

CONTENT

Foreword	15
I. Starting Situation: World War I, End of the Monarchy, Founding of the Republic of Austria, and the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye 1914–19.....	21
1. The Abdication of the Kaiser, “Republic of German-Austria”, Prohibition against the Anschluss, and the Founding of a State against Its Will 1918–19	21
2. On the Eve of Catastrophe.....	28
3. The Summer of 1914 and Deeper-seated Causes	30
4. World War I Sees No Victors	33
5. Dictates as Peace Agreements.....	40
6. Paris and the Consequences	43
7. A Fragmented Collection of States as a Consequence of the Collapse of the Four Great Empires	47
8. Societal Breaks: The Century of European Emigration Ends and the Colonies Report Back for the First Time	53
9. A World in Change against the Background of Europe Depriving Itself of Power: The Rise of the US and Soviet Russia More as an Eastern Peripheral Power	55
10. Interim Conclusion	59
II. A Lost Cause: Austria between Central Europe, Paneuropean Dreams, the “Anschluss” to Nazi Germany and in Exile Abroad 1918/19–45	63
1. The End of the European Great Powers and a Man with His Vision . . .	63
2. The Unwanted State: Austria’s Reorientation in the Wake of the Paris Postwar Order 1919–21	69
3. Ignaz Seipel as a Political Key Figure and the Geneva League of Nations Loan 1922	75
4. The Paneuropean Dream and Central Europe Idea as Visions between Broad-reaching Dependence and the Brief Attainment of Sovereignty 1923–30	80
5. The Departure of Ignaz Seipel and the Fading of the Idea of “Central Europe”	87
6. Johannes Schober as a Political Key Figure and Austria’s Reserved Attitude with Respect to the 1930 “Europe”-Memorandum of Aristide Briand . .	92
7. The Curtius-Schober Customs Union Project and its Failure 1931	99
8. The Solution of State Debts and Reparations Question, Tardieu Plan, a New League of Nations Loan, Hitler in Power, and the “Rome Protocols” 1932–34	108
9. Austria on the Defensive against Nazi Germany: The Ineffectiveness of “Paneuropean” Resistance against the July Agreement 1935–36	118
10. The Short Road to “Anschluss” 1937–38	126
11. From European War to World War II and London as an Exile Center 1939–1945	133
12. “Europe” a Subordinate Topic in the Austrian Exile by Keeping Alive – “Paneurope” Again or Small European Solutions? – No Austrian Government-in-Exile and Outlook	136

III. Reconstruction against the Background of Economic Cooperation and Trade Liberalization in Western Europe 1945/47–53	149
1. General Introduction: The First Steps of Western European Cooperation and Integration – the European Convention for Human Rights	149
2. Austria's Reconstitution, Victim Thesis, Germanophobia and the Idea of Europe	157
3. The South Tyrolean Claim and the Gruber-De Gasperi Agreement	164
4. The Marshall Plan as a Priority before the State Treaty – Difficult Balance in Times of Soviet Occupation and Communist Opposition – Keeping the “Special Case”	171
5. Austria United without Customs Union while Europe was Divided	178
6. No NATO Membership but a “Clandestine Pseudo-Alliance Partner” of the West	181
7. The ERP and Joining the European Payment's Union	190
8. Western European Orientation through Trade Liberalization via the OEEC and GATT	196
9. Return to Europe: Coudenhove-Kalergi's European Parliamentary Union	199
10. The Hague Congress and Cautious Approach to the Council of Europe	205
11. Reorientation of Austrian Trade, the “Secret” Handling of the COCOM Lists, Observer Status at the Danube Commission and the ECSC	209
12. A Political Appendix of Germany and Growing Economic Dependency 1949–53 – The Unresolved German Question and the Austrian Example	220
 IV. Attempted Partial Integration and Free Trade: Approaching the Council of Europe, ECSC Arrangement, and EFTA Membership 1953–60	 235
1. General Introduction: The Treaties of Rome as the “Basic Law” of the EU, and EFTA as the Truncated EEC-Sister	235
2. Austria's Political Parties and Europe – the Road to the State Treaty and the Constitutional Law on Permanent Neutrality 1955	250
