außenpolitischer Bericht* (1989), 431.

[17] Gehler, *Österreichs Außenpolitik*, 407. **Other sources give the total as having been 270,199 people in the years 1968 through 1986.** Rathkolb, "International Perception of Austrian Neutrality," 82. Cf. Eduard Stanek, *Verfolgt, verjagt, vertrieben: Flüchtlinge in Österreich* (Vienna: Europa, 1985); Vladimir Vertlib, *Osteuropäische Zuwanderung nach Österreich 1976–1991 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der jüdischen Immigration aus der Sowjetunion* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1995). The total number of Soviet Jews leaving for Israel in the years 1945–1974 was 99,500; in the years 1975–1980 it was 153,500. Morozov, *Evreiskaia emigratsiia*, 16.

[18] Information Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Zl. 12.285–PI/73, 25 June 1975, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 2. Up to the 1970s, Austrian journalists, such as Otto Schulmeister and Hugo Portisch, visited the USSR mainly as members of journalist delegations.

Nobelpreis und Irrenhaus [Between the Nobel Prize and the Madhouse] about the forced hospitalization of dissidents in psychiatric wards.[19] In the USSR, both officials and the media were outraged. An internal report of the Soviet embassy in Austria criticized Hutter's production as having "a nonobjective character and containing unjustified criticism […] It must not be ignored that recently Austrian television has joined the campaign for the 'protection of human rights in socialist countries.'"[20] The Soviet Foreign Ministry filed a complaint with the Austrian embassy, and finally in 1978 Hutter was expelled from the USSR on charges of anti-Sovietism and smuggling.[21] An Austrian protest that the Soviet measures violated the Helsinki Final Act was rejected by the Soviet embassy.[22] During his visit to Moscow in December 1978, Foreign Minister Pahr raised the issue, but met with no success. Complaints about human rights abuses in the Soviet Union were far from rare, and in May 1977 Brezhnev told all Soviet ambassadors that these complaints were part of an "anti-Soviet campaign under the false mask of defending human rights."[23] To historian Vladislav Zubok, it seems that "Soviet leaders, products of Stalinist political culture, simply could not understand why [Western politicians] paid so much attention to the fate of individual dissidents."[24] They ordered their mouthpieces to fight back against Western leaders and journalists – and did not consider the consequences this would have on the bilateral relations with the West. Being attacked by Soviet media, Austrian journalists, on their side, increasingly posed the question whether the Austrian government was perhaps too friendly and obedient towards Moscow, and not being rewarded by the big neighbor.[25]

Meanwhile, the *Novosti* Press Agency (APN) and the Soviet embassy in Vienna had launched a counter campaign, and, in the first three months of 1977, sent out no less than twenty-three APN bulletins in up to four hundred copies each, in order to "neutralize the massive anti-Soviet propaganda" and to whitewash the Soviet treatment of dissidents.[26] The Austrian-communist *Volksstimme*, which had gained notoriety for providing Soviet media falsified accusations against the Aus-

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Austrian newspapers relied on correspondents from the German media; Heinz Lathe, and later, Uwe Engelbrecht of the *Kölner Anzeiger* wrote for *Die Presse*. During the 1980s, the USSR maintained nine permanent correspondents in Austria. Information Medienwesen in der UdSSR, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6, File Staatsbesuch Kirchschläger, May 1982.

[19] File Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzler in der Sowjetunion, May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[20] Soviet embassy Vienna to Soviet MFA, 24 June 1977, in AVPRF, 66/56/120/31, 34–40.

[21] *Archiv der Gegenwart*, 22113, 12 October 1978; File Arbeitsbesuch der Herrn Bundeskanzlers in der SU, 6 February 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4.

[22] *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 18 (1978), 288.

[23] Quoted in Volkogonov, *Autopsy for an Empire*, 282.

[24] Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 256.

[25] Molden, "Die 'Ost-West-Drehscheibe'," 759–760.

[26] Soviet embassy Vienna to Soviet MFA, 8 July 1977, in AVPRF, 66/56/120/31, 41–43.

trian government and for its noncritical neo-Stalinist stance, had dismissed earlier Western reports about the Soviet regime's campaign against dissidents, in particular Andrei Sakharov, as "anti-Soviet hysteria";[27] it now joined the Soviet media campaign in defense of the Soviet human rights record.

The Hutter affair petered out, Otto Hörmann was appointed Hutter's successor, and some friendly signs in the area of media politics appeared. Austrian journalists, from 1976 on, were granted one-year multiple-entry visas to the USSR,[28] and in February 1982 a cooperation agreement between the ORF and the Soviet Gostele-radio was even signed.

However, problems continued as long as human rights violations in the USSR persisted and the Soviet regime was afraid of having the truth exposed about its treatment of dissidents. The sensitive reaction of the Soviet regime to criticism from abroad had already long put strain on Soviet-Austrian relations. Not only during the crises of 1956 and 1968 did Soviet diplomats demand that Austrian representatives "suppress this kind of campaigns" and "hostile acts."[29] This systematic pressure was aimed at effectively silencing foreign criticism of Soviet policy; the communist doctrine of neutrality, which included abstaining from hostile propaganda as one of the obligations of a permanently neutral state, served as a pretext for such interference. In the 1970s and 80s, the critical Austrian journalists Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi and Paul Lendvai, who reported on communist human-rights violations, were repeatedly attacked in the Soviet press as being anti-Soviet.[30] On 26 January 1983, *Izvestiia* charged the Austrian media with the defamation of the Soviet Union, and Ambassador Helmut Liedermann was called into the Soviet ministry to be told that Austrian news coverage allegedly "aimed at creating a feeling of hostility in Austria against the Soviet Union and its policies."[31] A few weeks later, a Soviet diplomat lamented that Soviet-Austrian relations would be excellent, if only Austrian media reports were not so "problematic."[32]

In 1980, Austria's relations with East European dissidents even spilled over into the sphere of Soviet-Austrian cultural relations, with the USSR refusing to grant the necessary visas to the Czech dissident and actor Pavel Landovsky, who was scheduled to join the Vienna *Burgtheater* company on its tour to Moscow. In the end

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[27] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 3 September 1973, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 30.205-6/73, Z. 44.485.

[28] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 112.

[29] See, e.g., Vorsprache des sowjetischen Botschafters, 22 August 1969, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 152.678-6/69, Z. 162.361-6/pol/69; Telegram Wodak to Austrian MFA, 29 May 1970, ibid., GZ. 80916-6/70, Z. 87195, Protokoll über den bilateralen Meinungsaustausch, 12–13 June 1975, ibid., Z. 225.18.02/12-II.3/75.

[30] Stifter, "Das politische Österreichbild," 131.

[31] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 1 February 1983, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6.

[32] Aktenvermerk Hinteregger, 25 February 1983, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6.

the theater cancelled its trip.[33] The Soviets were again outraged when the Vienna International Festival 1981 staged a play by Czech dissident Vaclav Havel. To retaliate, the Soviet side withdrew its participation in the festival. After the affair had calmed down, the *Burgtheater* finally traveled to Moscow in 1982 (albeit without Landovsky), and two years later the Kirov theater company toured Austria.

Cultural exchange, tourism, and the image of the other

Despite these and other[34] problems, there were also friendly developments in cultural relations. The June 1969 visit of the Soviet minister of cultural affairs to Austria ensured that cultural relations did not suffer from the Czechoslovakian crisis. In May 1972 Ekaterina Furtseva's Austrian counterpart, Fred Sinowatz, returned her visit. Each year Soviet-Austrian cultural exchange was specified by a memorandum on specific projects. In 1982, the agreement between the two academies of sciences, which had come into effect ten years earlier, was renewed.

In general, the Kreisky era was characterized by a considerable intensification in bilateral cultural exchanges – even though the Austrian embassy in Moscow criticized that Austria's cultural export was hindered by many obstacles, whereas the "Soviet Union, as a matter of course, expects all means of presenting its culture to be placed at its disposal in Austria."[35] The major emphasis clearly rested on high culture.[36] In 1971 the *Bolshoi* and *Staatsoper* companies toured through Austria and the USSR, respectively, in the following year the Albertina and Pushkin Museums exchanged traveling exhibits, and in 1974, the Vienna Symphony performed in the Soviet Union for two weeks. This tour led to a positive assessment by the Soviet Ministry of Culture, namely, that nowadays "the Austrian authorities pay a lot of attention to cultural contacts with the Soviet Union."[37] Musicians from both countries participated in festivals organized by the other side, such as the *Wiener Festwochen* and the Soviet Haydn festival in 1982. A year earlier, an Austrian tragicomedy about a passive Austrian bystander who unintentionally became a resister against the Nazi regime, *Der Bockerer*, was a contender in the Moscow film festival competition. The number of exchange students was, in the 1970s, doubled from five to ten students from each country annually, each staying for nine months, and in the

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[33] Hinteregger, *Im Auftrag Österreichs*, 250. Cf. Kulturelle Beziehungen, May 1982, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6, File Staatsbesuch Kirchschläger.

[34] In 1973, the director of the State Opera, Rudolf Gamsjäger, in a conversation with the Soviet ambassador in Austria, Aristov, complained that the Soviet Goskontsert agency had until then either declined or ignored Austrian proposals for a second tour of the State Opera to the USSR. Aristov to Furtseva, 15 January 1973, in AVPRF, 66/52/111/6, 2.

[35] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, On Soviet-Austrian Relations, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E-1736: Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

[36] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 103.

[37] Soviet Ministry of Culture to Soviet MFA, 7 May 1974, in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 107–114.

early 1980s, increased to twelve apiece. Moreover, from each side, four professors, three language teachers, and four language students were given the chance to study and do research in the other country for up to nine months.[38] These numbers were, however, still very low in comparison with other bilateral exchanges. From the mid-1970s, the Austrian Institute for Telecommunication Engineering regularly worked together with the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In 1982, a conference was convened on the history of bilateral relations between Austria and the USSR.[39] Among the Austrian participants were some revisionist historians who avoided harsh criticism of past Soviet policies. In the next years, Soviet research on Austria was intensified through the work of the analyst Abdulkhan Akhtamzian, who was based at the Moscow State Academy of International Relations, and by the historian and political scientist Ivan Zhiriakov.[40] Millions of copies of books by Austrian authors such as Zweig, Josef Roth, Rilke, Musil, Doderer, Csokor, as well as by more contemporary authors such as Bachmann, Frischmuth, Handke and Hochwälder continued to be published in Russian and were regularly exhibited in the USSR.[41]

Soviet and Austrian culture continued to be presented to the wider public by the Austrian-Soviet Society, under its president Anton Sattler and secretary Margaretha Klug, and the Soviet-Austrian Friendship Society, under its president Petr Alekseev, *Izvestiia's* editor in chief.[42] Since the communists in the ÖSG were no longer perceived as a political threat by Austrian officials, the minister for education and culture, Herta Firnberg, accepted the honorary presidency of the society. In 1979, the ÖSG headquarters were visited by the federal president, Rudolf Kirchschläger, who became a frequent honorary guest and speaker at the ceremonies and symposiums sponsored by the society. From 1974, the two societies regularly organized Austrian days in the USSR and Soviet days in Austria. Regional partnerships were established between Austrian provinces and Soviet republics such as Burgenland and Moldavia, Upper Austria and Ukraine, and Vorarlberg and Armenia; sister city partnerships were concluded between Dushanbe and Klagenfurt, Tbilisi and Innsbruck, as well as other cities.[43] In 1980, Austrian days were held in Ukraine, and in 1982, Uzbek days in Austria. In 1977 the ÖSG organized 1,149 events

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[38] File Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzler in der Sowjetunion, May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3; Kulturelle Beziehungen, May 1982, ibid., UdSSR 6, File Staatsbesuch Kirchschläger.

