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East-West Cooperation at the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies

Petra Mayrhofer

The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies
Wiener Institut für Internationale Wirtschaftsvergleiche

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PETRA MAYRHOFER

Petra Mayrhofer is a historian in the University of Vienna's Department of Contemporary History.

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Abstract

The founding history of the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw) during Cold War détente as well as the Institute's activities until 1989 demonstrate how scientific cooperation and knowledge transfer was successfully initiated and conducted across the East-West divide. This study retraces structures of this collaboration, focusing specifically on two international research programmes of wiiw: the Fellowship Programme and the Workshops on East-West European Economic Interactions.

Keywords: Founding history of wiiw, research programmes, East-West scientific cooperation, Cold War détente

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Introduction

During Cold War *détente*, there were initiatives to establish exchanges across the blocs. When it comes to the academic sphere, there were already networks in place, but this period helped to intensify and institutionalise existing contacts.

The following pilot study looks at the founding history of the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw), its research activities and how it fostered East-West academic cooperation until 1989, when the transformation processes started in Eastern Europe. Special emphasis is placed on the organisational structure of the cooperation as well as on its enduring impacts in the post-1989 period.

As sources, relevant material from wiiw Archive, the Bruno Kreisky Archives, the Rockefeller Archive Center, the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, the Hoover Institution Archives and private collections has been analysed. Other primary sources include oral history interviews with experts and contemporary witnesses. All these materials have been contextualised with secondary literature.

1. The founding history of the Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw)

The Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies (wiiw) has its roots as the Department for International Economic Comparisons at the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (WIFO). The main driver behind its founding was Franz Nemschak, the head of the WIFO at that time. Looking back, he said that he was motivated to found this department by his fascination for discussions about economic reforms in the then-communist states of Eastern Europe at the beginning of the 1960s. Economists were divided about these reforms, and some of them – including Dutch economist and Nobel Prize winner Jan Tinbergen – viewed them as a step towards the convergence of market and planned economies. This theory was also held by Nemschak, who believed that the WIFO should play an important mediating role if there were to be this kind of convergence of communism and capitalism given that neutral Austria was an ideal location for encounters between East and West (Seidel, personal communication, 26.01.2015).

Despite the Cold War, contacts between economists from the East and West already existed in these times. The international conference titled 'Economic Planning and Economic Growth', which was held in Gössing, Lower Austria, at the end of September 1965, was particularly significant for wiiw's founding history (Gazzari, personal communication, 24.02.2015). Organised by the Austrian Institute of East and South-East European Studies, the conference was attended by several foreign economists, including: Ota Šik and Bedřich Levčík, from the Institute of Economics of the Prague-based Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Branko Horvat, from the Belgrade-based Yugoslav Institute of Economic Research; Józef Pajestka, from the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers and the University of Warsaw; and Francis Seton, from the University of Oxford. A number of Austrian economists also attended, including: Eduard März, from the Chamber of Labour (AK); Stefan Wirlandner from the OeNB; and Nemschak, from WIFO (Wessely 1967).

After the conference, Nemschak began to focus on realising his vision of establishing a centre to conduct East-West economic research in Austria. As part of these efforts, he started to recruit like-minded fellow economists from Belgrade, Budapest, Prague and Moscow while also promoting Vienna as a suitable location for this body's home (Mayrhofer 2018). Manfred Mautner Markhof, the president of WIFO at the time, also supported research on Eastern European economies (Nemschak 1978).

In May 1967, Nemschak's attention was caught by an article titled 'Where East may meet West' (sic) written by McGeorge Bundy, former United States National Security Advisor to President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson as well as president of the Ford Foundation (Bundy 1967). At that time, Bundy was exploring the possibility of establishing an international centre to study the problems common to advanced societies on behalf of President Johnson (Bundy 22.12.1966). For this so-called 'Bundy initiative', he conducted fact-finding missions in London, Paris, Bonn, Rome and Moscow in May and June 1967, after which he wrote the article about this trip (for more details, see McDonald 1998).

