

Oliver Rathkolb

“Expert Clearing Houses” in Vienna as Two-Way Transfer Hubs of Ideas during the Cold War and the Transformation Period after 1989

Introduction

During the Cold War, a large number of in-depth and lasting expert discussions and working groups were hosted permanently in Austria - e.g. at the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw), International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) and at the Institute for Human Sciences (IWM). Vienna, which is still an under-researched arena of the Cold War, therefore was a perfect location as it was situated in a neutral country close to the Iron Curtain but with strong Western ties. In this sense Vienna became a clearing house for the exchange of ideas and concepts in both directions which will be reconstructed and analysed in the proposed research project using the following case studies, as these institutions used Vienna as a major hub for exchange of concepts and ideas:

The International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) was established as a special international research organisation by twelve countries (among them the two superpowers) to 'build a common future'. The Institute produced a deep impact on expert cooperation and the transfer of scientific research, which included new value systems with profound effects on the transition and transformation period. The Institute for Human Sciences (IWM) was founded by the philosopher Krzysztof Michalski in 1982 with the aim to reintegrate ideas and experiences of Eastern Europe into Western scientific debates.¹

The proposed research project aims to analyze the specific implication of elite groups on the East-West-Transfer of central perceptions of economic and political reform in the growing crisis of the 1970s, and how these regular meetings influenced the mostly peaceful transition of regimes in 1989 as well as the early transformation phase (including continuities of pre-1989 elites). Therefore, objectives of the project are: a. new theoretical insights by shifting the perspective on hitherto neglected intermediary contact zone Vienna; b. methodological innovation by combining historical network analysis in the framework of entangled history and heuristic analysis and, almost as an immediate product of this approach, c. the creation of new sources by interviewing surviving central actors in the areas under scrutiny and by unearthing new primary source material, d. the shift of long term effects and impact upon the transition period after 1989/1991 using historical network analysis to identify intensive communication brokers and topics discussed within certain time frames.

¹ “The Institute”, Institute for Human Sciences, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://www.iwm.at/the-institute/>

Scientific/scholarly aspects

Clearly defined aims and hypotheses or research question(s) of the project

Above all, the project is intended to bring the Cold War history back to Europe without losing the global perspective. This proposal is underpinned by the hypothesis that European Cold War history since the 1960s has been shaped by increasing inter- and transnational entanglements and transfers. They accelerated the perforation of the Iron Curtain² considerably and thus not only prepared the field for the transformation after 1989/1991, but also decisively shaped the following reform process. Another hypothesis of the project is the assumption of a reciprocal tangible impact of expert discourses, especially on the transformation phase following the end of the Cold War in 1989/1991 in the field of economics, cultural, natural and social sciences.

For instance, the IIASA was an interdisciplinary international research think tank consisting of 200 social and natural scientists as well as engineers from over 60 countries who began discussing computer communication networks and thinking about the electronic data transfer in 1974.³ In July 1977 the first transatlantic data connection started, and the former data network “IIASANET” connected facilities in Budapest, Bratislava, Moscow, Paris and Pisa. The first project leader was Alexander Butrimenko from the USSR. Outstanding scientists like the Nobel Prize laureates Tjalling Koopmans, Leonid Kantorovich, George Dantzig, Thomas Schelling, Lawrence Klein and Paul Crutzen worked with IIASA. The substantive innovations that emerged from IIASA and how these were subsequently implemented after 1989 are an important case study for this project including the so far neglected aspect of impacts for political decision making. These include modeling and solutions for dealing with so-called post-normal problems, such as the reduction of transboundary pollution.⁴

The IWM was founded by the philosopher Krzysztof Michalski in 1982. He had, up until 1989, brought together a number of Polish intellectuals with other discussants from Eastern and Central Europe in Vienna for a series of meetings to offer them an intellectual platform. Some of these intellectuals were politically active after 1989, such as the Krakow philosophy professor Józef Tischner, who was engaged in the Polish trade union “Solidarity” and enjoyed tremendous popularity after 1989.⁵ The sociologist Jerzy Szacki was also associated with the IWM. In 1991, Szacki co-founded the *Solidarność Pracy* (Labour Solidarity), a

² Poul Villaume and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *Perforating the Iron Curtain: European Détente, Transatlantic Relations, and the Cold War, 1965–1985* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2010), ISBN: 9788763525886.