[39] Historikersektion der ÖSG (ed.), *Österreich und die Sowjetunion 1918–1955: Beiträge zur Geschichte der österreichisch-sowjetischen Beziehungen* (Vienna: ÖSG, 1984).

[40] Abdulchan Achtamsjan, "Die Sowjetunion und Österreich in der Zeit der Vorbereitung und des Abschlusses des Staatsvertrages 1945–1955," in Historikersektion, *Österreich und die Sowjetunion*, 131–144; Zhiriakov, *SSSR – Avstriia*; idem, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia.*

[41] Kulturelle Beziehungen, May 1982, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6, File Staatsbesuch Kirchschläger; *Sowjetunion heute* 26, no. 11 (1980), 15.

[42] *Sowjetunion heute* 27, no. 1 (1981), 14–15.

[43] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 112, 162; File ÖSG, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4.

with 578,413 visitors;[44] in 1979 the focus was on the upcoming Olympic Games in Moscow, which were promoted in traveling exhibits with twenty-nine stations all over Austria.[45]

The ÖSG regularly organized so-called Friendship Trains, bringing young people to the land of the soviets. In the early 1970s, about 5,000 Austrians visited the USSR annually. Soviet tourism in Austria reached approximately the same numbers, with roughly half of the Soviet visitors traveling on the Danube on cruise boats chartered by Inturist. These tourists stayed for an average of five days. Soviet tourists arriving by bus stayed an average of twelve days in Austria, four of them in Vienna.[46] By the end of the 1970s, the number of Soviet arrivals in Austria had climbed to more than 23,000 and overnight stays to more than 96,000 per annum. With the end of détente these numbers fell significantly. In 1982, the USSR ranked only twenty-ninth as the country of origin of tourists visiting Austria, falling even lower than such countries as Egypt, South Africa, or Mexico.[47]

In an opinion poll during the late 1970s, the Soviet Union ranked eighth (the same ranking as Hungary) of the countries and organizations Austrians wanted their homeland to have good and close relations with – behind the FRG, Switzerland, the United States, Italy, international organizations, Yugoslavia, and the Scandinavian countries.[48] Without the promotion of active cultural exchange and without détente in general, such a result could hardly be explained given the negative image of the Soviet invasion in Czechoslovakia and of the maltreatment of Soviet dissidents.

The dearth of official controversies did not mean, however, that the Soviet Union fully approved of Austria's political system and politics: While Kreisky and Sinowatz were usually portrayed in a favorable manner,[49] Soviet media in the late 1970s and early 1980s still reported disapprovingly about Austrian capitalism and "social partnership," highlighting the high rate of unemployment, and criticizing Austrian social democracy as compromising too much.[50] This apparently seemed necessary to the Soviet leadership inasmuch Austria was a capitalist state and, therefore, by definition according to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, necessarily had to suffer from social tensions and crises.[51] On 8 January 1983, *Pravda* charged Austria with being too tolerant with regard to neo-Nazis.[52] Since the 1940s the Soviet

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Annual report ÖSG on 1977, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4.

Annual report ÖSG on 1979, ibid.

Information über den Touristenverkehr, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

Information Wirtschaftsbeziehungen, May 1982, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6, File Staatsbesuch Kirchschläger.

Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 100.

Stifter, "Das politische Österreichbild," 190, 199.

Lobova, "Die Moskauer Perzeption," 115. Cf. *Pravda*, 6 October 1976.

Information, Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Zl. 12.285–PI/73, 25 June 1975, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 2.

Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik 23 (1983), 33.

press had repeatedly pointed out the threat of neo-Nazism. Particularly during the phase of Austria's EEC ambitions in the 1960s and when the neo-Nazi NDP was founded in Austria in 1967, Radio Moscow and *Izvestiia* had accused Austria of tolerating neo-Nazism, and they continued to do so whenever it seemed appropriate to issue a warning towards the Austrian government.[53] Interestingly, Soviet and Austrian-communist attacks against the FPÖ as an allegedly pan-German and neo-Nazi party, which had been repeatedly named in Soviet media as one of the forces responsible for Austria's striving towards the EEC, began to be fewer after 1968.[54] In the mid-1970s, internal Soviet reports and its media sharply criticized both the existence of approximately thirty organizations with allegedly neo-Nazi leanings and the Austrian government's argument that banning them would make it more difficult to monitor their members' activities.[55] Further Soviet concern was expressed about annual gatherings of former Sudeten Germans in Austria.[56] The demonstrations in Vienna against NATO rearmament by members of the Austrian anti-war movement were praised by Soviet media,[57] but not a word was said about the marches against the Soviet war in Afghanistan.

The 1972 riots against bilingual town signs being erected, on the order of Kreisky, in Slovene and German-speaking Carinthian communities were described in the Soviet press as an "alarming sign of an anachronistic nationalism" of the Carinthian German-speaking population.[58] Until then, the fate of the Slovene minority in southern Austria had not been an issue in Soviet-Austrian relations. Despite the fact that in 1949 the USSR had made sure that an article concerning the protection of the ethnic minorities in Austria was included in the state treaty,[59] the most the Soviet ambassador undertook in this regard was to hand over Slovene complaints about Austria's nonfulfillment of the resulting obligations. When representatives of the Slovene minority, one year after the signing of the state treaty, filed a protest with the Austrian government about the insufficient implementation of the article, the Soviet side decided "not to take any further steps" but "to carefully watch over

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[53] Stifter, "Das politische Österreichbild," 172. Cf. G. Nikolajew, "Die Neonazis in Österreich," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 37 (1969), 30–31.

[54] Moser, "Die Stellung der Kommunistischen Partei Österreichs," 59.

[55] Report, 28 April 1975, in AVPRF, 66/54/115/13, 34–35. Cf. I. Melnikow, "nicht verharmlosen!," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 2 (1979), 14.

[56] Telegram Austrian embassy New York to Austrian MFA, 24 September 1968, in ÖStA, AdR, BMAA, II-Pol, GZ. 164.082–6/69, Z. 164.089; Radio Moscow, 24 May 1977.

[57] Y. Kalugin, "Facts and Figures: Austria," in *International Affairs*, no. 1 (January 1984), 141.

[58] Information, Bundesministerium für Auswärtige Angelegenheiten, Zl. 12.285–PI/73, 25 June 1975, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 2.

[59] Stourzh, *Um Einheit und Freiheit*, 155–161. Cf. Franz Matscher, "Die Minderheitenregelungen im Staatsvertrag," in Arnold Suppan, Gerald Stourzh, and Wolfgang Mueller (eds.), *The Austrian State Treaty 1955: International Strategy, Legal Relevance, National Identity* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 783–819.

the implementation" of the relevant matters.[60] In the spring of 1957, the Soviet ambassador handed over a further Slovene protest addressed to the four powers about Austria's laxness in protecting the rights of the Slovene minority.[61]

Three years after the bilingual signs had been forcefully removed by Austrian nationalists, the Soviet embassy, in an internal report, stated that conditions for the Slovene-speaking minority in Carinthia, which had been discriminated against by Austria for decades, had not changed. They had been defamed and provoked, not only by Carinthian *Heimat* organizations and the right-wing FPÖ, but also by the nationalist wing of the conservative People's Party and even by the social democrats' provincial branch. Thus, the embassy stated, the anti-Semitic attacks by Carinthian nationalists and social democrats against Kreisky that had followed his order regarding the bilingual signs were the "peculiar finale of a development of which his own party is also guilty."[62] However, the Soviet side was reluctant to side openly with Yugoslavia, which, on its side, was involved in quarrels with Bulgaria over questions concerning Macedonia. Furthermore, the nonregulation of the Carinthian problem provided the Soviet Union a lever over the governments of both Yugoslavia and Austria. After the disintegration of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the issue, due to the populist stance of Carinthia's provincial administration and the passivity of the Austrian government, is, in 2010, still unresolved.

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[60] Timoshchenko to Lapin, 23 June 1956, in AVPRF, 66/35/66/24, 9. A copy of the note of protest ibid., 10.

[61] Conversation Lapin with Figl, 28 March 1957, in AVPRF, 66/36/68/10, 12–14.

[62] Report Romanov, On the state treaty and the Slovene minority, 18 April 1975, in AVPRF, 66/54/115/13, 1–30.

12. Booming, but not Enough: Economic Relations

Soviet-Austrian relations in the 1970s were clearly concentrated on economic questions. This was due, at least partially, to the fact that, for the Austrian side, economic relations did not develop as well as might have been expected. The main legal framework had been formed by a five-year trade agreement signed in 1970. During Kosygin's visit in 1973, the first ten-year program on economic, scientific-technical, and industrial cooperation was agreed upon, and in 1975 a ten-year agreement on the exchange of goods and payments followed. On the occasion of Kreisky's 1978 trip to Moscow, a memorandum on the expansion of bilateral trade and economic cooperation was signed, which led to the conclusion of the 1981–90 long-term program on development and broadening of economic cooperation.[1] In 1985 this agreement was extended for another decade. In addition to these bilateral treaties, from 1975 the USSR, concurrent to its aim of negotiating an agreement between the CMEA and the EC,[2] pressed Austria to start negotiations on a treaty with the Eastern economic bloc.[3]

Industrial cooperation was overseen by the Soviet-Austrian Mixed Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, founded in 1968. It met annually under the chairmanship of the two countries' ministers for foreign trade. The agreements signed in 1973 and 1975 on scientific, technical, and industrial cooperation made such bilateral projects easier.[4] Again, Austria (after Finland and France) was among the first Western countries to sign agreements on long-term economic and scientific cooperation with the USSR.[5] Areas of cooperation included the building of industrial plants and infrastructure, Soviet participation in the planning of power stations and oil refineries in Austria, and Austrian contributions to the planning and construction of Soviet freeways, steel plants, paper mills, and chemical factories, as

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[1] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 105–106.

[2] Mueller, "Die UdSSR und die europäische Integration," 651–657.

[3] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 27 April 1981, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6.