Nemschak interpreted Bundy's article as a confirmation of his vision. This prompted him to immediately write a letter to Bundy to inform him that he was working on an idea to establish a study group for East-West problems, which would be recognised and actively promoted in both the East and the West. Given Bundy's plans to set up an East-West research institution, Nemschak argued in favour of establishing such a centre in Vienna alongside the Austrian Institute of Economic Research, which was funded by the Ford Foundation, or at least to launch a 'long-term project' in close cooperation with the Institute of Advanced Studies (IHS) in Vienna (Nemschak 30.08.1967). To ensure that Bundy would get his letter, Nemschak asked Douglas MacArthur II, then-US ambassador to Austria, to pass his letter on to Bundy (MacArthur II 08.09.1967).

At the Ford Foundation, Nemschak's proposals did not generate much enthusiasm. Eugene Staples, Bundy's collaborator in the 'Bundy initiative', described it as 'a Wiener schnitzel (!) with some sour State Department confusion sauce on top', arguing that this 'is not the kind of thing that Mac Bundy and I were talking to people in Europe about and, of course, we have tried to make it unmistakably clear from the start that the Ford Foundation was not involved in the White House sponsored idea we were exploring' (sic) (Staples 28.09.1967). Indeed, the actual intention of the US initiative was to set up an original intergovernmental East-West centre, and just such a centre actually was founded in 1972 in the form of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA) in Laxenburg, near Vienna.

Returning to 1967, Nemschak received a response saying that 'the establishment by the Ford Foundation of the kind of institute that you are describing has simply not been considered here, and [...] the Foundation currently has no plans to do so' (Robinson 04.10.1967). However, the Ford Foundation promised that Nemschak would meet programme officers of the Foundation in order to discuss further cooperation (Ibid.). Indeed, the core idea of East-West research was nothing completely new to the Foundation, as Shepard Stone, the Foundation's director of international affairs from 1954 until 1968, had been circulating a vision of an East-West centre in Vienna for years (Staples 28.09.1967). Moreover, under Bundy's presidency, a lot of the aims and strategies of the Ford Foundation had been reshaped. For example, in Europe, the Foundation was opening an office in Paris, an expression of Bundy's 'international vision' as a leader (Rosenfeld and Wimpee 2015: 19), and management education programmes especially for Eastern Europe had been developed starting in December 1966 (Ibid.). In addition, more funding was dedicated to 'institution-building opportunities' (Riska-Campbell 2011: 141).

Then, in 1968, world politics interfered with Nemschak's ideas for East-West cooperation. As a result of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia after the Prague Spring in August as well as the repression of dissidents and the anti-Semitic campaign in Poland, many intellectuals left these countries. Aid programmes for these displaced intellectuals were established. Although it did not engage officially in this matter, the Ford Foundation provided financial support to the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the Institute of International Education (IIE) to assist with the 'placement [...] of displaced Czechoslovak and Polish scholars' (Machlup n.d.). Fritz Machlup, an Austrian-born economist who had been persecuted by the National Socialists and was a professor of economics at Princeton University at the time, served as one of those academic contact persons of various disciplines to the ACLS.¹ In order to find temporary placement for displaced scholars at academic institutions abroad, Machlup used his contacts to personally ask for 'a haven to one of the several displaced scholars' (Machlup 20.11.1968). In addition, he kept the Ford Foundation well informed about the Czechoslovakian scholars he was

¹ Machlup later also served the Ford Foundation as a consultant to the Office of European and International Affairs. See Swearer (24.06.1969).

helping in this way (Machlup 09.01.1969), and there were even some discussions about where to place them (Stone 12.11.1968).

In September 1968, Machlup reached out to Nemschak for help on this matter (Machlup 19.09.1968). Nemschak was strongly in favour of helping – writing ‘Your matter is also my matter’ – and proposed to host three scholars from Czechoslovakia and one from Poland. At the same time, he emphasised that he lacked financial support (Nemschak 24.09.1968) and asked Machlup to help him find money to host these four scholars (Nemschak 15.10.1968). In the same letter, he also mentioned that he was strongly hoping that financial aid would come from an East-West project funded by the Ford Foundation.

Indeed, ever since his letter to McGeorge Bundy, Nemschak had been working on his idea of a Vienna-based international centre for East-West research cooperation, but he was also considering the changing global political situation and its effects on his goal. Since he doubted this kind of centre could act independently under these circumstances, he decided to develop a project focused on East-West research cooperation instead (Nemschak 29.07.1968).