³ Frank Dittmann, “Technik versus Konflikt. Wie Datennetze den Eisernen Vorhang durchdrangen,” *Osteuropa* 59, no.10 (2009): 106, ISSN: 00306428. Isabell Schrickel, “International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA),” in *Den Kalten Krieg vermessen: Über Grenzen, Reichweite und Alternativen einer binären Ordnungsvorstellung*, eds. Frank Reichherzer, Emmanuel Droit, and Jan Hansen, 199–214 (Oldenburg: De Gruyter, 2018), ISBN: 9783110484199.

⁴ E.g. Schrickel, *IIASA*, 209f.

⁵ “Józef Tischner“, Instytut Myśli Józefa Tischnera, accessed May 14, 2019.

http://www.tischner.org.pl/eng/aktualnosci/jozef_tischner.

short-lived social-democratic party formed by left-wing Solidarity members. Another example is the sociologist Zdzisław Krasnodebski, who was at the IWM in 1985/86 as a visiting fellow, and made a name for himself after 1989 as a critic of the Polish liberals and left-wing liberals. From 2005 to 2007 he was a member of the advisory staff for Mr. Kaczynski’s twin brother Jarosław Kaczyński. Here, too, the focus of the analysis is on the concrete interactions with and influences on the lectures and discussions in Vienna, as well as on the interaction with the IWM networks during the transformation phase.

First archival preparatory searches for the project showed that even within the Soviet Union and the later Russian Federation, experts from Gorbachev’s economic advisors worked in our sample, such as Abel Aganbegyan (working in the IIASA in the TN Management and Technology program 1976).⁶ A complete search will certainly produce a number of other examples. Here an important question for the origins of the decline of the Soviet Union and the Communist system should be discussed: Why despite technological knowledge and excellent skills the digital revolution and the computer age never reach Soviet and Communist economies despite intensive scientific cooperation? Why did the strong military and space research in the Soviet Union not change the civil economy?

Besides, there is the aim to demonstrate that the “Clearing houses” are also kind of representative for the Cold War between the superpowers: Firstly, it is to retrace that the original goal of the policy of the two superpowers was also to gain control via scientific collaboration. As global problems of new technologies – e.g. nuclear power engineering, telecommunication - started to emerge, both superpowers had a vivid interest not only to control, but also to dominate these new systems. Therefore, the founding of the IIASA represented a type of intergovernmental organization for that very purpose. Secondly, immigrants with specialized expertise from the Eastern bloc put a human face on the Cold War confrontation and actively worked to overcome the tension between the two opposed blocs by working both with their former Eastern colleagues and their new colleagues in the West. The IWM represent a “clearing house” where this kind of connection took place.

In all these analyses of expert interactions and discussions, the main objective of the examination is to ascertain the impact on transformation developments, which subsumes not only, as in mainstream literature, the changes in Eastern and Southeastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but also those in “Western Europe” and in the USA. However, it is also important to consider the global influences on the processes within the selected institutions, as well as in the subsequent decision-making processes, which will be reduced to central economic and political framework conditions and the ideas and models behind them. These include, giving two examples, the organization of democracies or the economic order and opening spaces of states.

⁶ Anders Åslund, “Gorbachev’s Economic Advisors,” *Soviet Economy* 3, no. 3 (1987): 246–69, ISSN: 08826994.

Description of the project’s anticipated level of originality or scientific/scholarly innovation

The ultimate goal of this project goes beyond a set of East-West case studies: It aims to analyse processes of entanglement and interaction as well as concrete transformation decision making. Following the advice of Odd Arne Westad⁷ that “given the uncertainties that still surround the study of the Cold War, any placing of it within its wider context must be cautious and careful”, my approach will be analysed “along the axes of politics and economics, science and technology, and culture and ideas”, with a special focus on the two latter areas and focusing on the very specific process of national autonomy and continuity versus superpower influence, pressures and trends. This specific field of research will include the concrete impact of cultural and intellectual transfers of economic and political trends upon elite networks in institutional East-West contacts since the 1970s, at the IIASA and the IWM.