[4] **Abkommen über die Entwicklung der wirtschaftlichen, wissenschaftlich-technischen und indu**striellen Zusammenarbeit zwischen Österreich und der UdSSR, 1 February 1973; Programm zur Vertiefung der österreichisch-sowjetischen wirtschaftlichen, wissenschaftlich-technischen und industriellen Zusammenarbeit, 3 July 1973; Langfristiges Abkommen über den Waren- und Zahlungsverkehr zwischen Österreich und der UdSSR, 30 May 1975, in Mayrzedt and Hummer, *20 Jahre österreichische Neutralitäts- und Europapolitik* 2, 153–164. Cf. Max Fälbl, "Die österreichisch-sowjetischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen: Zum Besuch des Außenhandelsministers des UdSSR, N. S. Patoličev, in Österreich," in *Österreichische Osthefte* 15, no. 1 (1973), 12–19.

[5] Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 105.

well as factories for food, machine-building, wood-working, and rail construction. Among the first Austrian companies to cooperate with Soviet firms were the state-owned steel producers VOEST-Alpine and Schöller-Bleckmann, Chemie Linz, and the machine-building factories Haid, Plasser & Theurer, and Voith. Although it might have been perceived an affront to other beer brewing areas such as Bavaria and Bohemia, it was the Austrian beer brewery Schwechater that negotiated with the Soviet breweries "Stepan Razin" and "Krasnaia Bavaria" [Red Bavaria] and provided them needed equipment.[6] In 1978, five or six Austrian companies were involved in joint Austrian-Soviet projects, but by the 1980s the numbers had risen to more than a hundred. They were involved in ventures with a volume of 300 million schillings.[7] Between 1980 and 1985, 204 Austrian patents were registered in the USSR, and, respectively, 300 Soviet patents in Austria. In order to carry out financial transactions, an office of the Soviet Donaubank opened in Vienna in 1974.

In 1981 alone, more than one hundred Austrian companies presented their products at seventeen international exhibits and fairs in the USSR. Austria continued chiefly to sell finished or semi-finished products and capital goods such as boats, factory equipment, and machinery (35.5 percent of Austrian exports to the USSR in 1974), iron, steel and metal products (23.6 percent), chemicals and pharmaceuticals (10.5 percent), textiles, shoe leather and rubber products (9.5 percent), consumer goods (8.9 percent),[8] and from 1982, wheat. Some 75 percent of the Soviet deliveries consisted of energy sources such as gas, oil, and coal, as well as various types of ore, pulp, and wood. In 1968, the USSR began to sell natural gas, and by 1971 the volume had reached 1.5 billion cubic meters per annum. In 1973, Austria expressed its interest in increasing gas imports to 4.5 billion. The Soviet side was ready to increase deliveries to 2.5 billion in return for Austrian pipes and material for pipelines, and in 1974, 1975, and 1982 protocols were concluded concerning additional deliveries. Moreover, in 1974 Austria signed a contract for Soviet uranium deliveries to supply Austria's first nuclear power plant – a project that, due to a negative referendum, in the end was aborted. Another field of Soviet-Austrian bartering was a 1975–79 deal between VOEST-Alpine and the USSR concerning Austrian deliveries of sheet steel in return for 700,000 tons of Soviet iron ore per annum.[9] By 1979, VOEST-Alpine's exports of sheet steel to

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[6] Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology to Soviet MFA, 30 April 1974, in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 96–102.

[7] Zhiriakov, *SSSR – Avstriia*, 136–137. Cf. Gregor Riedl, "Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Österreich und der Sowjetunion im Zeitraum von 1965 bis 1980" (MA Thesis, Vienna, 1983).

[8] Report Soviet embassy Vienna to Soviet MFA, 18 April 1974, in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 27–31.

[9] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 4 January 1980, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 5. In the negotiations during Kosygin's visit, the Soviet side had offered 350,000 tons of iron ore and 750,000 tons of coal per annum. Report Soviet embassy Vienna to Soviet MFA, 18 April 1974, in AVPRF, 66/53/114/12, 27–31.

the USSR had reached 252,000 tons for automobile production, and 129,000 tons for pipes.[10]

Altogether, Soviet-Austrian trade in the 1970s was characterized by a sharp increase in the exchange of goods. The first half of the decade was the heyday of Austria's *Osthandel*, which grew faster than Austrian exports to OECD countries. In the 1960s, it had taken ten years for Soviet-Austrian trade to double. However, in the 1970s, only five years were needed for it to double, and by 1984, Soviet-Austrian trade had quadrupled. Within one decade, Soviet imports of Austrian machinery even quintupled.[11] Nevertheless, the Soviet share of Austrian trade remained relatively constant. Of Austrian imports, it ranged between 1.9 percent in 1973 and 6.2 percent in 1981, on average about 3.8 percent; as a receiver of Austrian exports, the USSR remained between 2.8 (1976) and 4.5 percent (1984). Of the destinations of Austria's exports to CMEA states, in this period the USSR fell from number one to number four (behind Hungary, Poland and the CSSR). This was reflected by the fact that the Austrian share in the imports of non-Soviet CMEA states, which reached about 5 percent in the 1970s, was higher than the Austrian share in Soviet imports (below 1 percent).[12] However, of the East European countries, from which Austria imported goods, the USSR, due to its exports of energy sources, remained in first position.[13]

Table 4: Soviet-Austrian trade 1973–1984

	Austrian exports	Change from previous year	Share of Soviet imports	Soviet exports	Change from previous year	Share of Austrian imports	Balance
1973	1,776.6	–18.4	0.5	2,650.7	1.1	1.9	–874.1
1974	3,511.8	97.7	0.9	4,423.7	66.9	2.6	–911.9
1975	3,762.2	7.1	0.8	5,543.8	25.3	3.4	–1,781.6
1976	4,244.6	12.8	0.7	7,533.2	35.9	3.7	–3,288.6
1977	4,607.9	8.6	0.9	8,422.2	11.8	3.6	–3,814.3
1978	5,375.8	16.7	0.8	8,870.6	5.3	3.8	–3,494.8
1979	6,822.4	26.9	1.0	10,269.3	15.8	3.8	–3,446.9
1980	6,177.3	–9.5	0.9	13,262.4	29.1	4.2	–7,085.1
1981	7,719.0	25.0	0.9	20,854.9	57.2	6.2	–13,135.9
1982	9,409.7	21.9	0.9	16,866.7	–19.1	5.1	–7,457.0
1983	10,782.3	14.6	1.3	14,856.0	–11.9	4.3	–4,073.7
1984	14,072.9	30.5	1.3	19,625.3	32.1	5.0	–5,552.4

Source: Butschek, *Statistische Reihen*; *Vneshniaia togovlia*
Exports in millions of Austrian schillings; changes and shares in percent.

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[10] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 7 March 1980, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 5.
[11] A. Podkopayev, "International Economic Cooperation USSR – Austria," in *International Affairs*, no. 2 (February 1984), 145–147, 146.
[12] *OECD Economic Outlook* 28 (1980), 125. On the Austrian share in Soviet imports, see below, pages 240– 241.
[13] Information Bundeskanzleramt, Zl. 72.535/30–7/74, 15 May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

The soaring growth had two main reasons and did not come without problems. The first reason was Brezhnev's attempt to solve economic problems by importing Western technology. From the twenty-fourth congress of the CPSU in 1971 until 1975, Soviet foreign trade grew by 186 percent, with its focus on Western countries;[14] the Western share of Soviet foreign trade rose from 14 percent in 1970 to 34 in 1980.[15] The second reason was the growing Austrian need for Soviet natural gas and other fuels, whose imports jumped from 4,155 million schillings in 1975 (with total Austrian imports from the USSR worth 5,544 million) to 18,661 million in 1981 (with total Austrian imports worth 20,855 million). [16]

Austria's dependency and trade deficit

The first problematic tendency resulting from this development was Austria's growing dependency. In the 1970s, more than 95 percent of Austrian imports of natural gas and more than 66 percent of Austria's annual consumption came from the USSR. In addition, Austria imported 79 percent of its coal and 53 percent of its electricity from the CMEA, making it the OECD country with the highest energy dependency on the Eastern bloc.[17] In 1982, the fourth agreement on Soviet natural gas deliveries was signed, covering the period until 2000.[18] For Hanspeter Neuhold, professor of international relations, these figures raised "the question of whether Austria's dependence on East European energy is so heavy that it also constitutes a political problem and may pose a threat to the country's security in crisis situations."[19] In the political discourse, Neuhold cautioned, such questions weren't tackled seriously enough by political leaders. As opinion polls of 1981 indicate, Austrians were aware of their dependency. However, 79 percent considered this dependency unavoidable and 78 percent expressed the opinion that it did not restrict Austria's freedom of action. In 1985, Helmut Liedermann, the Austrian ambassador to Moscow, also recommended diversifying Austria's energy imports – without much success, as it turned out.[20] Today Austria still imports more than 60 percent of its natural gas consumption and more than 90 percent of its natural gas imports from Russia.

[14] Joseph Nogee and Robert Donaldson, *Soviet Foreign Policy since World War II* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 281.

[15] Hauke, "Handelspolitik und Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen," 219.

[16] Cf. Information Austrian Ministry for Trade and Industry, Zl. 21.198.6/4–II-6/78, January 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[17] Skuhra, "Austria and the New Cold War," 131.

[18] Podkopayev, "International Economic Cooperation USSR – Austria," 146.

[19] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 101f. Cf. Harald Glatz, "Abhängigkeit im Bereich von Rohstoffen und Energie," in Helmut Kramer et al., *Österreich im internationalen System: Zusammenfassung der Ergebnisse und Ausblick* (Vienna: Braumüller, 1983), 118–127.

[20] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, On Soviet-Austrian Relations, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E-1736: Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

In addition, the dependence of many Austrian exporting industries on the Soviet market, as had developed in the 1960s, increased. This led to problems as well, as many businesses in neutral countries relying on the "secure" export of their products to the East became less competitive in the West,[21] running thereby into existential problems once the Soviet orders ceased to be regular. A special case study for this kind of development was the Korneuburg ship building industry, which over the previous thirty years had sold its large sea vessels almost exclusively to the USSR,[22] among them more than 160 barges, ships, and cruise boats, including the famous "Anton Chekhov" riverboat.[23] When Soviet orders slowed, the state-owned shipyards suffered a downturn; they were sold and, in 1993, closed down.[24] Another example of this kind of dependence was a pipe plant in Kindberg, which also produced almost exclusively for the Soviet market and was, from the late 1980s, left without orders.[25]

A second problematic development in Soviet-Austrian trade during the Kreisky era was that the balance turned steadily against Austria. Until 1970, due to several clearing agreements, trade had been generally balanced, with a slight tilt against the USSR. The trade agreement signed in 1970 was the first to have no fixed quotas and to clear in freely convertible currency. During the oil crisis of the 1970s, the agreement did not provide Austria any protection against skyrocketing energy prices. Between 1970 and 1974, the price of oil increased by almost 200 percent and the price of natural gas was quick to follow. Whereas in 1970, the USSR had charged Austria 485 million schillings for 931,000 tons of oil, in 1974 the price had more than doubled to 1.3 billion schillings for only 841,000 tons.[26] The same tendencies affected the price of natural gas. In 1975, Austria had spent 1.5 billion schillings on natural gas imports from Russia; by 1981 it had become 11 billion.[27] As a consequence, during the two oil crises 1973–74 and 1980–81, the value of Soviet exports to Austria jumped some 66.9 percent and 57 percent respectively. While Austria's exports jumped an even higher margin (in 1974 some 97 percent) and Austrians were able to shift their exports somewhat to products with a higher value added, including chemicals, increasingly they lagged behind Austrian energy imports. In 1977, Austrian imports from the USSR were 1.8 times higher than Austrian exports, in 1982 it was even 2.7 times. The exploding Austrian trade deficit

[21] Bengt Sundelius, "Dilemmas and Strategies for the Neutral Democracies," in idem (ed.), *The Neutral Democracies in the New Cold War* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 11–32, esp. 18.