At this point, these two intentions – namely, to find places for the displaced scholars as well as Nemschak’s idea to launch an East-West research project – became intertwined when Machlup helped Nemschak to secure an ‘emergency grant’ to host Czechoslovakian and Polish scientists (Machlup 12.10.1968, 26.11.1968; Ford Foundation n.d. 1). As a result, four emigrant economists – Jiří Kosta, Jiří Slama and Václav Nešvera from Czechoslovakia as well as Kazimierz Łaski from Poland – were allowed to stay as guest researchers at WIFO. Attempts to recruit more Czechoslovakian economists were foiled because contacts with cooperation partners in the country had been frozen and contact persons had lost their posts after the suppression of the Prague Spring (wiiw Archives 1970). Later on, Machlup reported to the Ford Foundation on the developments in Vienna when he met with Nemschak and his team in person (Machlup 13.02.1969). With time, he was becoming more involved on behalf of the Ford Foundation in gauging Nemschak’s intentions regarding East-West cooperation.

In February 1969, Nemschak submitted a proposal to the Ford Foundation ‘for the establishment of an international institute of East-West comparative research in Vienna’ (Nemschak 14.02.1969). Despite his decision in 1968 to lower his ambitions from a centre to a project, now he was once again proposing an independent institute. The reaction of the Ford Foundation was not favourable, as it considered the Austrian Institute of Economic Research itself to be more of a potentially interesting ‘resource base’ for East-West work than a ‘hospitable meeting place’, and it did not regard an independent institute in Vienna as being suitable for excellent research (de Janosi 11.03.1969). In order to reject Nemschak’s proposal in a polite and informal way, Machlup was asked to serve as an intermediary (de Janosi 07.07.1969). In the end, Nemschak had to withdraw his official proposal not only because of the resistance of the Ford Foundation, but also due to the fact that Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky and his foreign policy advisers were against it, as they argued it could provoke difficulties for Austrian foreign policy given the global political situation at that time (Machlup 12.05.1969). Although Nemschak characterised this official Austrian stance as ‘probably overcautious’, he decided to abandon his efforts to realise this ‘somewhat ambitious project’, suggesting instead the provision of funding for collaboration on East-West economic research topics with guest scholars from Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Yugoslavia at the Austrian Institute of Economic Research (Ibid.). In addition, Nemschak received help from Machlup in formulating a new proposal for this kind of fellowship programme.

This new project idea was supported by the Ford Foundation from the beginning. Moreover, the Ford Foundation even decided to secure its influence on this project. Among other things, the Foundation installed an international advisory committee tasked with selecting suitable scholars for the fellowships and appointed trustworthy figures to serve on the committee, including: Machlup, from Princeton University; Seton, from the University of Oxford; Kienzl, from the OeNB; and Nemschak (de Janosi 17.09.1969). In November 1969, WIFO received a three-year-grant from the Ford Foundation to support comparative economics research and a fellowship programme for East European economists (Ford Foundation n.d. 2). The Department for International Economic Comparisons at WIFO was placed in charge of this fellowship programme.

When Nemschak reached retirement age in the early 1970s, the future of this department was under discussion. Chancellor Kreisky was very interested in seeing it continue to operate, as it perfectly suited his foreign policy concept of having Austria serve as a neutral mediator between the two blocs. In fact, several efforts had been made to achieve this goal. For example, Austria had already offered itself as a location for an international security conference in 1970. Austrian diplomat Kurt Waldheim was elected secretary-general of the UN in 1971. Austria was elected to serve as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council in 1972. Moreover, since 1967, when the government of Chancellor Josef Klaus had offered the United Nations to establish a headquarters in Austria, Vienna had been chosen to be the home of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO).

Chancellor Kreisky personally asked Nemschak's deputy director, the economist Hans Seidel, to succeed Nemschak as head of the department. However, Seidel turned the offer down because he did not want to take on this task in addition to his research activities (Seidel, personal communication, 26.01.2015). As a result, the department was transformed into an independent institute headed by Nemschak, which was initially called the Vienna Institute for Comparative Economic Studies. Including 'Vienna' in its name was a nod to Nemschak's belief 'that Vienna, for various reasons, is probably the world's best location for practical East-West economic research' (Nemschak 1978: 14). The economist Bedřich Levčík, who initially served as scientific director and Nemschak's deputy, succeeded the latter and remained in the position until his own retirement in the 1980s – but he still supported wiiw until his death. In fact, Levčík can be viewed as a key figure for East-West cooperation not only at wiiw, but also at the Vienna-based Austro-French Centre for Rapprochement in Europe (CFA/ÖFZ) (Gazzari, personal communication, 17.03.2022). Levčík elaborated a concept for and was thematically involved in this institute, which was founded on Chancellor Kreisky's initiative at the end of the 1970s (CFA/ÖFZ 1998).

