This research proposal within the scholar-in-residence program seeks two basic objectives. First, building on the applicant’s ongoing research on East-West relations in the civil aviation sector between 1944 and 1990, it focuses on the highly complex and inter-twisted relationship between civil aviation, technological globalization and Cold War politics. The project elucidates how the advancement of Soviet civil aircraft engineering during the 1950s technically triggered the globalization of the Cold War and how the processes of technological standardization facilitated transfers of technology and knowledge across the Iron Curtain and the evolution of East-West interconnectedness. It also uncovers the motives and reasons for, but also obstacles to, such transfers and aims to identify the specific roles played by states, international organizations such as International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) or International Air Transport Association (IATA) and interpersonal networks. Second, this proposal aims to develop a brand new research project which will focus on the Europeanization of European air traffic control since the late 1950s. While the creation of the Single European Sky (SES) has been one of the priorities of the European Union’s transport policy since late 1970s and the first proposals for pan-European traffic control dates back to the 1950s, the SES is still far from fully operational. The central question which this future project aims to answer is thus why the (still limited) Europeanization in this sector took so long despite strong functional incentives. To address this question, this project will use several methods of historical research which will allow to identify key actors who promoted or obstructed the Europeanization of air traffic control and to trace continuities and change over time. There will be two main outputs of this proposal: 1) a monograph on East-West civil aviation during the Cold War which will be submitted to a leading English university or commercial press publisher towards the end of prospective fellowship; 2) a fully elaborated proposal of the new project which can be submitted to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft or other founding bodies during the second half of the fellowship (months 6-12).

For a matter of logical clarity, the two sections of this project are briefly described in the following text as a Part I and Part II of this proposal.

Part I: State of research
The lack of historical scholarship on East-West civilian air transport during the Cold War is striking. Nonetheless, as a prominent American lawyer and scholar of German descent Andreas F. Lowenfeld put it in 1975 in an article for Foreign Affairs, “international civil aviation is a serious problem in international relations, affecting the way governments view one another, the way individual citizens view their own and foreign countries, and in a variety of direct and indirect connections the security arrangements by which we live.” Unlike the “textiles, shipping, or nonferrous metals… aviation directly engages the prestige, the fascination, and the ‘national interest’ of almost all the countries of the world”, Lowenfeld stressed the point. 1 Despite the obvious potential for Cold War scholarship stemming from numerous and rich interconnections between politico-military and economic-technological levels, there are only few works available which – at least to a certain extent – address the East-West relations in this sector. Jeffrey A. Engel analyzed the sale of aircraft and aviation equipment to the Soviet Union and China within the context of Anglo-American infights for aviation supremacy, Jenifer van Vleck dealt with the US civil aviation aid to Ariana Afghan airlines from mid-1950s to mid-1970s and with US civil aviation diplomacy throughout the 20th century, David Mackenzie addressed the issue of East-West relations within the context of International Civil Aviation Organization and, finally, James L. Gormly focused in two studies on the US civil aviation policies towards the Soviet bloc. None of the published studies has, however, studied the civil aviation

affairs from a larger East-West perspective, nor have the authors positioned and related their respective research to ongoing discussions on Cold War, trans-national and global history writing. This project proposal goes in an exactly opposite direction. It aims to challenge the current Western-dominated narrative with a fresh transnational East-West perspective. In contrast to existing publications, this proposal utilizes both Western and Eastern documents to reconstruct the developments in as much detail as possible.

Part I: Research design and innovative aspects

In a sort of multi-faceted analysis, this proposal strives to take a balanced perspective on intertwined and complex relationships among the three intentionally separated levels of analysis. The first of these is the level of meta-structures which pinpoints the interdependences and cross-invigoration between the civil aviation, globalization and the Cold War. The second is the layer of structures with a prevalent focus on respective national aviation and economic policies and their impact on East-West flows of technology, goods and persons. The third level, in contrast, centers on individual and collective actors and explores whether and how international organizations, aviation companies and manufactures and individual entrepreneurs were able to influence the policy-setting in the East-West civil aviation arena or whether, and if yes, under what circumstances they were able to pave the way for any East-West deals.

To operationalize this conceptual framework, this project proposal uses a set of hypotheses and research questions. In its background lie two suppositions which are linked to the level of meta-structures:

S1: The advancement of Soviet civilian aircraft engineering throughout the 1950s enabled the globalization of the Cold War while providing the crucial, “point-to-point” technical infrastructure for intensification of Soviet bloc relations with the developing countries.

S2: Ever since the mid-1950s the Soviet bloc civil aviation became, with increasing intensity, involved and influenced by the processes of technological standardization and globalization, which facilitated the evolution and intensification of trans-Curtain interconnectedness.