[22] Hinteregger, *Im Auftrag Österreichs*, 238.

[23] Zhiriakov, *SSSR – Avstriia*, 134.

[24] Stefan Wunderl, "Die Geschichte der Schiffswerft Klosterneuburg" (MA Thesis, Vienna, 2008).

[25] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, On Soviet-Austrian Relations, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E-1736: Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

[26] Resch, "Der österreichische Osthandel," 535.

[27] Hubert Isak, "Österreichs Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen," in Renate Kicker, Andreas Khol, Hanspeter Neuhold (eds.), *Außenpolitik und Demokratie in Österreich: Strukturen – Strategien – Stellungnahmen* (Salzburg: Neugebauer, 1983), 259–288, 268.

with the Soviet Union[28] of more than 3.8 billion schillings (1977) became the main topic of Kreisky's visit to the Kremlin in 1978.[29] While Brezhnev dismissed the deficit as temporary and – in comparison with Austria's trade deficit with the FRG – small, Kreisky and Staribacher aimed at scouting out Soviet orders. Although the chancellor was accompanied by a large delegation of industrialists, the trend remained unchanged: Austria continued to import more, and more expensive, Soviet gas, but was unable to sell enough goods to compensate for these energy purchases. The second oil crisis in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution of 1979 reinforced this trend. From 1979 to 1981 the Austrian trade deficit almost quadrupled, to 13.1 billion schillings.

This was, at least in part, a consequence of the Soviet cutback on imports of Western machinery in the second half of the 1970s.[30] Another reason was Austria's inability to adapt to a growing competitiveness in Soviet foreign trade. In 1960 and due to the compensation for the economic provisions of the state treaty, neutral Austria had possessed a good position among Western countries as a trading partner of the USSR. When détente started to bear fruit and the USSR liberalized its foreign trade, the pressure of competition among West European trading partners of the USSR grew. This was correctly recognized by the Austrian side:[31] its importance as a Western partner of the Soviet Union sank, and the country's share in Soviet foreign trade dropped in comparison to other Western states. In the second half of the 1960s, France had extended large loans to the USSR, thus becoming an important Western trading partner of the Kremlin. By the 1970s, West Germany, which in 1970 had concluded an agreement on selling 1.2 million tons of large-diameter steel pipes for pipelines in return for buying Soviet natural gas, had already surpassed France considerably.[32] In 1972, the FRG became (again, for the first time since 1960) the most important Western trading partner of the USSR – a position it would develop and uninterruptedly defend until 2009. Particularly on the Soviet import market for iron, steel, and chemicals, Austrian exporters had to cede to Western competitors, mostly from West Germany, France, and Italy. While Soviet-Austrian trade in 1955 had reached roughly the same volume as that between the Soviet Union and West Germany, the latter in 1973 was more than six time bigger. The Austrian share in Soviet imports from OECD countries plunged from 4.3 percent in 1965 to 1.7 percent in 1976. This was paralleled by a decline in the importance of

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[28] Ilse Korenjak, "Die Entwicklung des österreichisch-sowjetischen Außenhandels 1955 bis 1982" (MA Thesis, Vienna, 1983), 104.

[29] Conversation Kreisky with Kosygin, 7 February 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3; Kreisky with Brezhnev, ibid; Staribacher Diary, 6–8 February 1978, in SBKA.

[30] Hanson, *The Rise and the Fall of the Soviet Economy*, 156.

[31] File Offizieller Besuch des Herrn Bundeskanzler in der Sowjetunion, May 1974, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[32] Loth, *Overcoming the Cold War*, 106; Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Soviet Foreign Policy since World War II* (New York: Harper Collins, 1992), 127–128.

other neutral states like Sweden and Finland, whose shares in Soviet imports from OECD countries also dropped, from 3.5 to 1.7 percent and from 17 to 9.9 percent respectively. In contrast, the share of West Germany and the United States, which had formerly been considered hostile countries to the USSR, rose from 10.9 to 19.6 percent and from 3.3 to 12.8 percent.[33]

Although it fell significantly after the Austrian post-state treaty deliveries to the Soviet Union were over, the Austrian share in Soviet imports, over the 1970s, remained around 0.8 percent. As the table and the diagram below indicate, this was much less than the share of leading Western exporters such as the FRG, where between 3.1 (1970) and 7.3 percent (1975) of all Soviet imports originated, France (2.3 to 3.2 percent), and Italy (1.9 to 3 percent). The Austrian share was also much smaller than that of other neutral or nonaligned states such as Finland (2.6 to 4.1 percent) or Yugoslavia (2.1 to 4.8 percent). This does not call into question the obvious fact that Austria's share in Soviet imports was often larger than the shares of other Western economies of comparable size. Particularly in the 1960s and the 1980s, Austria thus ranked higher than Belgium, Sweden, and Switzerland (which prior to the creation of a bilateral trade commission in 1973 had developed almost no trade with the USSR[34]), despite having been surpassed by Sweden in the 1970s and by all of them in 1975.

Disadvantages to Austrian trade were a consequence of this international trend resulting from détente. These were reinforced by various factors, one being high Austrian prices. The Austrian Ministry of Trade, which had warned of a "shortage of orders" from the mid-1970s, had to concede that in many cases, the bids of Austrian companies, such as tenders for pipes or for pipe cleaning machinery, had not been competitive enough. Negotiations on new Soviet orders were therefore "disappointing"; the Soviet side estimated the value of Soviet orders not secured in 1976–77 by Austrian firms due to their lack of competitiveness at 100 million rubles.[35] In the case of a gas purification plant bought by the USSR in 1978, the Italian offer was some 20 percent less than the Austrian one.[36] In another case, the USSR accepted France's bid for a reprocessing plant for natural gas. Such disadvantages seem to have been made even worse by a lack of coordination and skill, as well as by the negligence of Austrian companies to attempt to overcome the rising obstacles. On the occasion of his 1976 trip to the Soviet Union, Minister of Trade Staribacher was, in his own words, "exasperated" with the low quality of informa-

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[33] Various statistics, Austrian Ministry for Trade and Industry, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3; Eberhard Schulz, *Moskau und die europäische Integration* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1975), 230–231.

[34] Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 151.

[35] Information, Austrian Ministry for Trade and Industry, Zl. 21.198.6/4–II-6/78, January 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 3.

[36] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, 26 January 1978, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 4.

Table 5: Soviet foreign trade with selected Western, neutral, and nonaligned countries in million rubles, 1955–1990

Year	1955 Mio.R.	%	1960 Mio.R.	%	1965 Mio.R.	%	1970 Mio.R.	%	1975 Mio.R.	%	1980 Mio.R.	%	1985 Mio.R.	%	1990 Mio.R.	%
Total	**5838.5**	**100**	**10071.1**	**100**	**14597.9**	**100**	**22078.6**	**100**	**50704.3**	**100**	**94097.3**	**100**	**141565.6**	**100**	**131484.4**	**100**
Imports	2754.5	100	5065.6	100	7248.4	100	10558.6	100	26670.6	100	44462.8	100	69101.9	100	70727.6	100
Austria	**44.4**	**0.8**	**115.8**	**1.1**	**102.3**	**0.7**	**154.9**	**0.7**	**444.8**	**0.9**	**976.2**	**1.0**	**1663.2**	**1.2**	**1683.6**	**1.3**
Imports	32.0	1.1	72.3	1.4	59.8	0.8	88.2	0.8	226.6	0.8	396.0	0.9	858.6	1.2	1133.7	1.6
Belgium	**35.4**	**0.6**	**46.3**	**0.5**	**73.6**	**0.5**	**149.0**	**0.7**	**529.8**	**1.0**	**1225.3**	**1.3**	**1439.5**	**1.0**	**1313.0**	**1.0**
Imports	13.7	0.4	19.9	0.4	28.2	0.4	75.0	0.7	286.2	1.1	383.1	0.9	581.4	0.8	393.9	0.6
Finland	**210.6**	**3.6**	**264.1**	**2.6**	**404.5**	**2.8**	**530.7**	**2.4**	**1755.5**	**3.5**	**3888.6**	**4.1**	**4985.7**	**3.5**	**3769.4**	**3.0**
Imports	115.0	4.2	129.8	2.6	213.6	2.9	272.4	2.6	837.3	3.1	1865.1	4.1	2686.6	3.8	2126.7	3.0
France	**86.2**	**1.5**	**183.3**	**1.8**	**202.2**	**1.4**	**412.8**	**1.9**	**1296.5**	**2.6**	**3752.7**	**4.0**	**3777.6**	**2.7**	**2749.1**	**2.1**
Imports	32.5	1.1	116.9	2.3	102.9	1.4	286.8	2.7	800.8	3.0	1510.3	3.3	1603.2	2.3	1111.6	1.6
FRG+W.Berlin	**47.7**	**0.8**	**286.2**	**2.8**	**253.3**	**1.7**	**568.8**	**2.5**	**2874.2**	**5.5**	**6084.4**	**6.1**	**7494.0**	**5.0**	*** 19463.1**	**14.8**
Imports	21.4	0.8	181.5	3.6	122.6	1.7	337.6	3.1	1948.0	7.3	2988.9	6.7	3243.2	4.7	12533.4	17.7
Italy	**30.4**	**0.5**	**173.7**	**1.7**	**224.5**	**1.5**	**471.9**	**2.1**	**1426.8**	**2.8**	**3034.3**	**3.2**	**3792.6**	**2.7**	**3979.6**	**3.0**
Imports	14.7	0.5	81.3	1.6	91.5	1.3	281.4	2.7	788.8	3.0	933.5	2.0	1325.0	1.9	1787.4	2.5
Japan	**3.6**	**0.1**	**123.9**	**1.2**	**326.0**	**2.2**	**652.3**	**3.0**	**1922.4**	**3.8**	**2722.8**	**2.9**	**3214.9**	**2.3**	**3535.4**	**2.7**
Imports	1.6	0.1	55.4	1.1	159.6	2.2	310.9	2.9	1253.5	4.7	1772.6	3.9	2286.9	3.3	2100.6	3.0
Netherlands	**59.7**	**1.0**	**62.6**	**0.6**	**84.4**	**0.6**	**222.9**	**1.0**	**451.0**	**0.9**	**1387.5**	**1.5**	**1300.1**	**0.9**	**2181.4**	**1.7**
Imports	30.1	1.1	18.6	0.4	27.0	0.4	71.7	0.7	142.2	0.5	360.5	0.5	313.5	0.5	338.7	0.5
Sweden	**41.0**	**0.7**	**89.6**	**0.9**	**98.4**	**0.7**	**234.9**	**1.1**	**545.4**	**1.1**	**676.9**	**0.7**	**798.4**	**0.6**	**950.9**	**0.7**
Imports	15.3	0.6	41.5	0.8	47.5	0.6	129.5	1.2	255.9	1.0	322.0	0.7	306.3	0.4	464.9	0.6
Switzerland	**11.2**	**0.2**	**12.9**	**0.1**	**28.1**	**0.2**	**95.1**	**0.4**	**323.2**	**0.6**	**847.6**	**0.9**	**950.7**	**0.7**	**1190.3**	**0.9**
Imports	3.7	0.1	9.5	0.2	12.2	0.2	70.5	0.7	233.5	0.9	402.5	0.9	566.9	0.8	961.5	1.4
UK	**216.2**	**3.7**	**270.5**	**2.7**	**396.6**	**2.7**	**641.4**	**2.9**	**959.3**	**1.9**	**1811.8**	**1.9**	**1901.6**	**1.3**	**2823.2**	**2.1**
Imports	64.0	2.3	97.3	1.9	136.8	1.9	223.2	2.1	386.2	1.4	952.6	2.1	683.8	1.0	957.6	1.4
USA	**21.9**	**0.4**	**76.1**	**0.8**	**88.7**	**0.6**	**160.9**	**0.7**	**1599.5**	**3.2**	**1502.5**	**1.6**	**2702.5**	**1.9**	**2709.8**	**2.1**
Imports	0.5	0.0	53.9	1.1	58.2	0.8	103.1	1.0	1462.1	5.5	1351.5	3.0	2376.4	3.4	2153.8	3.0
Yugoslavia	**30.5**	**0.5**	**97.4**	**1.0**	**300.4**	**2.1**	**519.8**	**2.4**	**1558.4**	**3.1**	**3849.7**	**4.1**	**6056.8**	**4.3**	**4025.3**	**3.1**
Imports	15.7	0.6	47.8	0.9	169.8	2.3	226.3	2.1	776.0	2.9	1780.3	4.0	3338.9	4.8	2197.2	3.1