Political representatives supported the Institute from its beginning as members of the Managing Board and the Board of Trustees. Felix Slavik, the social democratic mayor of Vienna at the time, served as the first president of the Managing Board, on which he was joined by representatives of Austria's central bank (OeNB), the Austrian Federation of Trade Unions (ÖGB), WIFO, the Federation of Austrian Industries (IV), the Vienna Chamber of Commerce and Industry (WKO), and the Chamber of Labour (AK). Representatives of the OeNB, the city of Vienna, and the social partners were always included. On the other hand, the Board of Trustees had an advisory function, bringing together people from politics, business and academia, such as rectors of universities as well as representatives of the Federation of Austrian Industries, the ministries, the city of Vienna, and state or state-affiliated companies. The legal structure of the association was modelled on that of WIFO, and the financing structure of wiiw was also designed to mirror that of WIFO. The Institute itself received basic support from the city of Vienna,

Austria's federal government, the OeNB, other banks and banking associations, and the social partners. In addition, project funding was obtained (Mayrhofer 2018).

Until the beginning of the transformation in the Eastern European countries, wiiw's research programme was focused on studying economic ties between East and West, conducting economic analyses of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) countries, and performing comparisons of international productivity and structures (wiiw Archives 1975: 3). The staff also included scholars who had emigrated from the East, and their expertise and contacts proved very suitable for promoting the East-West research agenda (Havlik, personal communication, 09.12.2014; Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014). In order to forge and strengthen collaborative ties between East and West, a big push was launched to make many new contacts through all existing contacts and wiiw staff members took trips to forge new and cultivate old contacts (wiiw Archives 1973: 6). Scholars such as Rikard Lang, head of the Institute of Economics, Zagreb (EIZ), were invited to Vienna as early as 1969 for this reason. Additionally, contacts of Austrian representations abroad were also called upon for assistance. For example, in 1970, Nemschak approached the Yugoslav ambassador to Austria, Mitja Vošnjak, who then pledged his active support for networking (wiiw Archives 05.03.1970). Similarly, Nemschak approached the Austrian ambassador in Belgrade, Walther Peinsipp, in April of that same year to ask for the addresses of contacts at economic institutes in Belgrade in addition to keeping him informed about contacts between wiiw scholars and colleagues in that city (wiiw Archives 29.04.1970).

2. The OeNB and the role it played for wiiw

The OeNB's intention was that Austria should become a 'centre of competence for the Eastern European region within the central banking community' (Lachs 2009: 57-66). Within the OeNB, there was a working group for monitoring economic and monetary developments in Eastern Europe. In addition, the OeNB was in contact with central banks of the then-communist Eastern European states, especially those of Hungary and Yugoslavia (Kienzl, personal communication, 03.12.2014). Heinz Kienzl, former director general and vice president of the OeNB, recalled in particular the excellent contacts with high-ranking officials at the Hungarian National Bank, including President Andor László, Vice President Janos Fekete and Director General Tamas Bacskai (Ibid.).

Nevertheless, since the OeNB's foreign department did not have its own unit responsible for Eastern Europe, wiiw's expertise was a significant asset to the bank (Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014). In addition to being the third-biggest donor to wiiw, the OeNB also provided some grants for workshops and projects (see also wiiw Archives n.d. 1). At the same time, the bank was involved in the institute's work, and Kienzl and Nemschak had already 'cooperated very closely' beforehand (wiiw Archives n.d. 1; Kienzl, personal communication, 03.12.2014). Kienzl served on the Advisory Committee of the Fellowship Programme, and the then-president of the OeNB, Stephan Koren, served as vice president of wiiw in the late 1970s.

