



Цеде Ф., Просл К. Амбициозность и реальность : внешняя политика Австрии с 1945 г. Инсбрук : Штудиен Ферлаг, 2017. 170 с. (на англ.).

Цэдэ Ф., Просл Х. Амбітнасць і рэальнасць : знешняя палітыка Аўстрыі з 1945 г. Інсбрук : Штудіэн Ферлаг, 2017. 170 с. (на англ.).

Cede F., Prosl C. Ambition and reality : Austria's foreign policy since 1945. Innsbruck : Studien Verlag, 2017. 170 p.

The year 1955 was a landmark year for Austria. At that time, she acquired an internationally recognised neutral status and concluded the state treaty with the USSR, the United Kingdom, the United States and France, which restored her independence and democratic institutions and ensured the end of her post-war occupation by these states that had lasted from 1945. All of this became possible thanks largely to Austrian politicians and diplomats. Federal Chancellor Julius Raab, Vice-Chancellor Adolf Schärf, Foreign Minister Leopold Figl and State Secretary Bruno Kreisky – it was they who, despite the continued occupation of Austria by the Allies after the end of the Second World War, were successful in facilitating her international recognition and full inclusion in the European political community (p. 30).

The authors of the book «Ambition and reality» Franz Cede¹ and Christian Prosl² have themselves worked for a long time in the diplomatic service, including both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters and the overseas missions: the former – in Paris, Rabat, Kinshasa, Los Angeles, Moscow and Brussels, the latter – in Los Angeles, Berlin, Washington and, before that, in Burkina Faso and Rwanda within the United Nations Development Programme.

Having devoted their joint research to the history of Austrian foreign policy from 1945 until nowadays, both diplomats have made an important conclusion: it was during this very period when the combination of activeness and caution in foreign policy and its peaceful nature became the paramount importance for Austria in the international arena. What is more, the authors of the book asked the following question: «Does Austria have a foreign policy strategy and are there any distinguishing features in it» (p. 17–18)? To answer it, F. Cede and C. Prosl employed a descriptive and retrospective approach, trying to provide the most impartial (*sine ira et studio*, as they expressed it in Latin) overview of the

events of the Austrian history in the middle and the second half of the 20th century.

The question posed by the authors of the book is a very reasoned one. Active neutrality policy, priority of relations with immediate neighbours, humanitarian and human rights initiatives, participation in international peacekeeping – all of this, to one degree or another, is typical not only for Austria, but also for other countries. The neighbouring Switzerland, for example, is also located at the crossroads of various languages and cultures and considers herself as a bridge-builder between the West and the East³ (p. 17–18, 25, 36).

While answering their question, F. Cede and C. Prosl demonstrated in their book that in the period after the Second World War, the Austrian foreign policy was not devoid of distinguishing features. One of these unique features was that for more than 17 years, this country had to live under occupation – first by Germany (from the Anschluss of 12 March 1938 to the proclamation of independence by the interim government headed by Chancellor Karl Renner on 27 April, 1945), and then by the Allies (from 27 April 1945 to 27 July 1955, when the state treaty⁴ entered into force). The authors of the book commended the successes of post-war Austria, which managed to quickly restore her state institutions, including the foreign service, as well as her economy, financial system and infrastructure (p. 20–22). This was mostly due to the fact that in Austria, despite her being divided into four occupation zones, the government controlled the entire territory, unlike in Germany, which was separated into two states (p. 24–25). The Marshall Plan also applied to all occupation zones in Austria, including the Soviet one, notwithstanding the initial dissatisfaction by the USSR and the denouncing statements by the Austrian Communist Party, which, however, was not an influential one, having at that time only four representatives in parliament (p. 24, 27). Moreover, F. Cede and C. Prosl drew attention to the very formulation of the question of the status of Austria after the end of the war: even despite the Austrian diplomats were initially unable to directly participate in the negotiations of the Allies, it was largely thanks to them that she did not sign a *peace treaty* (like the ones signed with Italy, Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Finland in 1947), but a *state treaty*, which emphasised the fact that Austria did not belong to the Axis powers, but had been occupied by Germany (p. 30).

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³Foreign policy strategy 2020–23 / Federal department of foreign affairs. Bern : Federal department of foreign affairs, 2020. P. 8, 24.

⁴State treaty for the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Austria // Bundesgesetzbl. für die Republ. Österreich. 1955. Nr. 152. S. 762–779.



Another feature of Austrian foreign policy was her permanent neutrality, which did not have deep historical roots as in some other European states (Switzerland, Sweden, Liechtenstein), but was declared on 26 October 1955⁵ in accordance with the provisions of the Moscow Memorandum signed on 15 April 1955, exactly one month before the conclusion of the state treaty. The authors of the book considered the signing of these documents and the declaration of neutrality as a major success for Austrian diplomacy (p. 30). At the same time, it was a compromise decision to suit the USSR being concerned about the strengthening of NATO, which at that time was preparing to admit the Federal Republic of Germany as its member in accordance with the Paris protocol of 23 October 1954 and the law of 24 March 1955 (Germany joined the Alliance on 6 May 1955)⁶.