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* 1990 numbers refer to trade with the FRG, GDR, and West Berlin. Source: *Vneshniaia torgovlia SSSR za 1959–1963* (1955–60); *Vneshniaia torgovlia SSSR 1922–1981* (1960; 1970–80); *Vneshniaia torgovlia SSSR za 1965 god* (1965); *Vneshniaia torgovlia SSSR za 1985* (1985); *Vneshnie ekonomicheskie sviazi SSSR*. Italics indicate calculated numbers.

Figure 5.1: Shares in Soviet imports from selected Western, neutral, and nonaligned countries, 1955–1990
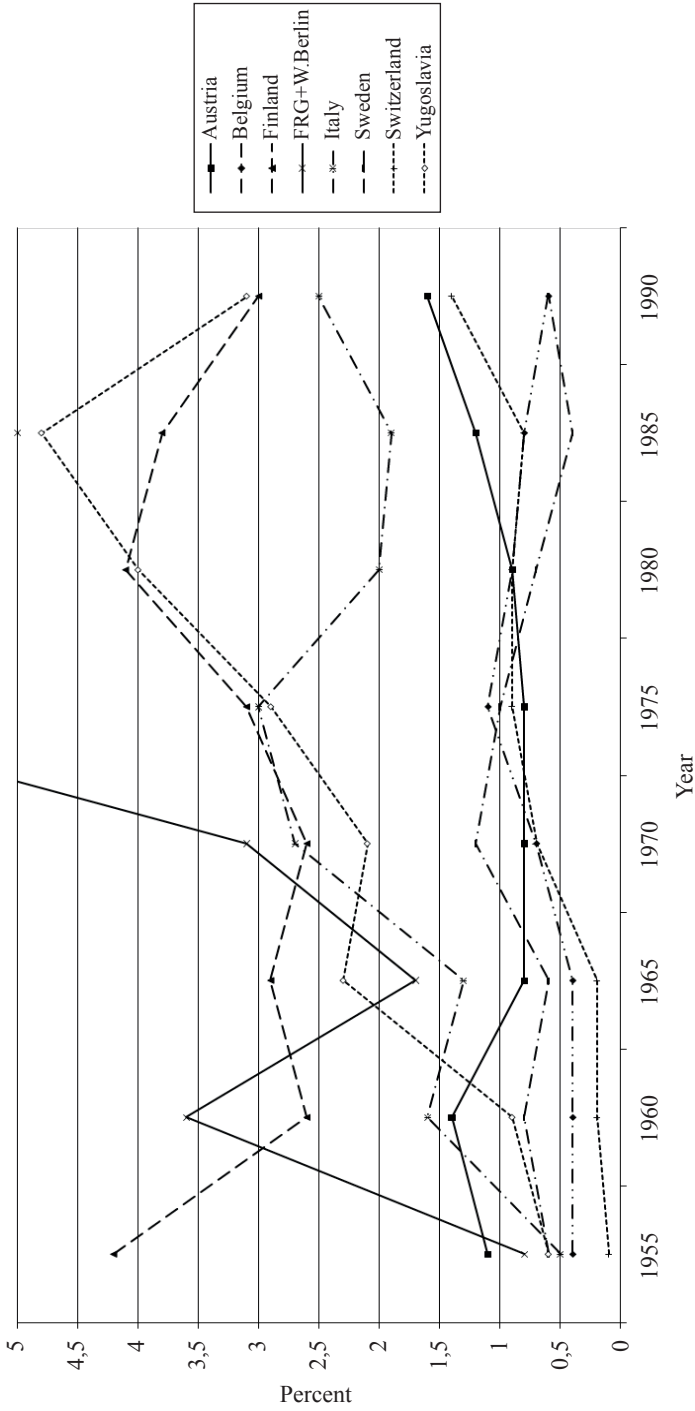
tion material prepared by a major Austrian company that had hoped to secure some Soviet orders.[37] As Ambassador Hinteregger pointed out, many Austrian firms sent junior managers to Moscow, who had no chance of making direct contacts with Soviet decision makers. In addition, in the negotiations on a Soviet-West European pipeline, Austria had not prepared a careful plan with regard to pipes, gas, and loans.[38] His successor Liedermann stated sarcastically that in order to gain Soviet orders it was no longer sufficient to rely on the "Vine Louse Effect," which had characterized Soviet-Austrian relations in 1955.[39]

When the USSR announced in 1978 that the Olympic Village for the 1980 Games would be built exclusively by Soviet companies, and all efforts to establish a joint venture to assemble Soviet Lada Taiga and Niva cars in Austria failed,[40] the Austrian embassy expressed its "disappointment" that Austria – despite the increase in bilateral trade – had not received a major Soviet order for more than fifteen years.[41] In particular, the embassy complained about the Soviet "discrimination" against Austria as compared to West Germany, whose fine trading position with the USSR had not been harmed by its boycott of the Moscow Olympic Games – a fact that should be considered by those who, for trade reasons, oppose boycotting mass events that are used for political purposes such as the Olympic Games despite violations of human rights in the organizing country.

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[37] Staribacher Diaries, 16–21 July 1976, in SBKA.

[38] Amtsvermerk Hinteregger, 14 October 1981, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6; Hinteregger, "Erinnerungen an Moskau," 247.

[39] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, On Soviet-Austrian Relations, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL E-1736: Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338. According to a 1955 cartoon by E. H. Köhler, the Austrian delegation in April 1955 had won Soviet consent to signing the state treaty by performing the *Heurigen* song "*Die Reblaus*" ("The Vine Louse"). *Simplicissimus*, no. 17 (1955), 3. Cf. http://www.demokratiezentrum.org/wissen/galleries/zum-staatsvertrag-gallery.html?index=1058.

[40] Hinteregger, "Erinnerungen an Moskau," 249–250. Talks on the project had been a major focus of Foreign Minister Willibald Pahr's visit to Moscow in December 1978. *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 18 (1978), 299. On the visit, cf. W. Jelagin, "Entspannungsfördernd," in *Neue Zeit*, no. 52 (1978), 17.

[41] Austrian embassy Moscow to Austrian MFA, July 1980, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6.

13. The Final Peak of the Cold War

The final peak of the Cold War had many causes. During the years of détente, the Soviet Union had continued the arms race and annually assigned about 8 percent of its GDP and 16.5 percent of its budget for the armed forces and weaponry; if one includes indirect costs related to the military industry, altogether 40 percent of the country's budget was spent on military build-up.[1] In the decade following 1972, the USSR built more than 4,100 ground-based and sea-launched Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, whereas the United States produced about 920. While Soviet dissidents criticized the "ruinous super-militarization"[2] of their country and saw the signs of a deepening economic and societal crisis, the ailing Brezhnev, addicted to tranquillizers and on the edge of physical and mental collapse, "followed the lead of the military."[3] His gerontocratic successors Iurii Andropov, who in a brief period at the helm of the Kremlin staged a new wave of persecution of dissidents, and Konstantin Chernenko, who was not fit for any political initiatives at all, did nothing to avert the imminent breakdown.

In the West, the USSR was again perceived as a menace. New heavy and flexible Soviet intermediate-range "Pioneer" missiles, the so-called SS-20, which were deployed from 1976 by the hundreds in Eastern Europe, led to NATO's Double-Track Decision to offer arms limitation talks to the Warsaw Pact and, if they failed, to deploy new Western missiles. The violations of human rights in the Soviet Union, in particular the issue of Jewish migration, the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, and the invocation of martial law in Poland, which were all followed by Western sanctions against the Eastern regimes, contributed to the breakdown of détente. This was marked by the US refusal to ratify SALT-II and a sharp upsurge in Soviet anti-Western propaganda, in particular against Jimmy Carter and the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) of his successor Ronald Reagan.[4] Further nails were hammered into détente's coffin in the fall of 1983, when the Soviet air force shot down a civilian South Korean airplane, leaving all 269 people on board dead, and when the Soviet delegation walked out of the arms control negotiations in Geneva.

In Soviet statements of the early 1980s, it was repeated that "peaceful coexistence" was not to be mistaken for "détente," but rather "a specific instrument of the

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[1] Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 208, 242, 277.

[2] Quoted in Wolkogonow, *Die sieben Führer*, 282. Cf. ibid., 341–343, 359–361, 389, 413.