More than anyone else, OeNB Director General Philipp Rieger was very intensively involved in this collaboration. He initiated the exchange of information between wiiw and the OeNB's foreign department (wiiw Archives 25.05.1973). Moreover, he was jointly responsible for the content of and recruitment for the workshop series as a member of the Steering Committee, and he regularly participated in these events himself. From 1978 until the workshops were discontinued, he served as chairman of the committee. Rieger described the workshops as ranking among 'the pioneers of economic East-West conferences in Europe' (Rieger 1999). In addition to his active role on the Steering Committee, Rieger was also a member of wiiw's Board of Trustees. After his retirement, he served as a consultant and engaged in lively exchanges with guest researchers at the Institute (Rieger, personal communication, 04.12.2014). For example, he was the initiator and leader of the in-house seminar series 'Eastern Europe' of the Creditanstalt, a major bank in Vienna, in 1984. For these events, he invited scholars from wiiw's Steering Committee and workshop participants to serve as speakers (Reiger 1999; Hagemann and Krohn 1999: 563f.).

After the transformation in the Eastern European countries started in 1989, the OeNB continued its own engagement with the Eastern European banking sector and central banks. Between 1990 and 1997, about 7,000 participants from central and commercial banks came to Weissenbach am Attersee as part of the Austrian Bankers' College international (ABC-i) programme (Kienzl, personal communication, 17.12.2104). The programme included seminars on monetary policy, the role and function of the central bank and banking in a market economy, and banking-specific expertise (ABC-i 1992/1993). Among others, wiiw staff members were also involved as lecturers (Kienzl, personal communication, 03.12.2014; Havlik, personal communication, 09.12.2014). Additionally, wiiw participated in seminars of the Joint Vienna Institute (JVI)

(Gazzari, personal communication, 24.02.2015), and wiiw and the OeNB jointly organised events, such as an East-West conference titled 'New Developments in Banking and Finance in East and West', held at Kranichberg Castle, near Gloggnitz, in October 1989 (wiiw Archives 1989).

3. Knowledge transfers and cooperation across the East-West divide at wiiw

For the forging and cultivation of East-West ties, two programmes were of utmost importance: first, the Fellowship Programme, which provided fellowships for visiting scholars from East and West for temporary research stays at wiiw; and, second, the 'Workshops on East-West European Economic Interactions', which were launched after the Fellowship Programme was terminated. For both programmes, which were partly financed by the Ford Foundation, committees of international scholars had been created.

3.1. THE FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

The Fellowship Programme was geared towards economists from all communist states in Europe (with the exception of Albania) and from the West (wiiw Archives 1970: 9f.). These Ford Foundation-sponsored fellowships were awarded between 1970 and the end of 1974 (Nemschak 1978: 16; Ford Foundation n.d. 3). The original members of the Advisory Committee, which selected potential fellows, were Machlup (Princeton University), Seton (University of Oxford), Kienzl (OeNB) and Nemschak. This committee was constituted in Vienna in early 1970.

Researchers could apply for a fellowship, but the Advisory Committee and wiiw were also active in recruiting through existing contacts as well as via advertisements. When it came to potential fellows from Eastern Europe, commitments 'usually still had to be politically secured' (wiiw Archives 1970: 2f.). In addition, fellows were required to know German (wiiw Archives 15.12.1969: 1f.). By the end of 1974, however, a total of about 40 scholars had spent between two and 12 months at the Institute, and their publications – mostly research on country comparisons – found their way into the Institute's series of publications.

The Fellowship Programme enabled and intensified exchange among economists from West and East as they worked on behalf of this programme on common projects and publications. In this way, lasting interactions and contacts were established (Gazzari, personal communication, 15.03.2022).

3.2. WORKSHOPS ON EAST-WEST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTERACTIONS

As the end of financial support for the Fellowship Programme was approaching, Cold War détente was easing tensions on the geopolitical level. This prompted the Ford Foundation to support a series of three 'separate but interrelated East-West workshops; one on economic interactions, the second on cultural relations, and the third on international environmental problems', which were 'designed to increase acquaintance with and understanding of the 'other side's' system and way of doing things, and to develop personal links between responsible individuals from East and West' (Nemschak 24.06.1974). Since 'Austria and Switzerland enjoy the advantage of being neutral' (Lederer 04.10.1974), the

Foundation proposed that these workshops be jointly realised by the Geneva Graduate Institute and wiiw (Ibid.).²

At first, Nemschak did not support the workshop idea. Knowing that the funding period would be ending, he asked the Ford Foundation if it would support an 'internationally oriented publication programme' at wiiw as a follow-up project. The Foundation immediately rejected the idea, highlighting the 'rarity of renewal grants' and the 'low probability of success' (de Janosi 21.08.1973). Confronted with the offer to manage the planned workshop series, Nemschak insisted that it was not possible to realise those two projects at the same time (Nemschak 24.06.1974). In response, the Ford Foundation turned to Machlup once again to promote the idea of the East-West economics workshops, and his intervention turned out to be fruitful (Lederer 25.04.1974). Eventually, Nemschak agreed to the workshop series (Nemschak 24.06.1974).