The central research focus is to analyse the specific implication of these elite groups on the East-West transfer of central perceptions of economic and political reform in the growing crisis of the 1970s, and how these regular meetings influenced the mostly peaceful transition of regimes in 1989 as well as the early transformation phase (including continuities of pre-1989 elites). The research will examine tangible implications of two-way economic and political exchanges and models on post-1989/1991 transformational developments in economies and political cultures. Rather than focusing solely on transfers going from West to East, particular attention will be paid to East to West transfers, which have thus far received insufficient scholarly treatment.

The initial hypothesis that these expert exchanges not only had deeply effects on the decision-making processes and attitudes pre-1989/1991, but profoundly influenced both the “West” and the “East”, represents an additional original approach of this study. As state of the art, the transformation research is dominated by the social sciences, following mostly a teleological West-East one-way perspective. Also, historical approaches in the current and historical transformation literature do barely change this perspective.⁸ For instance, the historian Philipp Ther emphasizes primarily the negative influence of Thatcherism and Reaganomics and the exciting role of the transformation from below in Eastern Europe, thus underscoring the one-way perspective.⁹ But it is precisely the theoretical debates behind these neoliberal concepts that are based on perceptions about the state-socialist economy and communist politics. It is, however, currently unclear to what extent the selected expert groups and institutions of our project sample have found their way

⁷ Odd Arne Westad, “The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century,” in *Cambridge History of the Cold War*, vol. 1, *Origins*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 8, ISBN: 9780521837194.

⁸ E.g. the Research Cluster for the Study of East Central Europe and the History of Transformations “RECET”, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://recet.univie.ac.at/people-and-projects>.

⁹ Philipp Ther, *Europe since 1989: A History*, trans. Charlotte Hughes-Kreutzmüller (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), ISBN: 9780691167374.

into neoliberal think tanks. Thus, a historicization of the transformation approaches with an emphasis on continuities of social adaptations after 1989 is required.¹⁰ Therefore, in order to achieve new results, a stringent radical research perspective of mutual transfers and bilateral transformations serves as the starting point of this project and represents a fundamental change of perspective beyond the state of the art.

Also, this project will push transnational network studies into a new dimension through the use of an historical network analysis approach based on new sources and new actors who were included the decision-making in economics and politics in the post-Cold War period.

Relevance to international research in the field (international state of research)

No in-depth research has been carried out so far on the IWM.¹¹ Studies on IIASA provided important first information and analysis on the selected research aims and methods, but neither address long term effects nor include research with regards to content exchanges.¹²

In the book “Russia and the Idea of the West”, the US political scientist Robert English demonstrated how central the role of a minority group within the Soviet intelligentsia was for preparing many of the concepts that inspired Gorbachev’s perestroika. These concepts were influenced by Western ideas and a “distinct ‘Westernizing’ set of beliefs”.¹³ Although his thesis is disputed by two other political scientists, Stephen Brooks and William C. Wohlforth,¹⁴ who focused on the central push factor of economic backwardness and crisis in the Soviet Union as the driving force for the changes under Gorbachev, English’s contribution to a

¹⁰ Florian Kühner-Wielach and Sarah Lemmen, “Transformation in East Central Europe: 1918 and 1989. A Comparative Approach,” *European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire* 23, no. 4 (2016): 573–79, DOI: 10.1080/13507486.2016.1178895.

¹¹ Robert Brier, ed., *Entangled Protest: Transnational Approaches to the History of Dissent in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Osnabrück: fibre, 2013), ISBN: 9783938400968; Friederike Kind-Kovács, *Written Here, Published There: How Underground Literature Crossed the Iron Curtain* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2014), ISBN: 9789633860229; Friederike Kind-Kovács and Jessie Labov, eds., *Samizdat, Tamizdat, and Beyond. Transnational Media During and After Socialism* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), ISBN: 9780857455857.

¹² E.g. Matthias Duller, “Internationalization of Cold War systems: RAND, IIASA, and the Institutional Reasons for Methodological Change,” *History of the Human Sciences* 29, no. 4/5 (2016): 172–190, DOI: 10.1177/0952695116667882; Leena Riska-Campbell, *Bridging East and West: The Establishment of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in the United States Foreign Policy of Bridge Building, 1964-1972* (Helsinki: The Finnish Society of Science and Letters, 2011), ISBN: 9789516533882.

