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TEXT

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH VICE CHANCELLOR ERHARD BUSEK

1. SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR HUNT PAID AN INTRODUCTORY CALL ON AUSTRIAN VICE CHANCELLOR ERHARD BUSEK ON DECEMBER 23. BUSEK'S REMARKS FOCUSED ON THE "DECLINE" OF THE PRESS IN AUSTRIA, THE HOPELESSNESS OF THE CRISIS IN THE FORMER-YUGOSLAVIA AND THE PERMANENCE OF IMPERIALISTIC THINKING IN RUSSIA. BUSEK AGREED TO ASSIST AMBASSADOR HUNT IN HER DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH AUSTRIA ON THE CHANGES IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR HUNT PAID AN INTRODUCTORY CALL ON VICE CHANCELLOR BUSEK AT HIS OFFICE IN THE MINISTRY FOR SCIENCE AND EDUCATION ON DECEMBER 23. THE AMBASSADOR SPOKE WARMLY OF HER "OVERWHELMING" WELCOME IN AUSTRIA. BUSEK REPLIED THAT SHE "WOULD HAVE IT EASY" IN AUSTRIA BECAUSE ALL DOORS WOULD BE OPEN TO HER.

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WALDHEIM AND PRESS COVERAGE

3. THE AMBASSADOR TOLD BUSEK OF HER FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE, ON DECEMBER 17, IN WHICH SHE WAS ASKED NO LESS THAN FOUR QUESTIONS REGARDING FORMER AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT **KURT WALDHEIM**. BUSEK STRESSED THAT AMBASSADOR HUNT SHOULD NOT OVERESTIMATE THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WALDHEIM AFFAIR. HE ADDED THAT THE PRESS IN AUSTRIA IS DEVELOPING IN A NEGATIVE WAY. COMPETITION WAS HAVING A DELETERIOUS EFFECT ON

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QUALITY. THE MEDIA, HE SAID, WAS SEARCHING FOR STORIES WITH TENSION AND CRITICISM. THE "KRONEN ZEITUNG," A MASS CIRCULATION SENSATIONALIST DAILY, WAS THE "LOWEST." HOWEVER, THE RELATIVELY NEW "TAEGLICH ALLES" HAS GONE EVEN LOWER. THE POINT, BUSEK SAID, WAS THAT THE PRESS CAPITALIZED ON PRIMITIVE ASSOCIATION. THE MAJORITY OF AUSTRIANS THINK, "POOR WALDHEIM," WITHOUT KNOWING THE WHOLE STORY, SO THE WALDHEIM AFFAIR IS AN EASY STORY FOR THE PRESS.

4. BUSEK NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE AUSTRIANS HAVE ALWAYS HAD A VERY POSITIVE IMAGE OF THE U.S. DURING THE VIETNAM WAR AUSTRIA WAS MORE SUPPORTIVE OF THE U.S. THAN MANY OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. FOR THAT REASON, HE SUGGESTED, THE WALDHEIM AFFAIR WAS UNFORTUNATE FOR AUSTRIA. HOWEVER, BUSEK STRESSED AGAIN THAT THE WALDHEIM ISSUE WAS NOT NOW A PROBLEM.

5. THE AMBASSADOR MENTIONED AN EDITORIAL BY RUDOLF NIEMEHRICHTER IN HIS COLUMN "STABERL" (WHICH MEANS LITTLE STICK) WHICH APPEARED IN THAT MORNING'S KRONEN ZEITUNG. SHE NOTED THAT THE ARTICLE HAD CRITICIZED HER FOR NOT BEING ABLE TO HELP WALDHEIM OVERCOME THE WATCHLIST DECISION. BUSEK DESCRIBED STABERL AS A "SPECIAL PROBLEM" -- A SITUATION SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE SORCERER'S APPRENTICE. THE EDITOR OF THE KRONEN ZEITUNG CAN GET STABERL STARTED BUT DID NOT KNOW THE SPELL TO STOP HIM.