3. The Austrian Solution as a Model for Germany? – Rejection by Adenauer and only a Slight Relaxation for Central Europe 1955	264
4. No “Secret Ally” of the West: Special Case Only on Limited Basis and Allegations about “Neutrality”	281
5. The Road to Strasbourg, the Accession to the Council of Europe and the Question of Joining the Danube Commission 1953–56	284
6. The Hungarian Uprising 1956 and Soviet Suppression: The Austrian Background	290
7. Contributing to National and Neutrality Identity Building: Austrian Reactions to the Revolutionary Events in Hungary	294
8. In the Shadow of Hungary 1956 and the State-subsidized Nationalized Industry: No Austrian ECSC Membership Due to External and Internal Pressure	298
9. The Mikoyan Visit 1957: Contrary to Raab's Recommendation, No Model Case Policy by the USSR	310
10. Too Late: Raab's Proposal in 1958 to Use the “Austrian Model” as a Negotiation Solution for Overcoming the German Division	316
11. The British Project of a Large Free Trade Area 1956–58	320
12. Joining the EEC as an Alternative Due to Stagnating FTA Negotiations 1958?	336
13. Small Free Trade as Last Reserve and the FTA's Failure against the Background of Increasing Gaullism in 1958	340

14. With Reservation and Hesitance: Involvement in the “Stockholm Group” and the EFTA Formation in 1959–60	345
15. Alternative Integration Concepts: Bilateral Customs Treaty, EFTA Extension, and Greece as an Example – Khrushchev’s Visit and the Danube Commission	362
16. Interim Conclusion	368
V. From EEC Association Application to “Going It Alone to Brussels” 1961–69	373
1. General Introduction: The Advancing and Growing European Communities – A Product of the Merger of Institutions	373
2. Kreisky’s Special Way of Dealing with Europe: Integration and Neutrality Policy in Order to Build up Austrian Identity	375
3. Different Party Policy Approaches towards European Integration in the 1960s	386
4. The Breakdown of EFTA? Finding Common Lines between the Neutrals	391
5. The Neutrals’ Common EEC Association Applications	397
6. Russian and US Objections – EEC, French, and Italian Reservations	402
7. De Gaulle’s UK Veto	414
8. Austria’s “Going It Alone”, the Division of the Neutrals, First Hearings in Brussels	420
9. The Changing of the Guard in the Chancellery: The EEC as Highest Priority and Josef Klaus’ Paneuropean Commitment	427
10. Negotiations with Brussels on a Special Arrangement	437
11. An Obstructive French-Soviet Interplay	446
12. An Additional Factor: Differences and Tensions with Italy – the Escalating South Tyrol Conflict 1966–67	449
13. Overshadowing Austria’s Integration Policy due to the suppressed “Prague Spring” by the Warsaw Pact 1968	462
14. Paving the Way to Brussels by Solving the South Tyrol Conflict 1969 and Coudenhove-Kalergi Back to Austria	467
15. Interim Conclusion	471
VI. Standby Position with New Approaches: Integration Policy 1970–86	477
1. General Introduction: The “Northern Enlargement” and Eurosclerosis? Common Law, Direct Election, the EMS, and the “Southern Enlargement” 1969–86	477
2. Customs and Trade Treaties with the EEC and the ECSC – The Soviet Aide-Mémoire and the Austro-Russian Bilateral Trade Treaty 1972–75	481
3. Public Opinion and Austria’s Stance in Europe – Coudenhove-Kalergi: Bridging the Gap between EFTA and the EC	498
4. Kreisky’s Foreign Policy Priorities, EFTA Summit in Vienna 1977, Close Ties with the EMS 1978 and Asymptotic Rapprochement with the EC 1979–1983	502
5. SPÖ-FPÖ Small Coalition, Luxembourg Declaration, No NATO Protection and No New Integration Policy but Intimations 1983–86 – Interim Conclusion	519
6. Interim Conclusion	532
VII. The Second “Going it Alone” in Times of Ending the Cold War: Negotiations with Brussels and EU Entry 1987–95	533
1. General Introduction: Single European Act, Home Market, German Unity, and the Maastricht Treaty	533
2. Austria-GDR: A Special Relationship in Times of the Cold War	539