Upon this bottom line, the series of closely interrelated and logically tied questions was build-up to explore how and in which ways the structures created by the states and their agencies and collective and individual agents (international organizations, airline companies and private individuals) mutually interacted in creating the East-West civil aviation regime during the Cold War. In concrete, the proposal centers on the following questions:

- What kind of policies did the Western countries adopt towards the Soviet Union and her satellite countries as regards the civil aviation affairs and export of civil airliner technologies?
- Were there any differences in policy between the various Western countries and what was the role of agencies like e.g. Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom) in coordinating the respective national policies?

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2This distinction is motivated by the fact that it was mostly the states and state agencies which served as the principal gatekeepers for all East-West transfers and the intra-bloc communication mostly followed formal and informal rules which the states created. However, as this project leans towards more reflexive social theories such as Bruno Latour’s actor-network theory, Margrit Archer’s critical realism approach or Roy Bhaskar’s transformational model of social action, it acknowledges that the distinction is rather theoretical and the states, governments or ministries were agents which actively (re)-created the framework for actions with other above mentioned actors. Cf. Bruno Latour, Reassembling the social: an introduction to actor-network-theory (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Margrit Archer, Realist Social Theory: The Morphogenetic Approach (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Roy Bhaskar, A Realist Theory of Science (London: Verso, 1997).
For what reasons did the Eastern bloc countries desire to fly to the Western and Third World countries? Was it just for ideological, political (prestige) and military purposes or did any economic justification for such a step exist? Why did the Soviet bloc seek technological cooperation from the West?

How did new IATA and ICAO regulations instigate the East-West technology transfers? What was the precise contribution of these international bodies in facilitating the trans-Curtain transfers?

By this composite research design, this project seeks to address two highly relevant research issues, which were not sufficiently investigated and explored in literature as yet.

Part I: Methods and research structure
As already mentioned above, the key output of the first part of this project will be an academic monograph. The research structure of the envisaged monograph is outlined diachronically, subdivided into 5 chapters that map the key developments from the mid-1940s until the late 1980s.

The first chapter – Structures and Early (Dis)Connectedness – covers the period between 1944 and late 1950s and is split into three subchapters. The first of these focuses on structures. While making a brief excursion into the evolution of international aviation law prior the outbreak of the World War I and during the interwar years, its key emphasis is on the 1944 Chicago conference and development of post-WWII civil aviation regime. The second subchapter traces the failed attempts of Czechoslovak airlines at establishing the company as one of the world’s leading aviation businesses after the end of the Second World War due to the rising tensions in East-West relations in early 1950s. The third subchapter maps the full re-opening of the East-West air traffic in Europe in mid-1950s and describes the early forms of trans-Curtain cooperation, e.g. the inter-liner agreements between the Western and Eastern carriers on coordination of booking systems and income pooling from operating the jointly run services.

The second chapter – Raising the Stakes – places emphasis on twelve years between 1956 and 1968. Its first section seeks both to explore the rationale for Eastern bloc aviation inroads into the developing countries of Asia and Africa, and to explain why reactions to the ‘Eastern air offensive’ were different in Washington and other NATO capitals. The second section of this chapter focuses on protracted US-USSR talks on concluding the mutual civil aviation agreement which lasted for a decade. Although the treaty was first discussed already in 1958, because of the turbulent developments in the bilateral relations between Moscow and Washington at the time, the aviation agreement was initiated only in 1966 and the first flight on a Moscow-New York route took place after two more years in 1968.

The third chapter – Planes through the Curtain – focuses on the large sales of UK, and partially US, manufactured transports to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and China throughout the 1960s and in the early 1970s. The first part of the chapter focuses on Czechoslovakia and points out the role of political factors which obstructed the passage of eventual deals. The chapter’s second part concentrates on Romania and, in a less extensive manner, China in which, in contrast, the trade arrangements did materialize. The chapter concludes with a brief comparison of these three cases and singles out the minimum conditions necessary for successful accomplishment of larger East-West trade deals which involved cutting-edge technologies such as the airplanes.

The fourth chapter – From Local to International: Modes of Transnational Governance – traces the evolution of supranational governance structures in the civil aviation sector after the end of WWII and points out how these structures enforced the cooperation and system unification both among the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and between the West and the East. The first section of this chapter traces the developments within the Soviet bloc where the cooperation was organized by the CMEA’s transport commission which was set up in 1959. The second section of this chapter focuses, in contrast, on how the structures of East-West interconnectedness evolved and what role the ICAO played in this process, particularly throughout the 1970s.

The fifth chapter – In the Shadows of Backwardness – zooms in on the period from mid-1970s to late 1980s. The chapter starts with an analysis of the construction and design failures in the development of Ilyushin IL-86 airliner and describes how the dawn of détente affected the US-USSR relations in civil aviation sector in late 1970s. In this respect, these reached their lowest ebb after
September 1, 1983, when the Soviet interceptor downed the Korean airlines flight from New York to Seoul causing 269 fatalities. The analysis of the change in US civil aviation policy throughout this period and Western reactions to the KAL-007 incident forms the key part of the second section of this chapter. The third subchapter focuses on late 1980s when the bloc aviation producers were unable to develop and produce the airplanes which would match their Western rivals in any of all desired parameters. Therefore, in response to the reformist Perestroika and Glasnost policies, the bloc aviation companies decided to re-orient themselves towards the Western aircraft producers in late 1980s: Polish LOT and Hungarian MALEV purchased the Boeing aircraft and the Czechoslovak airlines and East German INTERFLUG opted for Airbus airplanes respectively.

