

Acknowledgements

Writing this book required the help of many people and institutions. I would particularly like to thank the Historical Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and its chairman, Professor Arnold Suppan, for making this project possible, and the Institute for General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the directorship of Academician Aleksandr O. Chubar'ian and his deputy Viktor V. Ishchenko for providing me several fellowship grants to do archival research in Moscow. Furthermore, I wish to thank the directors and archivists of the Austrian State Archives, the Bruno Kreisky Archives, the Foreign-Policy Archives of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archives for Contemporary History, and the Gorbachev Foundation, all of which were used to do research for this project. In the archives, Rudolf Jerabek, Dieter Lautner, Nadezhda P. Mozzhukhina, Heinz Placz, Mikhail Iu. Prozumenshchikov, Sergei V. Pavlov, Maria Steiner, and Natal'ia G. Tomilina were particularly supportive. Further thanks go to the Hoover Institution Archives and Library at Stanford University and the Library of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna. Among other things, the Ministry was helpful in verifying the dates of accreditation of the Austrian ambassadors in Moscow. My colleagues Professor Peter Jordan and Florian Partl, granted me access to their collection of Soviet statistics and various documents.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Michael Gehler of the University of Hildesheim, Professor Andreas Kappeler of the University of Vienna, and Professor Norman M. Naimark of Stanford University for reading and commenting on parts of the manuscript. Three of Austria's former ambassadors to the Soviet Union, Herbert Grubmayr, Gerald Hinteregger, and Fritz Bauer shared their recollections with me, and I am particularly grateful for their thoughts. I am also indebted to Ambassador Paul Ullmann, who provided me a copy of his unpublished study on Austrian diplomats in Moscow, to Professor Oliver Rathkolb of the University of Vienna and to my colleague Maximilian Graf, who granted me the right to use their copies of some Soviet and GDR documents. Special thanks for their helpful remarks go to Mr. Ernst Aichinger of the Ministry of European and International Affairs, professors Thomas Angerer of the University of Vienna, Günter Bischof of the University of New Orleans, Thomas Fischer of the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva, Mark Kramer of Harvard University, Erwin A. Schmidl of the Austrian Defense Academy and, last but not least, to Professor emeritus Gerald Stourzh for his teaching, support, and comments.

This work was written during a fellowship at Stanford University's Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, and I would like to thank its director, Professor Coit D. Blacker, as well as Professor Roland Hsu and Laura Seaman for making this stay a pleasant experience. I wish also to thank Cynthia Peck-Kubaczek for her editorial assistance, Vera Machat for her help in editing the published Russian and Austrian documents in the appendix of this volume, and all my other colleagues and friends at the Historical Commission, in particular Professor William D. Godsey, Jr., for helping me translate the most extravagant passages in archival documents, Barbara Haider-Wilson for recommending useful literature and Michael Portmann. Special thanks go to Gerald Reisenbauer for formatting the manuscript, to Oliver Hunger for designing the cover of this volume, and to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for accepting this study for publication in its series *Zentraleuropa-Studien*.

Vienna, October 2010

“Royal families formerly used to employ whipping-boys, who had the honor of receiving con-dign punishment on their profane backs, whenever any of the scions of royalty had committed an offense against the rules of good behavior. The modern European political system continues this practice, in a certain degree, in the erection of small intermediate States, which have to act the scapegoat in any domestic squabble by which the harmony of the ‘balance of power’ may be troubled. And in order to enable these smaller States to perform this enviable part with suitable dignity, they are, by the common consent of Europe ‘in Congress assembled,’ and with all due solemnity declared ‘*neutral*.’” Frederick Engels, “Political Position of the Swiss Republic,” [1853], in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works* 12 (Moscow: Progress, 1979), 86–92, 86.