BOSNIA DEBACLE

6. RESPONDING TO THE AMBASSADOR'S QUESTIONS, BUSEK EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT THE JUDGEMENT OF WESTERN EUROPE AND SOME PARTS OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION REGARDING BOSNIA WERE WRONG. A HOPELESS SITUATION OF BARGAINING ABOUT PEACE HAD BEEN CREATED. BUSEK DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ANYTHING COULD BE DONE ABOUT IT. THE FIGHTING WOULD STOP WHEN ALL PARTIES WERE EXHAUSTED, BUT THAT SIX MONTHS TO TWO YEARS LATER IT

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WOULD START UP AGAIN.

7. BUSEK SPOKE OF THE FORMER-YUGOSLAVIA AS HAVING A "BAD LINE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY" RUNNING THROUGH IT. IT HAS SUFFERED FROM CENTURIES OF CONFLICTS AND

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TENSIONS BETWEEN THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE EMPIRES; CATHOLICISM AND ORTHODOXY; CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM; THE HABSBURGS AND TURKS; AND WORLD WAR TWO. BUSEK STATED EMPHATICALLY THAT THE SERBS CAUSED THE PROBLEMS IN BOSNIA. THE SERBS HAVE AN INFERIORITY COMPLEX, BUT DO NOT KNOW IT. AMBASSADOR HUNT COMMENTED THAT IT WAS A FREUDIAN REACTION FORMATION, AC
TING THE OPPOSITE OF THE WAY ONE FEELS.

8. THE VICE CHANCELLOR SAID THAT EVEN THE DISSIDENTS IN SERBIA WERE NATIONALISTS. SEVEN OR EIGHT YEARS AGO HE HAD HEARD THE COMMENT, "FIRST KOSOVO, THEN DEMOCRACY" FROM SERBIAN DISSIDENTS. THE PATRIARCH IN BELGRADE WAS FOR PEACE, BUT WAS A MINORITY IN HIS OWN CHURCH, WHICH, HE NOTED, IS TRADITIONALLY DEVOTED TO THE STATE.

9. BUSEK CONTINUED THAT SERB LITERATURE WAS FULL OF ROMANTIC NATIONALISM. THOSE IN BELGRADE WHO HAVE A EUROPEAN OUTLOOK KNEW NATIONALISM WAS BAD FOR SERBIA. WHEN ONE STEPPED INTO THE COUNTRYSIDE, HOWEVER, ONE WENT BACK TWO OR THREE HUNDRED YEARS. SERBIA WAS A WORLD WHERE THOSE WHO SHOWED POWER WERE RESPECTED, BUSEK MAINTAINED. IT WAS A PRIMITIVE, TRIBAL, CULTURE OF WAR. THE SYMBOLISM IN SERBIA WAS NOT OF OUR WORLD. TO HAVE AN EFFECT THERE ONE MUST GO IN WITH POWER. BUSEK LAMENTED THAT THE WEST MISSED ITS MOMENT TO USE POWER. NOTHING COULD REALISTICALLY BE DONE NOW.

10. BUSEK NOTED THAT FRANCE AND ENGLAND HAD A PSYCHOLOGICAL PROBLEM WITH THE FORMER-YUGOSLAVIA, SINCE IT WAS THEY WHO CHANGED THE MAP AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR. BUSEK RELATED THE COMMENT MADE TO HIM BY "SOME BRITISH," WHICH HE CLEARLY THOUGHT LUDICROUS, THAT "AUSTRIA WANTS TO RE-FORM THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE." AMBASSADOR HUNT NOTED THAT THE BRITISH, FRENCH AND SPANISH HAD THREATENED TO PULL TROOPS OUT OF BOSNIA IF THE PEACE TALKS IN GENEVA FAILED. BUSEK REMARKED THAT HE SPOKE WITH JOHN MAJOR ABOUT BOSNIA AND THE NEED FOR MILITARY INTERVENTION THERE. MAJOR TOLD HIM THAT "NOT ONE DROP OF ENGLISH BLOOD" WOULD BE SPILT THERE. TO BUSEK'S QUESTION, "WHAT ABOUT THE FALKLANDS?", MAJOR RESPONDED, "THAT'S ENGLAND." ABOUT BRITISH ACTION IN THE GULF MAJOR SAID, "THERE IS OIL." ENGLAND, BUSEK TOLD THE AMBASSADOR, HAD NO NEIGHBORS AND THINKS LIKE AN ISLAND.