The Workshops on East-West European Economic Interactions started at wiiw in 1975. From 1975 to 1990, a total of 13 workshops were held in Eastern and Western European countries, with an average of 43 scholars participating in each. Due to the changed conditions on the geopolitical level, two other workshops had the modified title 'Workshop on European Economic Interaction and Integration'. They were called 'workshops' because a large emphasis of the series of events was meant to be placed on discussions (Nemschak 1976: 9f.). For the conception and implementation of these workshops, both in terms of content and organisation, a Steering Committee of researchers from East and West was formed. It originally consisted of the following scholars: József Bognár (Hungary), Oleg Bogomolov (USSR), Bernard Cazes (France), Norbert Kloten (West Germany), Gunther Kohlmey (East Germany), Rikard Lang (Yugoslavia), Bedřich Levčik (Austria), Franz Nemschak (Austria), Philipp Rieger (Austria), Józef Pajestka (Poland), Christopher Saunders (Great Britain), Fritz Machlup (USA) and John McMillan (USA)

After chairing the Committee until 1978, Nemschak handed the reins over to Rieger. In the same year, John P. Hardt, from the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., replaced John MacMillan as a representative from the United States. The Committee's composition can be seen as an important expression of the intended East-West cooperation and as a 'core group' of the project, as its members decided on the workshops' topics, participated in the workshops themselves, and cultivated personal ties for years (Gazzari, personal communication, 15.03.2022). In order to ensure continuity for the project, efforts were made to avoid personnel turnover on the Steering Committee as much as possible and no matter how East-West relations were shaping up at the political level (Gazzari, personal communication, 06.10.2014).

The series was initially limited to four workshops, but the Steering Committee and the Ford Foundation unanimously decided to extend the programme (wiiw Archives 1978: 4). The workshops were designed for a small group of prominent economists, politicians and representatives of the business community, who participated in the workshops as speakers and/or commentators (Vidovic, personal communication, 20.11.2014). The Steering Committee's invitation policy also involved consultation with wiiw experts (Havlik, personal communication, 09.12.2014). During the transformation process, some participants who had previously been involved as researchers switched sides, so to speak, and subsequently

² The Bonn-based Research Institute of the German Council on Foreign Relations was also discussed as a possible third organisation to be involved, but it declined the offer. In the end, only the workshops on economic interactions as well as those on cultural relations were held.

lectured at the event as politicians. In terms of content, the focus was primarily on East-West comparisons on selected economic topics, such as energy policy, monetary policy and foreign trade.

In addition to the members of the Steering Committee, researchers from Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Croatia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany (GDR), France, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the United States, the USSR and Yugoslavia took part (wiiw Archives 1993). Accompanying the workshop series, there was a publication series titled 'East-West European Economic Interaction', published first by Springer and later by Macmillan. The Ford Foundation financed most of the first three workshops and, after that, they were financed in various ways by the Ford Foundation and other American and German foundations, such as the German Marshall Fund, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the Volkswagen Foundation and the Fritz Thyssen Foundation, in addition to banks, companies and NGOs (wiiw Archives 1985).

THE WORKSHOPS

1. Vienna, 1975: The World Economy and East-West Trade
2. Tiflis, 1976: East-West Cooperation in Business: Inter-Firm Studies
3. Baden bei Wien, 1977: Aspects of Industrial Policy between East and West: Concentration, Specialization, Innovation, and Transfer of Technologies
4. Budapest, 1977: Monetary and Financial Problems in East and West
5. Vienna, 1979: Prospects of European Economic East-West Cooperation in the Field of Energy
6. Dubrovnik, 1980: European Economic Relations and the Developing Countries
7. Baden bei Wien, 1982: Regional Integration in Europe
8. Moscow, 1983: World Economy and East-West-Trade – A Reconsideration after a Decade
9. Vienna, 1985: Industrial Policies and Structural Change
10. Florence, 1986: Decision Making Processes and Economic Policy Instruments at Macro and Micro Economic Level
11. Berlin and Dresden, 1988: East-West Economic Relations Up to 2000
12. Athens (USA), 1989: The Impact of Governments on East-West Economic Relations
13. Tübingen, 1990: Economics and Politics of Transition
14. Mariánské Lázně, 1992: The Role of Competition in Economic Transition and Integration
15. Vienna, 1993: Transformation of the East European Economies, 1989-1993: Critical Assessments and Ways Out of the Crisis