3. Austria as a Diplomatic “Ice Breaker” for the East, a Sponsor of the CSCE Follow-up Meetings in Vienna, and a Gate Opener with Hungary of the Iron Curtain 1989	544
4. The EC Approach by a New Grand Coalition	565
5. Letter to Brussels with Preservation of Neutrality – Reservations by EC and EFTA Members	586
6. EC Commission, the Council, Other Applicants, Former Occupation Powers, and Austria’s EC Application	595
7. In the Shadow of the German Question – In Terms First of the GDR Enlargement of the European Communities and Then of Austria	600
8. The Disintegration of Yugoslavia and Austria as Pioneer of the Recognition of the Independence of Croatia and Slovenia 1991	615
9. The EC Commission’s “Avis”, Maastricht as a Result of Germany’s Unification and the Consequences for Austria – Dispute Settlement Declaration on South Tyrol	630
10. The EC Application as Unnoticed Historiographical Controversy: Continuity or Break? Attempts at Periodization	639
11. Finishing Austria’s EU Entry against the Background of the Maastricht Union Treaty, Common Approach with the Scandinavians, and Lobbying in All of Europe	642
12. Starting Negotiations and the CFSP	649
13. Ups and Downs with Different Negotiation Topics	654
14. Finishing the Negotiations with Germany’s Decisive Support and the Role Played by the Commission	669
15. Negotiation Results	674
16. Different Domestic Reactions	686
17. Final Completion of the Accession Process in Brussels, Strasbourg, and Vienna	691
18. The EU Referendum on June 12, 1994	694
19. The “Bad Spirit of Corfu”, the Signing of the Accession Treaty, and the Immediate Consequences of Austria’s EU Entry	703
VIII. From EU Membership to the EU-14 Sanction Measures 1995–2000	715
1. General Introduction: “Euro” and Eastern Enlargement are Coming – Assumption of the Western European Union Tasks	715
2. Cooperation in Institutions, but Limited Engagement	717
3. Partial Adaption of Austria’s Security Policy, the Failure of the “Options Report” and Maintenance of Core Neutrality	721
4. Austria’s EU Presidency 1998	729
5. Further Escalation of the Kosovo Crisis, War against Serbia in 1999 and Review of Austrian Balkan Policies	738
6. The Charter of Fundamental Rights and the Introduction of the euro 1999–2002	744
7. The Statement by the EU-14 and the Sanctions Measures – Historical and Party Political Backgrounds	749
8. The long Shadow of Controls and Supervisions – “Making the Country’s Decisions for It” or an Example of Smaller States being Incapacitated?.	752
9. International Reactions: The Wider Context of the Measures by the EU-14	760
10. Short-term and Medium-term Effects of the “Sanctions” Policy	771
11. “Three Wisemen” as a Way Out of the Dilemma	776
12. Interim Conclusion	783

IX.	In the Shadow of Renationalization 2000–09	791
	1. General Introduction: The Biggest Enlargement in EU History in Sight, Impotent Security Policy, and the Nice Summit of 2000 on the Brink of Failure	791
	2. Neither Strategic nor Regional Partnership with the CEEC – “Veto”-Policy against the EU “Eastern Enlargement” by the FPÖ	793
	3. The Constitutional Convention and first EU Missions abroad.	799
	4. No Continuation of the Transit Treaty	806
	5. The Failure of the Constitutional Treaty.	808
	6. EU Scepticism – NATO respects Neutrality.	826
	7. Reservations against Turkey as a Candidate for EU Accession Negotiations	829
	8. The Prospects for the 2006 Presidency of the Council of the European Union and the Shadows over It.	839
	9. German EU Presidency, the Berlin Declaration, Lisbon Treaty and the Remaining Neutrality 2007–09.	853
	10. The Solidarity Clause of the Lisbon Treaty and Austria’s Core Neutrality	860
	11. Ratification of the Lisbon Treaty and the Relapse into Austro National Populism	865
	12. EU Economic Integration – The “Eastern Factor” or Trade and Investment Expansion to the CEEC.	878
	13. Interim Conclusion	885
X.	Final Conclusion	887
	1. The Long Road to Brussels: Attempts, Failures and Successes – External and Internal Factors	887