¹³ Robert English, *Russia and the Idea of the West: Gorbachev, Intellectuals and the End of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 5, ISBN: 0231110588.

¹⁴ Stephen G. Brooks and William C. Wohlforth, “What Is the Problem with Experts? Power, Globalization, and the End of the Cold War: Reevaluating a Landmark Case for Ideas,” *International Security* 25, no. 3 (Winter 2000-2001): 5–53, DOI: 10.1162/016228800560516.

new Cold War history is significant and he subsequently demonstrated in later studies that the transfer of ideas was highly relevant and took place before the deep economic crisis in the Soviet Union.¹⁵

Cold War transfer research has increased in recent years, as evidenced, for instance, by the study by a team of Marjatta Hietala, as well as the “Knowledge through the Iron Curtain” project at the Aleksanteri Institute (affiliated with Helsinki University).¹⁶ As co-editor of the Cambridge History of the Cold War, Westad furthermore acknowledged the beginning of a “Cultural Turn” in the new Cold War history.¹⁷ Cultural and social history is currently presenting new evidence “Across the Blocs”¹⁸, with emphasis on everyday culture, media and propaganda. In 2015, Michael David-Fox published an anthology with case studies on cultural transfers from the US into Soviet society.¹⁹ Similar topics have been the subject of historical research on Europe, too: for example, Volker Berghahn’s study focusing on the Ford Foundation network²⁰ or Anselm Doering-Manteuffels studies on Americanization and Westernization of the “Germans”.²¹ This international field, however requires more thorough historical research based on a broader empirical basis and analysing a longer period over the course of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. An innovative anthology edited by Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen entitled “Beyond the Divide: Entangled Histories of Cold War Europe” provides valuable individual case studies but still neither approaches the long term impact after 1989/1991 nor deals with a larger sample or discusses the influence on concrete political decision-making.²² This project will also incorporate the shift towards analysis of knowledge production and knowledge transfer influencing political decision making and public opinion.

European entanglements from the level of agents to that of the decision makers in the late Cold War and in the transformation period after 1989/1991 still necessitate much more research despite publications from political scientists on the “Fourth Dimension” of transformation with their special emphasis on the impact of

¹⁵ Robert English, “The Sociology of New Thinking: Elites, Identity Change, and the End of the Cold War,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 7, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 43–80, DOI: 10.1162/1520397053630628.

¹⁶ Sari Autio-Sarasmö and Katalin Miklóssy, eds., *Reassessing Cold War Europe* (London: Routledge, 2011), ISBN: 978415587693.

¹⁷ Jessica Gienow-Hecht, “Culture and the Cold War in Europe” in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1, Origins*, eds. Melvin P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 398–419, ISBN: 9780521837194.

¹⁸ Rana Mitter and Patrick Major, eds., *Exploring Comparative Cold War Cultural and Social History* (London: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 2004), ISBN 9780714684642.

¹⁹ Michael David-Fox, *Crossing Borders: Modernity, Ideology, and Culture in Soviet Russia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press 2015), ISBN: 9780822980926.

²⁰ Volker Berghahn, *America and the Cultural Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy and Diplomacy*, Princeton 2001, ISBN: 0691102562.

²¹ Anselm Doering-Manteuffel, *Wie westlich sind die Deutschen? Amerikanisierung und Westernisierung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), ISBN: 3525340176.

²² Simo Mikkonen and Pia Koivunen, eds., *Beyond the Divide: Entangled Histories of Cold War Europe* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), ISBN: 9781782388661.

transnational actors and networks in post-communist politics.²³ With their very special position, the two Germanys represent a favourable field for such studies of the mutual mirroring and constant negotiation as it is shown in the knowledge transfer study by Jens Niederhut on East German natural scientists and the West or in Axel Doßmann’s study on the bridge in Hirschberg.²⁴ The latter stands very much in the tradition of research of everyday life in socialism that concentrates on what is termed “cultures of Cold War” (Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Payk and Thomas Lindenberger), with special emphasis placed on propaganda media such as film and radio as well as TV in the German states and individual Central European states.²⁵ What is still very much lacking is a focus on intermediary agents and a focus on East-East entanglements, Arnd Bauerkämper’s and Francesco di Palma’s anthology on the relationship between the Communist SED and Communist parties in Western and South Eastern Europe from 2011 being a notable exception.²⁶