[3] Georgi Arbatov, *The System: An Insider's Life in Soviet Politics* (New York: Times, 1992), 201–203.

[4] Ulam, *Dangerous Relations*, 226, 271.

class struggle."[5] While the end of détente was attributed to "subjective factors" such as "the sharp upswing of militaristic and aggressive tendencies in the policy of the USA,"[6] no reference was made to the Soviet arms build-up or to the interventions in Poland and Afghanistan. In particular, the latter invasion of a nonaligned country strained the USSR's relations not only with the Western world, but also with the Third World – a consequence that had been foreseen by Gromyko, who in a Politburo session in early 1979 voiced his concern that in the case of a Soviet intervention, "all the nonaligned countries will be against us."[7] Indeed, the Soviet invasion was condemned by the UN General Assembly by a tenfold majority. Brezhnev, who in the wake of the 1979 nonaligned states' summit in Havana had identified its participants as "natural allies" of the Soviet Union,[8] made a clumsy attempt at mending fences by sending greetings to the nonaligned countries and claiming that "the development of the friendship and cooperation with the nonaligned countries, which are one of the most important links in the joint front in the peoples' struggle for peace and freedom, was and remains the principal position of the Soviet Union."[9] The deterioration of Soviet relations with the neutral and nonaligned states contained another inconvenience: the Kremlin had hoped that they would support the West European "peace movement's" struggle against Western rearmament (the Eastern side of the arms race had escaped most Western activists' attention). Andropov, in his report to the Central Committee plenum on 14–15 June 1983, tried to encourage the neutrals and, even more, the "peace movement" to increase activities against Western rearmament.[10]

In publications by Soviet experts, the neutrals were invited to contribute to the denuclearization of Western and Central Europe, to an end of the Western embargo against the USSR, and, in general, to a "Europeanization" of European affairs,[11] i.e. the elimination of the US presence in Western Europe and the yielding of West European states to neutralization. These strategies were accompanied by the Soviet definition of permanent neutrality and nonalignment being adapted. While earlier Soviet publications had attempted to activate the permanent neutrals by blurring the

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[5] A. Gromyko, "V. I. Lenin i vneshniaia politika Sovetskogo gosudarstva," in *Kommunist* 59, no. 6 (1983), 11–32, 26.

[6] D. Tomashevsky, "Lenin's Concept of Peaceful Coexistence and the Imperialist Challenge," in *International Affairs*, no. 5 (May 1982), 3–13.

[7] Quoted in Zubok, *A Failed Empire*, 260.

[8] Hakovirta, "East-West Tensions," 205.

[9] Privetstvie L. I. Brezheva neprisoedinivshimsia stranam, 9 February 1981, in *Vneshniaia politika Sovetskogo Soiuza i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia 1981* (Moscow: Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia, 1982), 11.

[10] *Plenum TsK KPSS 14–15 iiunia 1983g.: Stenograficheskii otchet* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1983), 130.

[11] Viktor A. Kremenyuk, "The European Neutrals and Soviet-American Relations," in Hanspeter Neuhold and Hans Thalberg (eds.), *The European Neutrals in International Affairs*, Laxenburg Papers 7 (Vienna: Braumüller, 1984), 93–103, 99–101.

differences between permanent neutrality and nonalignment, the fourth edition of the *Diplomatic Handbook* dropped the notion of "positive neutrality,"[12] which previously had been used for expanding the peacetime obligations of the permanently neutral states by theoretically linking the neutrals with the nonaligned states.

For the European neutrals, the new Cold War brought new dilemmas. Their maneuvering space became more restricted and they came increasingly under pressure, both domestically and internationally. The West and the domestic Right criticized the neutral's lack of solidarity with Western ideals and human rights, while the East and the domestic Left tended to criticize neutral governments as still displaying too much cohesion with the West.[13] When the United States, as a result of the new peak in the Cold War, stepped up the COCOM high technology embargo, many West European states and the neutrals, in contrast to the 1940s, insisted on preserving economic links to the communist states.[14] Therefore, US attempts to block a Soviet gas pipeline project from Urengoi to Western Europe failed – a failure that was celebrated by communist propaganda as a victory. From the Soviet side, pressure on the neutrals was increased, particularly in the north, by military build-up in the Murmansk region and by frequent violations of Swedish airspace and territorial waters. This culminated in the "Whiskey on the rocks" crisis of 1981, when a Soviet submarine of the so-called Whiskey Class, armed with nuclear torpedoes, became trapped by an underwater rock two kilometers from a Swedish naval base. While spying was one of the objectives of such Soviet intrusions, they also aimed at demoralizing the neutral's efforts in self-defense and at "emphasizing the futility of military defense for small powers."[15] The Swedish initiative to include the northwestern USSR into a proposed Nordic nuclear-weapons free zone (a project that Khrushchev and Brezhnev had encouraged since 1959) was rejected by the Kremlin indignantly.[16]

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[12] "Neitralitet," in A. A. Gromyko et al. (eds.), *Diplomaticheskii slovar'* 2, 4th ed. (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), 271–272; "Neprisoedineniia dvizhenie," ibid., 277–278.

[13] Karl E. Birnbaum, "East-West Relations and the Position of the European Neutrals," in Bo Huldt and Atis Lejins (eds.), *European Neutrals and the Soviet Union* (Stockholm: The Swedish Institute of International Affairs, 1985), 1–6; Sundelius, "Dilemmas and Strategies for the Neutral Democracies," 11; Neuhold, "The Neutral States of Europe," 127.

[14] John W. Young, "Western Europe and the End of the Cold War, 1979–1989," in Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Cold War III: Endings* (Cambridge: University Press, 2010), 289–310, 296.

[15] Andrén, "Swedish-Soviet Relations: An Overview," 78 (quotation), 69, 74–75; Gunnar Jervas, "Sweden in a Less Benign Environment," in Bengt Sundelius (ed.), *The Neutral Democracies in the New Cold War* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 57–74, 66.

[16] Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 167. On the NWFZ, cf. Hentilä, "The Soviet Union, Finland, and the 'Northern Balance,'" 251; Lev Voronkov, *Non-Nuclear Status to Northern Europe* (Moscow: Nauka, 1984), 93–134.

Finland was also put under Soviet pressure by being invited to hold joint military exercises with the USSR.[17] In addition, the country (and the Kremlin) had to master the retirement of Kekkonen (after twenty-five years in power) and the USSR demanded the continuation of the "Paasikivi-Kekkonen Line of Finnish-Soviet friendship" under his successor Mauno Koivisto.[18] In the United Nations, the Finnish representative abstained from voting on the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, while condemning (together with Sweden) that of the United States in Grenada.

Due to growing Soviet pressure, it does not come as a surprise that the majority of the Swedish population which had entertained friendly feelings towards the Eastern superpower during most of the 1970s, perceived it by the early 1980s as unfriendly or even a permanent threat to peace. In addition, in an opinion poll, 40 percent spoke out in favor of Sweden being assisted by NATO in the case of a Soviet threat, while only 4 percent advocated soliciting Soviet assistance against a threat by NATO. The Swiss government, too, was "alarmed by the fact that, in their eyes, the Soviet Union took advantage of the period of détente and of the political weakness of the United States after the Vietnam disaster and increased her armaments."[19] In contrast to some Austrian, Swedish, and even West German politicians, the Swiss minister of defense, Georges André Chevallaz, saw NATO's Double-Track Decision as a legitimate and necessary response to the insecurity created by Soviet policy. Pierre Aubert, the Confederation's minister of foreign affairs, was similarly critical of the numerous communist violations of the Helsinki declaration. In response to growing international tension, Switzerland remained committed to upholding its military capabilities and, at the Stockholm Conference for Disarmament in Europe, rejected Yugoslav and Swedish proposals for reducing all armed forces close to borders and for creating a Central European nuclear-weapons free zone. In his memoirs, Andrei Gromyko did not hide his contempt for the Swiss position.[20]

To boycott or not to boycott?

In Austria's foreign policy a shift was perceivable during the late Kreisky years and under his successor Fred Sinowatz. The 1968 student revolts and the protests against the US intervention in the Vietnam War had brought a mood swing within many West European societies, in particular within leftist student organizations and social democratic parties. A more left-wing foreign political posture was considered desirable, and the tone moved away from a balanced Atlanticism towards

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[17] Jacobson, *Finnland im neuen Europa*, 80.
[18] Raimo Väyrynen, "Adaptation of a Small Power to International Tensions: The Case of Finland," in Bengt Sundelius (ed.), *The Neutral Democracies in the New Cold War* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 33–56, 39–42, 48, 52.
[19] Hans Vogel, "Switzerland and the New Cold War," in Bengt Sundelius (ed.), *The Neutral Democracies in the New Cold War* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 95–116, 107.
[20] Gromyko, *Memories*, 225.

an uncritical support of the "anti-imperialist" movements of Mao, Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevara. Those who favored this shift knew little and cared less about the Eastern bloc and its dissidents, about containment or deterrence. An Italian student slogan of 1968 read: "We are not with Dubček, we are with Mao."[21] Although they voiced their criticism against US interference in East Asia and Nicaragua, they kept a remarkably low profile regarding the Soviet invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan or the declaration of martial law in Poland. While they organized demonstrations against the counterdeployment of Pershings and cruise missiles in Western Europe, the preceding Soviet deployments of SS-20s in the East had not been protested with similar vigor.

Olof Palme, neutral Sweden's social democratic prime minister, criticized US policy harshly and sent aid to the communist North Vietnamese government, moves that were followed by Soviet praise[22] and the withdrawal of the US ambassador from Sweden. In contrast, Kreisky, who had been perceived a bulwark of pro-Western steadfastness in the 1960s, refrained for the most part from excessive anti-Americanism. Nonetheless, from the late 1970s, a growing distance of Kreisky to the United States could be discerned. The chancellor, who in 1986 intimated to Gorbachev's assistant Vadim Zagladin that he considered Ronald Reagan "the worst US president ever,"[23] was critical not only of US interventions in Central America, but also of the economic sanctions that the United States had invoked immediately after the communist regime had imposed martial law in Poland, as well as of NATO's Double-Track Decision. After Kreisky's retirement in 1983, the shift to the left reached the Foreign Ministry, which was taken over from the diplomat Willibald Pahr by the left-wing party officer Erwin Lanc.[24] Nicaragua became a focus of social democratic foreign activism, the Sandinista regime being uncritically supported with a loan of 72 million schillings and with visits by high-ranking delegations and enthusiastic "brigades," while the Nicaraguan opposition was ignored.

In the General Assembly session of 1981, Foreign Minister Pahr had classified "the illegal [Soviet] occupation of Afghanistan" as a "heavy burden on the policy of détente."[25] This did not mean, however, that the Austrian government was prepared to join the resulting Western boycott of the Eastern bloc. When Lanc' successor Leopold Gratz traveled to Poland, in 1984, he continued a tradition in Austrian-East

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[21] Quoted in Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 390. On the "Peace Movement," see ibid., 591.