	2. The Historical Background in Light of Supervision from Outside and the Impact of “Europe” and Integration upon National Identity Building Inside	896
	3. Associations, Concepts, Ideas, Imaginations, Identifications and Future Perspectives on Europe	917
	4. European Integration: Proposal for Division into Periods with Different Approaches in Consideration of the Role of Austria	922
	a) Seven Classical Approaches and Three Special Approaches.	922
	b) The Perception History, Reception History, and Intervention History Approach of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation	924
	c) The Transatlantic Approach	925
	d) The Hegemonic and Imperial History Approach	927
	5. Fifteen Concluding Aspects and One Final Result.	927
XI.	Documents	935
	1. Speech by Chancellor Ignaz Seipel before the Council of the League of Nations in Geneva, September 6, 1922.	935
	2. Count Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, “Paneurope” (1923).	941
	3. “Gesandter Ferdinand Marek an Bundeskanzler Ignaz Seipel, Prag”, December 10, 1927	941
	4. “Richard Coudenhove Kalergi an Bundeskanzler Ignaz Seipel”, Berlin, May 1, 1928	948
	5. “Bundeskanzler Seipel an Coudenhove Kalergi, Privatschreiben”, June 22, 1928.	951
	6. Aristide Briand, Memorandum on the Organisation of a Regime of European Federal Union, May 1, 17, 1930.	952

7. “Generalsekretär Franz Peter an alle österreichischen Gesandten und Geschäftsträger im Ausland, Zirkularerlaß, Wien”, May 30, 1930	953
8. “Bundeskanzleramt/Auswärtige Angelegenheiten an Gesandten Felix Frank (Berlin), Erlaß, Wien”, June 21, 1930	955
9. “Antwort der österreichischen Bundesregierung auf die Denkschrift der französischen Regierung vom 1. Mai 1930, Wien, 5. Juli 1930 betreffend die Einrichtung einer Europäischen Union”	957
10. “Besprechung Bundeskanzler Schober mit französischem Außenminister Briand am 9. September 1930 in Genf, Aufzeichnung” [Genf, 9. September 1930]	961
11. “Unterredung Bundeskanzler Schuschnigg mit tschechoslowakischem Ministerpräsidenten Hodža, September 27, 1937 in Baden, Aufzeichnung (streng geheim)”	963
12. The Paneuropean Union Movement, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Bern, September 1939	967
13. Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, Letters to the Times: Austria’s Position. Plea is Made for Majority Rule and Membership in UNO, October 24, 1945. . .	967
14. Gruber-De Gasperi-Agreement, September 5, 1946	969
15. The Marshall Plan Speech Delivered by General George C. Marshall at Harvard University, June 5, 1947.	970
16. “Message to Europeans” read by Denis de Rougemont at the first Congress of Europe in The Hague, May 7–10, 1948.	971
17. Declaration by Robert Schuman, May 9, 1950, on behalf of the French government – Paris	972
18. Western Forces in Austria, July 12, 1951	975
19. Top Secret Letter of W. D. Allen to Harold Caccia/Vienna, July 12, 1951	975
20. Report of the British Legation to the Holy See, Rome, March 18, 1952 .	976
21. Confidential Report Harold Caccia to Anthony Eden, September 2, 1952	977
22. Possible Austrian Membership of the Council of Europe and the European Coal and Steel Community, September 13, 1952	981
23. Confidential „Austrian Treaty“, Report by Sir Harold Caccia to Foreign Office, December 24, 1952	982
24. Statement „The Neutralisation of Austria“ by Geoffrey W. Harrison, May 22, 1953 and Reactions by Patrick Hancock, May 24, 1953 and Frank Roberts, May 26, 1953 in the Foreign Office.	983
25. Confidential „Austrian Treaty and Neutrality“, Report by Sir Harold Caccia to Foreign Office, June 25, 1953	985
26. Extract from the Draft Tripartite Proposals Regarding Treatment of the Austrian Question at Lugano, October 24, 1953	987
27. Secret Report Sir William Strang to Frank Roberts, October 30, 1953. .	987
28. Resolution adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the ECSC Member States at Messina, June 1–2, 1955	989
29. Patrick F. Hancock, The Grand Design, March 27, 1957	990
30. Extracts from EEC and EURATOM Treaty	991