The first workshop was held in Vienna in 1975, and the second in Tbilisi in the then-Soviet Union at the invitation of Soviet economist Oleg Bogomolov. Initially, wiiw assumed that Bogomolov was organising the event in his role as director of the Institute of the Economy of the World Socialist System at the

USSR Academy of Sciences. But it became clear in Tbilisi that the actual organiser was the Commission on Economics, Scientific and Technical Cooperation of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, for which Bogomolov served as vice president (wiiw Archives 1976: 3). In addition, the USSR did not want to allow Bedřich Levčik, who was a citizen of both Austria and Czechoslovakia, to attend the workshop. Nemschak discussed this matter with the Ford Foundation and Austrian officials, including Chancellor Kreisky, who advised caution in this matter (Gazzari, personal communication, 06.10.2014). Eventually, Nemschak announced that he would also not participate if Levčik were not allowed to. In the end, Levčik was granted permission to enter the country and attend (wiiw Archives 1976: 3).

Conversely, the participation of scholars from Eastern Europe was influenced by the country-specific political situation. While it was less of a problem to participate in the workshops in the Soviet, Polish, Yugoslav and Hungarian cases, there were very few participants from Czechoslovakia, where the inquiries often went through the embassies and not directly via the potential participants (Havlik, personal communication, 09.12.2014). In any case, the opportunity to travel abroad was highly appreciated among Eastern European participants, and the workshops enjoyed a good reputation among them (Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014).

With the system transformation, the political and economic framework in Eastern European countries changed fundamentally. This also had a major impact on East-West contacts at wiiw. As a result, the workshop series was finally discontinued in 1993 for two main reasons: first, because the topic of transformation was now also being considered by other institutions and organisations; and second, because the workshop series had lost its exclusivity (Ibid.).

4. Careers of Selected East European Researchers after 1989

The post-1989 transformation processes of the political, economic and social systems in Eastern European countries were characterised by the 'dilemma of simultaneity' given that they were implemented at the same time (Offe 1991). The transition in the economic sphere was generally characterised by liberalisation and privatisation, which encouraged neoliberal and monetarist tendencies.

It is noticeable that some of the Eastern European experts who participated in the workshops and the Fellowship Programme of wiiw eventually attained prominent positions in their home countries in academia, business and, most importantly, politics.

In the case of Czechoslovakia (respectively, the Czech Republic and Slovakia beginning in 1992), there was an exchange of elites via a number of measures, including so-called lustration laws, and economic policy had a neoliberal character (Suk 2014). The main proponent of this course was the economist Václav Klaus. In the 1980s, Klaus had worked at the Czechoslovak State Bank and the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, whose members also included the workshop participants Valtr Komárek, Karel Dyba and Karel Kouba. It should also be noted that Klaus visited wiiw in the fall of 1989 (Vidovic, personal communication, 20.11.2014). In addition to Klaus, other economists were actively involved in politics. For example, Komárek, a reform communist, was a member of Marián Čalfa's Czechoslovak transitional government in 1989. However, he did not share Klaus' desire to see a rapid transition to a market economy. Dyba, on the other hand, supported Klaus' approach and served as minister of economics in his first government (Havlik, personal communication, 09.12.2014). In Slovakia, former workshop participant Elena Kohútiková later assumed an important position as deputy director of the National Bank of Slovakia and participated in the negotiations surrounding the introduction of the euro.