[22] Scarlis, *Neutralität*, 102; Karsh, *Neutrality and Small States*, 164.

[23] Conversation Zagladin with Kreisky, 9 September 1986, in Gorbachev Fond (hereafter: GF), 4840.

[24] Robert Kriechbaumer, *Zeitenwende: Die SPÖ-FPÖ Koalition 1983–1987 in der historischen Analyse, aus der Sicht der politischen Akteure und in Karikaturen von Ironimus* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2008), 440, 459–470.

[25] Erklärung von Außenminister Dr. Willibald Pahr vor der 36. Generalversammlung der Vereinten Nationen, 1 October 1981, in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 21 (1981), 353–356, 355.

European relations by breaking the isolation of Poland that had been imposed by the West after the introduction of martial law. Similarly, Kirchschläger had visited Poland a few weeks after the regime's massacre of demonstrating workers in Danzig in 1971, and when the Eastern bloc's first independent trade union went on strike, Kreisky warned the Polish workers not to obstruct the delivery of Polish coal to Austria.[26] After the banning of "Solidarity" and the declaration of martial law in 1981, Kreisky had given the Polish opposition movement a cold shoulder,[27] and Foreign Minister Pahr publicly cautioned the West about invoking sanctions against the communist regimes in Warsaw and Moscow. While martial law was still in force, Austria received the Polish vice-premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The economic sanctions by the West against the communist regime in 1981 were never supported by Austria nor was the flight boycott against the Soviet Union after flight KAL 007 was shot down. In the latter case, Austria, France and Greece were the only Western countries that did not join the boycott.[28] Although the leaders of the GDR and Bulgaria, Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov, due to the new Cold War, cancelled their trips to the FRG in 1984, Sinowatz agreed to visit the communist states. The 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow were boycotted by a number of Western countries due to the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. Despite this boycott and a call from humanitarian NGOs not to participate, Austria joined the games and was praised for this decision by Gromyko.[29]

Therefore, it is not surprising that the twenty-sixth CPSU congress in February 1981 lauded "Austria, Sweden, Belgium, Cyprus and several other European states" as being Western countries that the USSR maintained "successful relations with,"[30] though only after US policy and NATO had been castigated and the collaborations with France, West Germany, Finland, Turkey and Greece had been praised. Gromyko told Gratz in October 1984 that relations were good. As Ambassador Mikhail Efremov assured his Austrian counterpart Gerald Hinteregger, Andropov considered Austria "our friend."[31] On the Austrian side, Sinowatz even

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[26] Klaus Bachmann, "Poland and Austria," in Arnold Suppan and Wolfgang Mueller (eds.), *Peaceful Coexistence or Iron Curtain? Austria, Neutrality, and Eastern Europe in the Cold War and Détente, 1955–1989* (Vienna: Lit, 2009), 354–383, 376; Molden, "Die 'Ost-West-Drehscheibe,'" 763, 766.

[27] Joanna Gajdek, "Der mittelbare Nachbar: Österreichvorstellungen in Polen 1970–1995," in Oliver Rathkolb, Otto M. Maschke, and Stefan August Lütgenau (eds.), *Mit anderen Augen gesehen: Internationale Perzeptionen Österreichs 1955–1990*, Österreichische Nationalgeschichte 2 (Vienna: Böhlau, 2002), 651–675, 661. Cf. Franz Loidl (ed.), *Pressestimmen zu Dr. Kreiskys Äußerungen über „Solidarność" und die Kirche in Polen und Österreich* (Vienna: Katholische Akademie, 1982).

[28] Skuhra, "Austria and the New Cold War," 128; Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 110.

[29] Conversation Kreisky with Gromyko, 17 May 1980, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6.

[30] *XXVI. Parteitag der KPdSU: Rechenschaftsbericht des Zentralkomitees der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und die nächsten Aufgaben der Partei in der Innen- und Außenpolitik, Berichterstatter: L.I. Breshnew, Generalsekretär des ZK der KPdSU, 23. Februar 1981* (Berlin: Dietz, 1981), 34.

[31] Aktenvermerk Hinteregger, 25 February 1983, in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 6; *Österreichisches Jahrbuch für internationale Politik* 1 (1984), 199.

characterized the Austrian-Soviet relations as "excellent" and "unstrained by any problems."[32] In an interview with Manfred Scheuch of Austria's *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1983, Tikhonov commended neutrality in general and Soviet-Austrian relations in particular, but rejected the newspaper editor's assessment that Soviet actions, too, might have contributed to the recent exacerbation of international relations.[33]

Trade or embargo?

The cooling down of East-West relations after 1979 did not harm Austrian foreign trade with the USSR; on the contrary, its importance strengthened, and Austria, one more (last) time, was able to benefit from its role as a "bridging factor."[34] The following rain of Soviet orders seems to have been a consequence of a conversation between Kreisky and Gromyko in May 1980, in which the chancellor had expressed his desire to reduce the Austrian trade deficit with the USSR.[35] The Soviets voiced their rising interest in Austrian technology in 1980, and in the following year, VOEST-Alpine received an order for an optics factory worth 370 million schillings and Voith for a paper mill worth 940 million. As well, ten tugboats worth 570 million and three passenger boats worth 822 million were ordered from the Korneuburg docks.[36] While these deals, though large, could not be considered exceptional, Tikhonov, on his trip to Austria in 1981, brought a Soviet order for 800,000 tons of oil pipes from VOEST-Alpine worth 14 billion schillings – a commodity that, due to the Cold War, could not be purchased on Western markets.[37] The same year, the Linz plant, whose transactions with the USSR had reached 3.8 billion schillings per year, delivered its fourth million tons of steel plates and had received its twentieth million tons of coal.[38] In March 1982, VOEST-Alpine obtained an order to build in Zhlobin in the Belarus SSR, together with the Soviet company Metallurgimport, a steel plant with the capacity of producing 500,000 tons of sheet metal and 200,000 tons of crude metal per annum. The plant was opened by Chancellor Sinowatz in November 1984.[39]

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[32] Quoted in Lobova, "Die Moskauer Perzeption," 135; Zhiriakov, *Sovetskii Soiuz – Avstriia*, 77.

[33] *Sowjetunion heute,* no. 11 (1983), 4–5.

[34] Andrea Komlosy, "Österreichs Brückenfunktion und die Durchlässigkeit des Eisernen Vorhanges," in Gertrude Enderle-Burcel, Dieter Stiefel, and Alice Teichova (eds.), *Zarte Bande: Österreich und die europäischen planwirtschaftlichen Länder*, MÖSTA Sonderband 9 (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2006), 73–105, 96–97, 103.

[35] The author's interview with Ambassador Hinteregger, 23 June 2009. Cf. idem, *Im Auftrag Österreichs*, 260–263.

[36] Bilaterale Wirtschaftsbeziehungen UdSSR – Österreich, [1981], in SBKA, Länderboxen, UdSSR 5, File Offizieller Besuch des MP der UdSSR Tichonov.

[37] *Archiv der Gegenwart*, 24445, 10 April 1981.

[38] *APA*, 9 April 1981.

[39] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 102.

Due to such stimulus, the Austrian share in Soviet imports recovered and rose from 0.9 (1981) to 1.3 (1983) and even to a high of 1.6 percent (1990). In 1985, it ranked between the United Kingdom and Italy. This was, nevertheless, still far below the leading Western trading partner of the USSR, the FRG, and other neutral and nonaligned states such as Finland and Yugoslavia.[40] From the Austrian perspective, exporting to the USSR regained in importance. In 1983, Austria sent 12.1 percent of its exports to the Soviet Union. Other OECD countries sent an average of 3.3 percent of their exports to the USSR, with Finland's 27.7 percent, however, forming an exceptional peak.[41] Of all destinations of Austrian exports, the USSR ranked sixth; of the countries of origin of Austrian imports, the USSR ranked third.

Austria also continued to export strategic goods such as high-quality steel and technology to CMEA states, for which the neutral was increasingly criticized by the United States, from 1982, for violating the COCOM embargo and accused of aiding East European countries to circumvent the same.[42] The accusations eased after Kreisky's visit to the United States in 1983 and significant Austrian concessions.[43] At the same time, however, Soviet warnings were delivered that Austria should not give in to US demands.[44] Since Austria itself depended on high-technology imports from the United States, it reluctantly bowed to COCOM demands. The Austrian role in Western high technology exports to the Eastern bloc seems to have been overestimated; in 1981, US studies showed the Austrian share at 1.8 percent, much less than the CMEA imported from West Germany (28.9 percent), Japan (21.8 percent), France and Italy (11.8 and 9 percent), and even less than from Finland (7 percent), Sweden (4.5 percent), or the United States (3.3 percent).[45] During 1983, the US government reached understandings on restrictions of re-exporting US high technology with neutral countries, including Austria, Finland and Sweden. Switzerland refused to adhere formally to these agreements, but nonetheless restricted its exports to communist countries. In 1984, the Austrian foreign trade act was amended for the same reason. When in 1988 the COCOM embargo lists were unofficially adopted by the Austrian government, the last peak of the Cold War was nevertheless already over.[46]

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[40] Hauke, "Handelspolitik und Außenwirtschaftsbeziehungen," 220–221.

[41] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 100.

[42] Höll, "The Foreign Policy of the Kreisky Era," 48; Philip Windsor, "Neutral States in Historical Perspective," in Joseph Kruzel and Michael Haltzel (eds.), *Between the Blocs: Problems and Prospects for Europe's Neutral and Nonaligned States* (Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 3–9, 8; Linda Melvern, Nick Anning, and David Hebditch, *Techno-Bandits: How the Soviets are Stealing America's Future* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 142–144.

[43] Kramer, "Strukturentwicklung der Außenpolitik 1945–2005," 819; John M. Luchak, "Amerikanisch-österreichische Beziehungen von 1955 bis 1985" (PhD Thesis, Vienna, 1987), 426–427.

[44] Neuhold, "Austria and the Soviet Union," 99.

[45] Dörfer, "The European Neutrals in the Strategy of the Reagan Administration," 194.

[46] Jan Stankovsky, "Österreich und das COCOM," in *WIFO Monatsberichte* no. 3 (1990), 148–155.

14. Summary: Declining Soviet Interest in Neutrality despite Austria's Efforts

The decade from 1973 through 1982 was undoubtedly the most relaxed in Soviet-Austrian postwar relations: There was no major Soviet armed intervention in Austria's neighborhood and no Eastern propaganda campaign against alleged deviations from neutrality. Soviet satisfaction about having finally accomplished the convening of the CSCE contributed to this relaxation, as did the Soviet relief at the neutrals having become neither members nor associates of the EC, but merely having signed agreements on free trade. The Soviet attitude towards West European integration relaxed somewhat as well, although this was a rather tactical move aimed at fostering détente. In general, the Soviet resistance to the steadily growing European Community was not given up.