Despite a growing philosophical and social science-oriented literature on experts, neither a theory nor a definition of an expert exists in the Cold War historiography. Therefore we use a formal and functional definition: We do not intend to engage in the intensive discussion about experts and democracy as dealt with by Jürgen Habermas and Stephen Turner, to mention just a few authors.²⁷ Experts in this project are defined as scientists and academics trained intensively in economics, natural science, philosophy and other humanities who then become involved in political decision-making, advise and work for government agencies and governments and can influence political decision-making and public debates. Within the project, we will contribute on an empirical basis to the social science and philosophical discussion about “experts” and their role in a liberal democracy and within public debates and transparent decision-making.²⁸

The testable hypothesis of the project is based on research on the history of the Cold War done already in the 1980s,²⁹ and assumes that the Cold War was neither an “expression of an extremely reactionary anti-Soviet

²³ E.g. Mitchell A. Orenstein, Stephen Bloom, and Nicole Lindstrom, eds., *Transnational Actors in Central and East European Transitions* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), ISBN: 0822943484.

²⁴ Jens Niederhut, *Wissensaustausch im Kalten Krieg. Die ostdeutschen Naturwissenschaftler und der Westen* (Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 2007), ISBN: 9783412237066; Axel Doßmann, *An der innerdeutschen Grenze: Die Saalebrücke auf der Autobahn München-Berlin, 1936-2006*, 2nd ed. (Erfurt: Landeszentrale für politische Bildung Thüringen, 2012), ISBN: 9783937967837.

²⁵ Annette Vowinckel, Marcus M. Payk and Thomas Lindenberger, eds., *Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012), ISBN: 9780857452436.

²⁶ Arnd Bauerkämper and Francesco Di Palma, eds., *Bruderparteien jenseits des Eisernen Vorhangs: Die Beziehungen der SED zu den kommunistischen Parteien West- und Südeuropas (1968-1989)* (Berlin: Ch. Links, 2011), ISBN: 9783861536581.

²⁷ Stephen Turner, “What is the Problem with Experts?”, *Social Studies of Science* 31, no. 1, (2001): 123–49, DOI: 10.1177/030631201031001007.

²⁸ Stephen P. Turner, *The Politics of Expertise* (New York: Routledge, 2013), ISBN: 9781134644162.

²⁹ Wilfried Loth, *Die Teilung der Welt: Geschichte des Kalten Krieges 1941–1955*. Paperback ed. (Munich: dtv, 2000), ISBN: 3423307560.

strategy and policy on the part of the aggressive forces of world imperialism”³⁰ nor a “brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression.”³¹

So far, much of Cold War historiography has focussed on the changing constellations of conflict and has mostly used sources of diplomatic history expanded through additional archival evidence available in the former Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union and China after 1990/1991.³² Classical Cold War historiography has concentrated on three basic models explaining the changes of 1989/1991: 1) A “birth defect” of the Soviet Union meant that it was only able to sustain the ideological claim to power through military (interventionary) force. 2) The US armament policy under Presidents Reagan and Bush Senior overwhelmed the Soviet Union. 3) Transformation occurred as a result of détente and various forms of exchanges and contacts.

With his examination on “The Global Cold War”, Arne Westad has completed a definitive paradigm shift in Cold War historiography.³³ He has done so after having previously critically edited an exciting and comprehensive collection of source material with Jussi M. Hanhimäki over the course of a 700-page documentary report.³⁴ This shift in the East-West confrontation from Europe to the so-called “Third World” has also changed the timeframe, which has now moved up more clearly into the 1970s and 1980s.³⁵ At the same time, this study, more so than previous studies, factored into its account not only the key actors in the USSR and USA, but also the role of other states' leaders in more in-depth and subtle ways, extending its research beyond Korea, Cuba and Vietnam. So, the New International History of the Cold War has concentrated on “three (possible) paradigms” as Odd Arne Westad has argued: Ideology, Technology and the Third World.³⁶

³⁰ Hans Teller, *Der kalte Krieg gegen die DDR: Von seinen Anfängen bis 1961* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1979), X, <https://permalink.obvsg.at/AC00976356>.