In Hungary, the reform process took place in stages through several roundtable negotiations between reform communists and the opposition. A similar process of 'refolution' – a term coined by British historian Timothy Garton Ash as a mixture of 'revolution' and 'reform' – was observed in Poland (Ash 1990; Ash 2009: 24-30). Consequently, there was no complete exchange of elites in the political and economic spheres. Old elites remained, especially in the spheres of the Hungarian economy after privatisation, and new elites emerged (Dieringer 2009). Contrary to the economic policy path followed in Poland and Czechoslovakia, Hungary did not undergo shock therapy of this degree of severity. Immediately after the system change, a number of economists from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) moved into economic policy-making circles, including György Surányi, who became president of the Hungarian National Bank. Other former workshop participants assumed political roles. For example, Lajos Bokros became finance minister in 1995 and announced the so-called 'Bokros package', a series of austerity measures including cuts to social benefits. Janos Fekete, the deputy director of the Hungarian National Bank in the 1980s, moved to the private sector to join the Israel lender Bank Leumi. András Inotai served as an adviser to various socialist governments, and Laszlo Csaba played the same role for the current right-wing conservative FIDESZ government. Former economist

Ádám Török also served in various right-wing governments (Richter, personal communication, 03.12.2014), and economist Márton Tardos participated in the workshop in 1990, when he was already a member of Hungary's parliament.

In Poland, shock therapy was adopted in order to deal with the national debt. In the early 1990s, Jerzy Osiatyński, a former wiiw fellow and workshop participant, briefly served as finance minister, and he asked Kazimierz Łaski, his former professor, for an expert opinion on the economic developments in Poland at that time. Łaski, an opponent of shock therapy, told his former assistant that Poland's GDP would fall by 20%, which turned out to be the actual case (Łaski, personal communication, 16.03.2015). In the following years, Osiatyński also served as a longtime adviser to Polish President Bronisław Komorowski and as a member of the Council for Monetary Policy of the National Bank of Poland (Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014; wPolityce 2013). Steering Committee member Witold Trzeciakowski served as one of the architects of economic change in Poland, though he was not a proponent of shock therapy (Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014). Frequent workshop participant and former Łaski student Dariusz Rosati was an economic adviser to the last communist cabinet of Mieczysław Rakowski. He also became an advocate of shock therapy after the system change, served as foreign minister between 1995 and 1997, and then went on to serve as a member of the European Parliament until 2019 (Łaski, personal communication, 10.12.2014; European Parliament n.d.). Former workshop participant Jan Mujžel was chairman of the Council for Socioeconomic Strategy (RSSG), a government advisory body.

In Croatia, economist and former workshop participant Ante Čičin-Šain played a significant role in the economy. As governor of the Croatian National Bank, he was responsible for the introduction of the new Croatian dinar (later replaced by the kuna). Čičin-Šain had studied economics in Heidelberg and Oxford in the 1950s, then worked in Germany before moving to the Institute of Economics, Zagreb (EIZ). At the same time, he was active in working groups and committees of parliaments at the regional and federal levels as well as for chambers of commerce (wiiw Archives n.d. 2). In 1972, he turned to wiiw in 1972 to ask to become a fellow. This request was approved by the Advisory Committee, and a work contract was signed between wiiw and Čičin-Šain (wiiw Archives 05.06.1972). Later, wiiw offered Čičin-Šain a position as a research secretary for the workshop series, but he declined due to other professional commitments (wiiw Archives 21.10.1974).

Čičin-Šain served as governor of the Croatian National Bank from 1990 to 1992. When Croatia was considering the introduction of a new currency, which finally took place in 1994, Čičin-Šain contacted Ingrid Gazzari, wiiw's managing director at the time, who helped him to get into contact with Norbert Klotten, a member of the Steering Committee of the workshops, then-president of the central bank of the German state of Baden-Württemberg, and a member of the Central Bank Council of the Deutsche Bundesbank (Gazzari, personal communication, 24.02.2015).

Conclusion

Following its foundation, wiiw served as a key hub for forging and cultivating ties between scholars in the East and West during the Cold War as well as for fostering research focused on economic issues of global significance. Depending on the country-specific situation, either few limits were placed on this cooperation (e.g. with communist Hungary and Poland as well as non-aligned Yugoslavia) or it was complicated (e.g. with Czechoslovakia).

East-West exchange activities, such as the Fellowship Programme and the Workshops on East-West European Economic Interactions, were established based on pre-existing contacts between researchers across the East-West divide. But, most notably, the initiative and engagement of the 'founding father' of wiiw, Franz Nemschak – together with economist Fritz Machlup and the financial support of Austrian officials, the Österreichische Nationalbank (OeNB) and the Ford Foundation – enabled a successful and long-lasting East-West cooperation at wiiw.

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Internet Homepage: www.wiiw.ac.at

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