Once the CSCE had been convened, the general importance of neutrality and the neutrals for Soviet policy, as well as of Austria in particular, was reduced. This seemed to be, on one hand, a result of the international sea change: Détente had established direct and, from the Soviet perspective, relatively fruitful contacts with Western states such as Italy, France, the FRG, and later, even the United States. Hence, the neutrals were no longer needed to promote Soviet proposals. With the fragility of the Eastern bloc in mind, the Soviet Union even scaled back attempts of undermining the Western alliance by luring its members into some kind of neutral nirvana, and neutrality was promoted by the Kremlin less aggressively than in earlier years. On the other hand, the behavior of the neutrals at the CSCE did not exactly reflect what the Soviet Union had hoped for, and the Kremlin reacted by assigning them a less important role.

During the late Brezhnev years, Soviet diplomacy in Europe, in general, lost some of its impetus and many diplomatic conversations lacked content. The Kremlin had always put great emphasis on the propaganda value of mutual visits and bilateral communiqués and used the visits of guests from Western and neutral states for promoting its agenda. The Austrian side, however, seems neither to have been clear about its goals nor to have addressed them consistently enough to the Kremlin – probably out of fear of straining the delicate Soviet mood.[1] Once there were no landmark goals to be achieved and no further results in the rapprochement between the "states of different social systems" to be celebrated, the lack of substance became quite apparent.

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[1] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

Nonetheless, both Soviet and Austrian actors seemed interested in letting their relations appear as friendly as possible. What bilateral tensions that did arise came mainly from human rights violations in or by the USSR and from Austrian media reports about and protests against them. The Soviet leadership seemed prepared to test the bilateral relationship by expelling Austrian journalists and demanding that no criticism of the Soviet Union be published. While in the 1950s and 60s, some Austrian politicians had been ready to try to moderate the Austrian public opinion about the USSR, in general, Kreisky rejected such attempts.

The last phase of the Cold War brought two developments for the neutral democracies. On one hand, the systemic need for their bridge building activities rose. On the other, the rising tension level also restricted their maneuvering space and their opportunities for third-party intervention.[2] Austria tried to keep its options open by not joining the Western embargo and boycott, thus helping the communist regimes out of their isolation.

Already before the last peak of the Cold War had reached its climax, the drift of Austria's neutrality from the Swiss towards the Finnish model, as had begun in the aftermath of 1956 and been reinforced in 1968, was continued. The idea of "*armed* neutrality" and Austria's obligation for self-defense against external aggression as stipulated in the neutrality law of 1955 was increasingly treated by Kreisky and Foreign Minister Kirchschläger as obsolete.[3] In Kreisky's interpretation of neutral policy, military deterrence became less important than global travel diplomacy, disarmament, criticism against US interventions (although during martial law in Poland and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, his stance was much less outspoken), and the Near East problem.[4] While this reorientation of Austria's foreign policy towards global activism was mainly seen as the strategy of a weak international actor to secure its independence,[5] it was accompanied by the parallel weakening of its previous interpretation of neutrality and the tendency to transform features of Austria's foreign policy into obligations of neutrality[6] – thus becoming still closer to the Soviet understanding of neutrality.

This type of tendency in Austria's practice of neutral policy sparked quite a lot of discussion. In a monograph by the professor of international law Konrad Ginther, published in 1975, it was claimed that the Austrian government had, already in the late 1960s, given up the initial concept of neutrality, based on the Swiss model, in

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[2] Sundelius, "Dilemmas and Strategies for the Neutral Democracies," 19; Skuhra, "Austria and the New Cold War," 119

[3] Ginther, *Neutralität und Neutralitätspolitik*, 122.

[4] Paul Luif, "Austria's Permanent Neutrality – Its Origins, Development, and Demise," in Günther Bischof, Anton Pelinka, Ruth Wodak (eds.), *Neutrality in Austria*, Contemporary Austrian Studies 9 (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2001), 129–159, 137–138.

[5] Höll, "Kleinstaaten," 169.

[6] Franz Cede, "Österreichs Neutralität und Sicherheitspolitik nach dem Beitritt zur Europäischen Union," in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsvergleichung* 36, no. 4 (1995), 142–148, 143.

favor of a more Soviet-friendly interpretation and that the Austrian interpretation of neutrality approached the Soviet "peaceful coexistence" policy.[7] As indications for this development, Ginther analyzed Austrian political declarations of the period from 1955 to 1973 and cited the sinking importance being given to armed neutrality and neutrality's legal foundations by Waldheim, Kreisky, and Foreign Minister Rudolf Kirchschläger; furthermore he criticized the invocation of the neutral country's permanent political obligation to an "active peace policy" as a surrogate for armed defense, which reflected the Soviet thesis of "peaceful coexistence," and, instead of a status that was legally defined, the creation of a "myth of positive neutrality equaling peace and security" that was legally vague and ideologically predisposed, despite being politically influential and universally applicable.

Similar criticism of Kreisky's interpretation of neutral policy was brought forward by the Christian-democratic professor of international law Felix Ermacora, who rejected the thesis that the "secondary obligations" of permanent neutrality, i.e. the obligation to avoid any measures that might render maintaining neutrality impossible in the case of war, were legally binding. He argued that the theory of "secondary obligations" had been construed by German lawyers in the interwar period with the aim of justifying, ex post facto, Germany's violation of Belgian neutrality in World War I. After World War II and still remembering Nazi Germany pressure on Switzerland, the thesis had been adopted first in the Swiss doctrine, which he classified as "politically predetermined" and unable to "withstand scientific critique,"[8] and then by Austrian lawyers Verdross and Verosta. While Ermacora conceded, however, that observing the "secondary obligations" in peacetime was a matter of prudence, he claimed that, in order not to limit the neutral's freedom of action, such obligations had to be defined as restrictively as possible. Following this line of thinking, Ermacora considered the thesis that neutrality was incompatible with EEC membership as also having been politically predetermined. In addition, he criticized Kreisky having adopted the thesis that a "good foreign policy" and not the readiness to defend the country was the best guarantee for neutrality. By subscribing to the Swiss doctrine and augmenting it with Soviet theses, Austrian leaders and lawyers, in Ermacora's eyes, had contributed to bloating the neutral's legal obligations, reducing its freedom of action, and to underpinning Soviet demands.[9]

The Austrian ambassador to Moscow also recommended that the government "counter more consistently" the Soviet attempts at "blurring the limits of international law and foreign policy," attempts that were perceived as harmful to Austria's

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[7] Konrad Ginther, *Neutralität und Neutralitätspolitik. Die österreichische Neutralität zwischen Schweizer Muster und sowjetischer Koexistenzdoktrin* (Vienna: Springer, 1975), 143–155.

[8] Felix Ermacora, *20 Jahre österreichische Neutralität* (Frankfurt: Metzner, 1975), 123, 73–74, 80, 117–118.

[9] Ibid., 19, 114, 123, 137, 167–172.

interests.[10] Such passivity, Ambassador Helmut Liedermann warned, might lead to Soviet claims regarding legal obligations resulting from neutrality being internationally recognized. In addition, it was suggested that the Austrian government should not let itself be blinded by "empty phrases" about the state treaty and neutrality, but be more articulate in communicating to Moscow its own interests and needs – something that had been neglected so that the delicate bilateral relationship would not be strained.

More general charges of "neutralism" were made by the oppositional ÖVP, which accused Kreisky in the late 1970s of neglecting the country's traditional bonds to the West, while appeasing the East.[11] In particular, the eastward shift of the travel diplomacy of Kreisky and his ministers, and his harsh criticism of US policy in contrast to his lack of outspokenness regarding Soviet actions had raised concerns among more pro-Western Austrians.

Some of Ginther's and Ermacora's theses aroused criticism and consternation in the diplomatic and political establishment, and officials in the Foreign Ministry discarded them as "completely wrong."[12] They were rejected by Karl Zemanek[13] and Alfred Verdross, who argued that a "permanently neutral state […] cannot restrict itself to being an island of peace by staying away from international conflicts, but must conduct an active policy of neutrality with the aim of contributing to the consolidation of general peace and international security."[14] Verdross moreover made it clear that the Western understanding of "peaceful coexistence," as had been adopted by many states and the United Nations, differed significantly from the Soviet understanding and excluded ideological matters.

While all sides in the scholarly debate emphasized that Austria's neutrality should not be understood as a free ticket for carelessness and isolationism, Austrian opinion polls of the late 1970s and early 80s underlined the effects of a considerable mental "neutralization": Austria was seen by 75 percent as "zone of peace" between the alliances, 55–63 percent deemed it unlikely that war would affect Austria, and 17–31 percent even felt that this was impossible at all. When asked what the main guarantor for peace was, 75 percent named neutrality; only 10 percent expected the *Bundesheer* to be able to deter a potential aggressor.[15] More than 50

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[10] Liedermann to Austrian MFA, 23 November 1985, in ÖStA, AVA, NL Bielka, File 115. For the full text, see pages 333–338.

[11] Kriechbaumer, *Die Ära Kreisky*, 266–267.

[12] Ginther, "Austria's Policy of Neutrality and the Soviet Union," 67, 83 note 5.

[13] Karl Zemanek, "'Zeitgemäße' Neutralität?," in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Außenpolitik* 16 (1976), 355–367, 356, 362–363; idem, "'Zeitgemäße' Neutralität? – Schlussbemerkungen," ibid. 17 (1977), 134–136, 135.

[14] Verdross, *Die immerwährende Neutralität Österreichs*, 48, 73–79; quotation ibid., 73.

[15] Ferdinand Trauttmansdorff, "Österreichs Außenpolitik als Sicherheitspolitik," in Renate Kicker, Andreas Khol, and Hanspeter Neuhold (eds.), *Außenpolitik und Demokratie in Österreich: Strukturen – Strategien – Stellungnahmen* (Salzburg: Neugebauer, 1983), 235–258, 241–245, 250.

percent were against acquiring defense missiles.[16] With regard to ideological neutralism, which had been consistently rejected by Austrian leaders since 1955, 52 percent spoke out in favor thereof; supported by 30 percent was the idea of passing a law restricting freedom of speech, if opinions were expressed that contained criticism of a foreign power; and a majority was against official interventions in cases of civil rights movements being suppressed in the USSR or other cases of human rights violations.[17] Only 44 percent welcomed a foreign policy that aimed at supporting such groups in Eastern Europe.[18]

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[16] Harrod, "Felix Austria?," 290.

[17] Hanspeter Neuhold, "Österreichs Außenpolitik in den Ost-West-Beziehungen," in Renate Kicker, Andreas Khol, Hanspeter Neuhold (eds.), *Außenpolitik und Demokratie in Österreich: Strukturen – Strategien – Stellungnahmen* (Salzburg: Neugebauer, 1983), 290–320, 318–319.

[18] Nils Andrén, "Looking at the Superpowers," in Bengt Sundelius (ed.), *The Neutral Democracies and the New Cold War* (Boulder: Westview, 1987), 160–181, 163.