³¹ Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., cited by Robert James Maddox, *The New Left and the Origins of the Cold War* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 3, ISBN: 0691056544.

³² E.g. John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), ISBN: 9781594200625; *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Vol. 1- 3*, eds. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ISBN: 9780521837194, 9780521837200, 9780521837217; *The Cold War in Europe: Era of a Divided Continent*, ed. Charles S. Maier (New York: Markus Wiener Publishing, 1991), ISBN: 9781558761339; Georges-Henry Soutou, *La guerre de cinquante ans: Le conflit Est-Ouest 1943-1990* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), ISBN: 9782702863848; Bernd Stöver, *Der Kalte Krieg 1947 – 1991: Geschichte eines radikalen Zeitalters*, 2nd ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2010), ISBN: 9783406556333; Odd A. Westad, *The Global Cold War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), ISBN: 0521853648;

³³ Westad, *The Global Cold War*.

³⁴ Jussi M. Hanhimäki and Odd Arne Westad, eds., *The Cold War: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), ISBN: 0198208626.

³⁵ E.g. James Mark and Quinn Slobodian, “Eastern Europe in the Global History of Decolonization“ in *The Oxford Handbook of the Ends of Empire*, eds. Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780198713197.013.20.

³⁶ Odd Arne Westad, “The New International History of the Cold War: Three (Possible) Paradigms,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2000), 551–65, DOI: 10.1111/0145-2096.00236.

In Cold War historiography, this specific notion that the transfer of ideas did matter regarding the end of the Cold War and the early transformation period is compatible with a model by Bernd Stöver.³⁷ Not only John F. Kennedy, but European politicians like Willy Brandt in Western Germany and Bruno Kreisky in Austria and others aimed for a peaceful transformation of Eastern Europe through intensive economic contacts, exchange of information and personal interaction and were, in the end, vindicated. In the negotiations for the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), Western states insisted on increasing not only economic links across the Iron Curtain, but also contacts between Western and Eastern media, civic organizations, and civilians. In this context, it is important to stress that some East-West transfers might have stabilized the East, albeit merely for a short period of time, while others had a delegitimizing impact on communist rule and economies. Within these lines of thought mutual processes of “othering” represent another background condition, as they were reproduced or challenged within these exchanges. The discursive divide between Eastern and Western Europe has long historical roots as Larry Wolff and Maria Todorova have demonstrated.³⁸ This tradition plays into Cold War perceptions and partly influences interactions in the areas of immediate East-West contacts. Historical studies have shown how concrete localities could develop into symbols of the “great divide”. Still lacking in this respect is research on mutual mirroring in sectoral imaginings of economy, politics and culture. The sociologists Johanna Bockman and Gil Eyal, too, have already conducted an important study on the transfers of discussions within Western (and here especially American) economists and Eastern European experts on economic issues.³⁹ Our aim for our empirical study is to add a further contribution by looking into the concrete transfer processes of such sectoral images within intermediary experts.

Methods

This project intends to expand on the experiences and results produced by historical network analysis, cultural and knowledge transfer research conducted within expert groups⁴⁰, the lasting importance and pertinence of which was underscored by the Soviet Cold War historian Vladislav Zubok, as he expressed his

³⁷ Stöver, *Der Kalte Krieg 1947 – 1991*, 468.

³⁸ Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), ISBN: 9780195087512; Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), ISBN: 0804723141.

³⁹ Johanna Bockman and Gil Eyal, "Eastern Europe as a Laboratory for Economic Knowledge: The Transnational Roots of Neoliberalism," *American Journal of Sociology* 108, no. 2 (2002): 310–52, DOI: 10.1086/344411.

⁴⁰ For the time before the Cold War, e.g. Davide Rodogno, Bernhard Struck and Jakob Vogel, eds., *Shaping the Transnational Sphere: Networks and Issues from the 1840s to the 1930s* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), ISBN: 9781782383581; Christophe Charle, *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2004), ISBN: 9783593373713. For the Cold War, e.g. Patryk Babiracki and Kenyon Zimmer, eds., *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s - 1960s* (Arlington: Texas A & M University Press, 2014), ISBN: 9781623490300.