31. Report by the American Embassy, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., Vienna, to Cecil Lyon, Santiago, Chile, February 18, 1958.	992
32. Report by the American Embassy, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., Vienna, February 27, 1958	993
33. Report to the Secretary of State, January 14, 1959.	993
34. Confidential Background Memorandum on Austria and European Integration, January 30, 1959	996

35. Report by the American Embassy, John W. Fisher, Vienna, November 16, 1959	998
36. Report by the American Embassy, David W. Wainhouse, Vienna, November 25, 1959	999
37. "Austria and EFTA", Note Prepared by Vienna Embassy for Visit by Kreisky to London, February 1960	1000
38. Report by the American Embassy, W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., Vienna, September 23, 1960	1000
39. Confidential Conversation, October 4, 1960	1001
40. Memorandum of Conversation, October 4, 1960	1002
41. Note by the Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky to the President of the Ministers' Council of the EEC, December 15, 1961	1003
42. Charles de Gaulle's Press Conference, January 14, 1963	1004
43. Report on Austrian Government, March 28, 1963	1005
44. Confidential Suggested Talking Paper for Governor Harriman's Meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister Kreisky, October 10, 1963	1007
45. Confidential Conversation Bruno Kreisky with US-Undersecretary of State George Ball on Austria EEC relations, October 10, 1963	1010
46. Coalition Prospects in Austria, European Integration, Austria, November 12, 1963	1011
47. Memorandum of Conversation, April 20, 1964	1014
48. Memorandum of Conversation, April 28, 1964	1014
49. Report "Pressure on Austria's Neutrality", US-Ambassador to Vienna, James W. Riddleberger to the State Department, April 29, 1964	1016
50. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, June 22, 1964	1019
51. Memorandum, June 22, 1964	1020
52. Memorandum, September 5, 1964	1021
53. Report by the American Embassy, Vienna, Austria, September 11, 1964	1023
54. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, September 16, 1964	1024
55. Memorandum of Conversation, October 14, 1964	1025
56. Memorandum of Conversation, October 26, 1964	1026
57. Report "Discussion on Austria's Foreign Policy" by the US-Ambassador to Vienna, James W. Riddleberger, to the State Department, December 2, 1964	1027
58. Conversation with Chancellor Josef Klaus and Foreign Minister Bruno Kreisky, Confidential Telegramm of US-Ambassador in Vienna, James W. Riddleberger, to the State Department, July 7, 1965	1029
59. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, May 25, 1966	1030
60. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, June 7, 1966	1030
61. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, July 29, 1966	1032
62. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, November 8, 1966	1032
63. Memorandum of Conversation, Brussels, October 12, 1966	1033
64. Memorandum of Conversation of Mr. Hinton with Tončić, Austria and the Common Market, State Department, November 8, 1966	1034
65. Report Status of Austrian Association with EEC – Meeting with Austrian Foreign Minister, November 8, 1966	1035
66. [No American Backing could be expected] The Economist, November 19, 1966	1036
67. Telegramm to the State Department, December 7, 1966	1037
68. Report Zl. 366-Res/67 "Austria-EEC-Conversation with Envoy Brunet", Austrian Embassy Paris, Martin Fuchs, to Foreign Ministry for Trade, Commerce and Industry/Ministry for Foreign Affairs, September 29, 1967	1038

69. Brussels Liaison Report on Negotiations with the EEC, Austria Exploratory Talk with the Commission, Meeting at the Austrian Delegation's Offices Brussels, January 6, 1971	1041
70. N. Kuznetsov, „Common Market“ and Neutrality, January 6, 1971	1046
71. Brussels Liaison, Report on Negotiations with the EEC Austrian Interim Agreement, Meeting at the Austrian Delegation's Offices, Brussels, February 18, 1971	1049