F. Cede and C. Prosl pointed out that Austrian permanent neutrality was modelled upon the Switzerland's as it is the oldest state in the world with such status⁷ (p. 39). The corresponding foreign policy was being developed and implemented by the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, created in 1959, which was at various times headed by Bruno Kreisky, Kurt Waldheim and Rudolf Kirchschläger (p. 35). Their policy was based on the concept of *active neutrality*. According to the authors of the book, this term was coined in Austria (p. 106). However, already in 1953, the head of the Federal Political Department (the Swiss Foreign Office) Max Petitpierre said that neutrality should be active, particularly in the humanitarian sphere, and manifest itself in collaboration with other countries in all possible areas, including in peacetime⁸, which allows to trace an even deeper connection with the Swiss experience in this field.

A significant part of the book is devoted to the history of diplomacy and international relations in Europe in the second half of the 20th century. The book deals with such key events as the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the breakup of Yugoslavia and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. In each chapter, F. Cede and C. Prosl characterised both the general situation in the region and the Austrian position or response to these events, as well as the moments when she most notably demonstrated herself. In particular, in 1966 Austria was the first Western country to support the Soviet Union's idea of

convening a pan-European conference, which would later become the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the highest point of détente during the Cold War. It was in Vienna, the capital of Austria, where the CSCE Centre for Conflict Prevention opened up in 1991 and where the CSCE headquarters moved to in 1993 (since 1996, it has been the headquarters of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) (p. 58–59). What is more, in June 1993, Vienna hosted the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights, which adopted, at the initiative of Austria, the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action – a document where the protection of human rights was for the first time not considered as interference in the internal affairs of a country in which they are violated, but as the solemn commitment of all states⁹ (p. 63). It is also worth noting that before her accession to the European Union in 1995, Austria remained the only country in the world that did not recognise the legal succession of the Russian Federation to the USSR, which emphasised the independent stance of Austrian foreign policy (p. 107).

The book also contains examples of successful personal initiatives of Austrian diplomats. The most impressive of them was the work of the Austrian Embassy in Czechoslovakia headed by R. Kirchschläger, who issued tens of thousands of entry visas for citizens of this country and helped them flee to Austria from the Warsaw Pact invasion in August 1968. It is important to stress that the Austrian ambassador did this contrary to the recommendations of Foreign Minister K. Waldheim, but in accordance with the *humanitarian traditions* of his country, thereby showing diplomatic and political foresight (p. 44).

F. Cede and C. Prosl devoted a number of chapters of their book to the bilateral relations of Austria with certain countries of Europe and other parts of the world. The Belarusian researchers may find it interesting that this country is mentioned twice in the book: within Austria's cooperation with the Central European Initiative member states, one of which is Belarus (p. 79), as well as while discussing the dissolution of the USSR and the formation of new independent states on its territory, where – with the exception of Belarus, the authors emphasised, – reforms have been carried out based on the concepts of democracy, the free market economy and the rule of law (p. 107).

⁵Bundesverfassungsgesetz vom 26. Oktober 1955 über die Neutralität Österreichs // Bundesgesetzbl. für die Republ. Österreich. 1955. Nr. 211. S. 115.

⁶Gesetz betreffend den Beitritt der Bundesrepublik Deutschland zum Brüsseler Vertrag und zum Nordatlantikvertrag // Bundesgesetzbl. Teil II. 1955. Nr. 7. S. 256–294.

⁷Memorandum über die Ergebnisse der Besprechungen zwischen der Regierungsdelegation der Sowjetunion und der Regierungsdelegation der Republik Österreich. Art. I, II [Elektronische Ressource] // Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/de/obj/memorandum_uber_die_besprechungen_der_sowjetunion_und_osterreich_15_april_1955-de-63977731-04e8-4657-87fa-1d48c3ea6a18.html (Datum der Bewerbung: 27.05.2021).

⁸La neutralité suisse. Conférence donnée le 28.5.1953 à Neuchâtel par Max Petitpierre, Conseiller fédéral. P. 18 [Ressource électronique] // Documents diplomatiques suisses. URL: <https://dodis.ch/14036> (date d'accès : 27.05.2021).

⁹Vienna declaration and programme of action Art. 1, 34–37 [Electronic resource] // Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. URL: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/Vienna.aspx> (date of access: 27.05.2021).



In addition, sufficient attention in the book is given to the policy of Austria as a host state, her human rights initiatives, peace and humanitarian policy, cultural diplomacy, foreign economic policy, and development cooperation. The authors did not overlook such complex moments in Austrian politics as the status of South Tyrol in Austria's relations with Italy and the issue of restitution and compensation for victims of the Nazi regime after the end of the Second World War.

The book «Ambition and reality» has a logical structure, each chapter provides an adequate, detailed and self-sufficient overview of its topic. It is of high scientific interest both for those studying the history

and politics of Austria, and for those studying the history of diplomacy and international relations in general. Returning to their question posed at the beginning of the book, F. Cede and C. Prosl noted that the development of a long-term foreign policy strategy for Austria is an issue that still needs to be addressed in the future (p. 157). At the same time, the authors made a number of recommendations to the leadership of Austria and all interested parties and stressed that foreign policy is the business of each and every citizen.

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