The envisaged monograph will end with the conclusions which will summarize the findings and, on the basis of this sectoral evidence, will attempt to draw more precise line on how the Cold War and the processes of globalization were interrelated as well as suggests an interpretative framework for a Cold War historiography which would enable to link the descriptions from a macro and micro perspective.

Part II: Subject and state of research
The second part of this project, in contrast, focuses on the Europeanization of air traffic services (ATS) since late 1950s. ‘The volcanic ash crisis … made it crystal clear that the [technologically integrated] Single European Sky is a critical missing link in Europe’s infrastructure’ – declared Giovanni Bisignani, then Director General and CEO of the International Air Transport Association (IATA), on 23 April 2010. Although the Single European Sky (SES) had been launched in October 2001 no real progress was made towards the objective until the Eyjafjallajokull volcano eruptions. Then, in September 2010, the European Commission entrusted the European Organisation for the Safety of Air Navigation (Eurocontrol) with overseeing the SES implementation. In June 2013, the Commission approved another package (SES 2+) that aims to unblock congestion in Europe’s airspace by breaking up the states’ monopoly on ATS, which comprises air traffic control and three additional elements designed to ensure real-time safe operations of aircraft. The European Parliament (EP) endorsed the European Commission’s SES 2+ package in March 2014 and the implementation phase began in December 2014. Thus, the SES is still not fully integrated fifty-five years after the formation of Eurocontrol in 1960. Modeled on the US Federal Aviation Administration, it was to create ‘a single upper airspace’. However, the first significant steps towards accomplishing this objective were only taken after 1979 when the EP and the Commission began to take a closer interest in aviation matters.

The evolution of (Western) European air traffic control thus constitutes a fascinating research puzzle with wider relevance and implications for analyzing integration in Europe over time: why such slow Europeanization despite strong functional incentives for overcoming national fragmentation of rules and practices?

In literature, this question has not yet been satisfactorily answered, however. The literature in economics, business and management studies has explored the economic consequences of market liberalization in aviation services for airlines and airports. Political science literature has concentrated on the origins of the EU’s internal market in aviation services. It has primarily addressed the question of how the Delors Commission, by exploiting the rulings of the European Court of Justice, overcame...
member state opposition to liberalization between 1987 and 1992. Contemporary historical research, finally, has only begun to analyze European cross-border transport issues. So far the limited studies of transport regulation and integration have mostly focused on rail and river transport. Only two have addressed air transport. One maps the early discussions on the coordination and liberalization of air transport before 1954. The other puts the formation of the EU’s single aviation market down to US pressure.

In short, the literature to date is predominantly very presentist in its treatment of air transport integration. As a result, it fails to grasp, or to bring out empirically, how early institutional decisions before the 1980s might have limited and slowed down the Europeanization of air transport in the long run. In this respect, once fully elaborated, the proposed project could make a substantial contribution and enhance the research in the fields of contemporary European history and history of technology.

**Justification of application and project schedule**

The proposed research project will result in two main outcomes: 1) an academic monograph to be published with a leading English language university or commercial publisher and 2) a new project on the evolution of the unified, pan-European air traffic control across Europe since late 1950s.

The eventual fellowship within the scholar-in-residence program will enable me to fulfill both of these objectives by using the rich archival and librarian collections available at the Deutsches Museum. During the preparatory research for this application, I was – with the help from Mr. Christian Schlafner – able to identify, within the specialized collection on Aviation and space flight documentation, app. 400 volumes of documents relevant for the proposed research plan. This source base will allow me to refine the text of the monograph under preparation by adding valuable statistical data on airlines and air transport since early 1950s and by further research into the various governmental (reports by US and West German aviation authorities) and non-governmental (documents on aircraft producers, private papers) reports as well as documents originating in various international organizations such as NATO, IATA and ICAO. An eventual access to the documents in this collection will also make possible to initiate my next research project as the archives contain many important sources on the evolution of the air traffic control in Europe. While an access to the original papers of Eurocontrol seems to be a complicated matter, an option to study the copies of several reports of this organization which are available at the Museum archive would provide a highly welcomed opportunity to raise the new project from its initial stage into a more elaborated proposal which can then be submitted to DFG or any other funding agency for obtaining its full funding with the foreseen completion within 4-5 years from now.

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11 The applicant had contacted several times an appropriate official at the Eurocontrol to acquire access to the archival materials of the organization and received evasive answers only. It is possible that the Eurocontrol does not desire to allow the study of its documents for security purposes and/or the vast number of documents might have been destroyed in the course of time.