72. Brussels Liaison Report on negotiations with the EEC – Exploratory talks with the Commission – Meeting at the Austrian Delegation's Offices, Brussels, March 20, 1971	1053
73. Common Market Split over Neutrals, June 3, 1971, by Richard Norton Taylor	1056
74. Mündlicher Vortrag an den Ministerrat, Bundesministerium für Handel, Gewerbe und Industrie, Josef Staribacher, betreff: EG-Österreich; Kommissionsbericht; weitere Vorgangsweise, June 28, 1971	1058
75. Brussels Liaison, Report on Negotiations with the EEC, Negotiations for a Special Agreement, Meeting at the Austrian Delegation's Offices, Brussels, December 7, 1971	1060
76. Soviet Aide-Mémoire, August 18, 1972	1065
77. Report of the Discussion in the Interim Committee on EFTA Legal Basis of Arrangement, November 23, 1972	1066
78. Protocoll of the Conversation of the German Chancellor in Vienna, July 15, 1976	1066
79. Letter by the Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock to the President of the EEC Council, Roland Dumas, July 14, 1989	1069
80. Declaration by the Foreign Minister Alois Mock at the occasion delivering the Austrian EC application, July 17, 1989	1070
81. “Aide-Mémoire der Sowjetunion zu den österreichischen EG-Beitrittsansuchen”, August 10, 1989.	1072
82. Ministerial Meeting between the European Community, its Member States and the Countries of the European Free Trade Association, Brussels, December 19, 1990	1074
83. Statement by the EC Commission to Austria's EC Application with Regard to Traffic Transit and Neutrality, July 31/August 1, 1991	1078
84. Peter Gumbel, „At Last, EC Talks May Start for Austria. Despite Progress, Obstacles to Quick Acceptance Remain“, May 28, 1992	1084
85. The opening of the EC Entry Negotiations, Declaration by Foreign Minister Alois Mock, February 1, 1993.	1087
86. Statement by the Commissions' President Jacques Delors to the EU Referendum in Austria, June 12, 1994	1091
87. Report by the Services of the European Commission on the State of the Screening Exercise and the Prospects for the Accession Negotiations with Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, and Slovenia, September 23, 1998	1092
88. Agenda 2000 – Council Conclusions, October 3, 1998	1097
89. NON PAPER, Pörschach Meeting, Discussion at Lunch, October 5, 1998	1098
90. General Secretariat of the Council, Final Council Conclusions on Enlargement, October 5, 1998	1100
91. Background General Affairs Council, Luxembourg, October 5–6, 1998	1101
92. Note to the President, General Affairs Council, Luxembourg, October 5–6, 1998 on the item: Western Balkans: Kosovo, Bosnia, Albania	1108

93. Sanctions Measures against Austria by the EU-14 Member States, January 31, 2000	1114
94. Charles A. Kupchan, It's up to EU to check U.S. Hubris, November 10, 2002	1114
95. Half time assessment of the Austrian Presidency, January 1-March 31, 2006	1117
96. Résumé-Protokoll by the Austrian EU Presidency 2006; 23. Session of the inter-ministerial Group, January 13, 2006	1125
97. Report to the Ministers' Council, March 29, 2006	1128
98. Statement "Ein gut aufgestelltes Team hat konkrete Ergebnisse gebracht" by Staatssekretär Hans Winkler, July 11, 2006	1130
99. Berlin Declaration during the German EU Presidency on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the signature of the Treaties of Rome, March 25, 2007 ..	1132
100. Report by the EU Commission, Representation Germany, June 30, 2009	1134
XII. Archives and Eyewitness Interviews	1147
1. Archives	1147
2. Eyewitness Interviews	1158
XIII. Bibliography and Links	1161
1. Documentations and Editions	1161
2. Bibliographies, Chronologies, Encyclopedias and Handbooks	1164
3. Biographies, Memoirs, Brochures und Contemporary Publications	1164
4. Monographs	1166
5. Collections	1177
6. Articles	1184
7. Master Thesis, Dissertations and Unprinted Works	1219
Additional Sources	1225
XIV. List of Graphics and Sources	1227
XV. References and Sources of Cartoons and Pictures	1229
XVI. Abbreviations	1235
XVII. Chronology of the History of Austrian Foreign and Europe Policy 1914/18–2009	1245
XVIII. Register of Persons	1273