“hopes that the methodologies tested ... will reverse nationalist denials and one-sided distortions of the ‘common past’”.⁴¹

For this reason, a selection of around 2500 experts (about 10 percent of these experts will be analyzed in detail) will be used. They belong to a small group on a second or third level of decision making with a certain amount of influence on political and diplomatic agents and on debates within society. The sample is a qualitative selection group. There will be oral history interviews with two different types of experts: Firstly, a core group of those open-minded experts taking extensively part into the exchange process by developing new ideas together with their colleagues. Secondly, a control group of experts who stayed within their ideological geopolitical precondition.

In order to organize and analyse these individual biographical research results we shall use a Historical Network analysis approach⁴² - based on the use of social network analysis to use large sets of data from historical sources to document “entanglements, human ties, and geographical distances of transnational communities and actors. The integration of SNA with advanced data visualization, semantic web and Resource Description Framework (RDF), mapping, and collaborative techniques promises further research advances within history”.⁴³ The project should examine the interactions between the experts as well as the strength and direction of these ties.

Using the concrete interactions between the experts, the resulting matrix visualizes the interaction and communication networks of the investigated persons within the long investigation period and thus provides one "statistical snapshot", as Marten Düring and Linda Keyserlingk call it.⁴⁴

Since the project has a clearly defined set of actors (the experts) and will be based on a rich vein of public, institutional and private primary sources, a historical network analysis is the perfect frame within which to

⁴¹ Vladislav Zubok, “Introduction,” in *Cold War Crossings: International Travel and Exchange across the Soviet Bloc, 1940s - 1960s*, eds. Patryk Babiracki and Kenyon Zimmer (Arlington: Texas A & M University Press, 2014), 1, ISBN: 9781623490300.

⁴² Marten Düring, Ulrich Eumann, Ulrich, Martin Stark and Linda von Keyserlingk, Linda, eds., *Handbuch Historische Netzwerkforschung: Grundlagen und Anwendungen* (Münster: LIT-Verlag, 2016), ISBN: 9783643117052, and the „Historical Network Research“, accessed May 14, 2019, <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/>; Stephen P. Borgatti, Martin G. Everett and Jeffrey Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks* (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 2013), ISBN: 9781446247419, and Patrick Jagoda, “Networks in Literature and Media” in *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*, eds. Priscilla Wald and Paula Rabinowitz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 1–31, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.135.

⁴³ “Digital Humanities im deutschsprachigen Raum” (blog), accessed May 14, 2019, <https://dhd-blog.org/?p=9604>; Marten Düring, “Historical Network Research. Network Analysis in the Historical Disciplines”, accessed August, 24, 2018, <http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/>.

⁴⁴ Marten Düring and Linda von Keyserlingk, “Netzwerkanalyse in den Geschichtswissenschaften: Historische Netzwerkanalyse als Methode für die Erforschung von historischen Prozessen“, in *Prozesse: Formen, Dynamiken, Erklärungen*, eds. Rainer Schützeichel and Stefan Jordan, 337–50. Wiesbaden: Springer, 2015, 339 and 347, ISBN: 9783531934587.

work towards an entangled history⁴⁵ in the field of Cold War transfer of knowledge history. Still, today⁴⁶ the focus on transnational networks is limited to individual biographies and tightly circumscribed issues of transfer of knowledge. Therefore, it certainly does not provide long term impact analyses based on a large sample of actors during the post-Cold War era.

Based on archival historical research (institutional, private and public archives in Vienna and the US, as well as in Russia and Eastern & Central Europe) and expert interviews, key research questions will be arranged around the long range reciprocal transfers among expert networks of the “Western” model of democracy and the role of the individual, and the “Eastern” state socialist counter models, as well as the guiding themes of economic policy in the context of globalization and deep economic and social reforms. In order to prepare this project, we have already conducted intensive archival fact-finding missions within these institutions and have unearthed new primary material of high quality.

Transnational history, defined “as the study of similarities, parallels, or connectors across national frontiers”, is to serve here as a point of departure to subject two traditional narrow key dates in connection with the beginning and the end of the Cold War to scrutiny.⁴⁷The lively discussion on transnational history has, in the meantime, produced a dense web of many voices⁴⁸ to which this project will make a significant contribution. The starting point is a reconstruction and analysis of those historical processes that have laid the foundation for decisive long-term changes based on social, political, economic and above all cultural developments in smaller Northern, Central, South, East and South-East European states. Here again the Austrian case as a clearing house of ideas is barely mentioned and certainly not reflected. As early as 1991 Charles Maier⁴⁹ has asked for Europeanization of Cold War history by intensively focussing on smaller countries.

Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney have attempted to use the crucial years 1945, 1968 and 1989 as the basis for three models of “transnational history”⁵⁰: 1. by comparing similar developments across national borders; 2. by analysing decisive structural divides and changes brought about by wars or economic developments and their supranational impact on national societies, and 3. by reflecting on concrete attempts

⁴⁵ Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann, “Beyond comparison: *Histoire croisée* and the challenge of reflexivity,” *History and Theory* 45, no. 1 (February 2006): 30–50, DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2303.2006.00347.x.

⁴⁶ Compare Alison Kraft, Holger Nehring and Carola Sachse, “Introduction,” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 20, *The Pugwash Conferences and the Global Cold War: Scientists, Transnational Networks, and the Complexity of Nuclear Histories*, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 4–30, DOI: 10.1162/jcws_e_00799.

⁴⁷ Bentley, Jerry H., “Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History,” *The American Historical Review* 101, no. 3 (1996): 749–70, DOI: 10.1086/ahr/101.3.749.

⁴⁸ E.g. the platform “Connections”, accessed May, 14, 2019, <https://www.connections.clio-online.net>, supported by members of the Global and European Studies Institute of the University of Leipzig and the research group 'Transfers culturels' at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Paris; Daniel Laqua, eds., *Internationalism reconfigured: Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars* (London: Tauris, 2011), ISBN: 9781848854697.

⁴⁹ Charles S. Maier, “Introduction,” in *The Cold War in Europe: Era of a Divided Continent*, ed. Charles S. Maier, 5–11. (New York: Markus Wiener Publishing), ISBN: 9781558761339.

⁵⁰ Gerd-Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney, eds., *Transnational Moments of Change: Europe 1945, 1968, 1989* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), XI, ISBN: 9780742523227.

to implant transnational political, social, and other changes. In terms of methodological approaches deriving from the conceptual basis, the project concentrates on qualitative sources of research.

Additionally, in order to solidify methodological coherence, the theoretical foundations of the oral history interviews, in comparison with the social science analysis of qualitative interviews, will be dealt on the basis of methodological classics such as Luisa Passerini, Paul Thompson, Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato.⁵¹ Besides, open biographical conversations are also planned, in order to document relevant similarities or influences among agents in diverse channels of transfer. The oral history interviews will provide new sources concerning the cultural dimension of these Cold War expert interactions - so far completely neglected in historical studies, but intensively researched in business studies.⁵² We have to include a historical *longue durée* in our common analysis both when interpreting the transfer contents and when discussing the experts.⁵³ The project team is aware of the pitfalls and dangers of oral history interviews with experts but when used in combination with written sources (documents, letters etc.), publications and other interviews we should be able to provide a high level qualitative basis to discuss our assumptions.

We are also aware of the fact that we have to overcome obstacles in studying intercultural communication between East and West from the assumed *ex post* point of view of Western economic and technological superiority (despite the economic crisis after 1973 and the first oil price shock and subsequent energy crisis). At the same time, we are interested in unearthing elements of East-West transfers despite this dominance of the West. Some of these channels of communication are formed by experts based in institutions such as IIASA and the IWM. These communication channels are partly connected with the political decision-making system, thus enabling us to discern the impact of these regular contacts and exchanges on low-key forms of political decision making.

⁵¹ Luisa Passerini, *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*, trans. Robert Lumley and Jude Bloomfield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), ISBN: 0521302900; Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), ISBN: 9780192192301.

⁵² Marzena Adamczyk, “The importance of cultural differences in international business,” *Central European Review of Economics and Management* 1, no. 2 (June 2017): 151–70, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.29015/cerem.335>.

⁵³ Compare Helke Rausch and John Krige, “Introduction: Tracing the Knowledge – Power Nexus of American Philanthropy,” in *American Foundations and the Coproduction of World Order in the 20th Century*, eds. Helke Rausch and John Krige (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 27, ISBN: 9783525310434.

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