Reviews

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Michael Gehler. Österreichs Außenpolitik der Zweiten Republik: Von der alliierten Besatzung bis zum Europa des 21. Jahrhunderts. 2 vols. Innsbruck: Studien Verlag, 2005. Pp. 1292. Cloth €144,90.

Michael Gehler, a professor of recent and contemporary history at the University of Innsbruck, is one of the rising stars among scholars of contemporary Austrian history and the study of European integration. His ambitious, fluently written, and provocative two-volume study of Austrian foreign policy will challenge diplomats, scholars, and general readers to rethink the role of Austria in European and world affairs. He denies that there is any obvious teleological pattern to Austrian history since 1945. Nevertheless, he lauds the important role that a small, self-proclaimed neutral state has played and can play in a world dominated by large states in eras of Cold War, European integration, and would-be American hegemonialism in post-Cold-War world affairs.

Gehler presents Austrian foreign policy in six thematically descriptive chronological periods. His main caesuras, however, are the "annus mirabilis" of 1955 and the "annus horribilis" of 2000. In 1955, Austrian diplomats freed Austria from Four-Power occupation through a self-proclaimed and constitutionally cemented "perpetual neutrality." It became a mythic self-image used as a means to end Russian occupation in 1955. Later, it helped Austria to reach a high point of national image-enhancing world engagement in crisis attenuating and mediating efforts during the Kreisky era. Gehler is a particular aficionado of this period of a "politics of active neutrality." Throughout his work he sounds a clarion call for the value of small-state neutrality, peace-promotion, and the observance of UN-promoted international law.

To Gehler, the "annus horribilis" of the "EU 14" sanctions of 2000, like the "Waldheim Affair" of the 1980s, is an example of how the domestic politics of other states have tarnished the image and limited the efficacy of Austrian foreign policy. He admits the necessity of Austria and Austrians getting beyond their instrumentalized "Victim Thesis." He applauds steps taken to right the wrongs of the Austrian perpetrators of Nazi injustices. But, he denounces what he sees as the scapegoating of Austria by other states with populist xenophobes of their own.

Gehler's detailed analysis of Austrian foreign policy sets a high standard for future research. His 225 pages of analysis of sources, detailed bibliography, and list of oral interviewees demonstrate his own scholarship and will assist others. His use of extended quotations from written and oral documentary sources is at times overly didactic, but may be helpful to scholars. What is most affecting about Gehler's work is the energy of his obvious personal ideological engagement and advocacy of "a politics of active neutrality." There is even a photo (page 964) of the author standing solidly/symbolically beside a 2004 Austrian election poster that proclaims the position of one of the presidential candidates, as well as of Michael Gehler: "Active for peace and neutrality." Three cheers!