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THE EU AND ZHIRINOVSKY

11. REGARDING AUSTRIA'S ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN UNION, BUSEK TOLD AMBASSADOR HUNT THAT HE BELIEVED AUSTRIA COULD NEGOTIATE A DEAL WHICH THE AUSTRIAN PUBLIC WOULD ACCEPT. THE OUTCOME OF THE REFERENDUM ON EU ENTRY WAS MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, THAN THE DATE (WHICH HAD BEEN TENTATIVELY PLANNED FOR SPRING 1994). HE THOUGHT ZHIRINOVSKY, WHO WAS IN AUSTRIA ON THE DATE OF THE MEETING BETWEEN BUSEK AND AMBASSADOR HUNT, WAS GOOD FOR THOSE FAVORING EU ACCESSION, INFERRING THAT ZHIRINOVSKY'S RHETORIC AND THREATS MADE THE SECURITY OF THE EU MORE ATTRACTIVE TO AUSTRIANS.

12. BUSEK OBSERVED THAT ZHIRINOVSKY'S NATIONALISTIC AND IMPERIALISTIC COMMENTS WERE NOT UNIQUE TO HIM. HE WAS SAYING WHAT MANY INTELLECTUALS AND DISSIDENTS WERE SAYING (E.G., UKRAINE IS PART OF RUSSIA). THE WEST WAS SHORTSIGHTED, BUSEK SAID, TO CONCENTRATE ON YELTSIN AND MOSCOW. OUR JUDGEMENT OF RUSSIA WAS WRONG. RUSSIA WAS RUSSIA, BUSEK STRESSED, AND RUSSIAN AIMS HAVE REMAINED UNCHANGED SINCE THE TSARS. RUSSIANS WERE EDUCATED TO THINK IN IMPERIALISTIC TERMS -- WARM-WATER PORTS, EMPIRE RUNNING SOUTH TO THE INDIAN OCEAN, ETC. BUSEK RECENTLY MET WITH THE SPANISH VICE PREMIER WHO SPOKE AS THOUGH 1989 HAD NOT HAPPENED AND TOLD BUSEK POLAND, AND SLOVAKIA, WERE IN THE RUSSIAN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE. THAT, BUSEK SAID, WAS EASIER TO SAY FROM MADRID THAN FROM VIENNA.

EASTERN EUROPEAN DIALOGUE

13. BUSEK NOTED THAT THE U.S., AS A SUPERPOWER NATURALLY LOOKS TO ANOTHER SUPERPOWER. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, ALSO LOOK TO OTHER AREAS, SUCH AS THE BALTICS AND THE CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS. AMBASSADOR HUNT EMPHASIZED HER INTEREST IN THE SHIFT OF POWER AND THE EMERGING DEMOCRACIES OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. SHE NOTED THAT SHE, ALONG WITH EUR PRINCIPALS, WOULD LIKE TO ESTABLISH A DIALOGUE WITH AUSTRIA ON ISSUES SUCH AS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

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CHANGE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN

EUROPE. BUSEK EXPRESSED HIS SUPPORT OF THE IDEA AND OFFERED HIS SERVICES IN ESTABLISHING SUCH A DIALOGUE. AUSTRIA, HE NOTED, WAS NOT BURDENED, BUT HELPED BY HISTORY IN CENTRAL EUROPE. IT FEELS A RESPONSIBILITY TO DO SOMETHING IN THE EAST.

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14. THE CONVERSATION CLOSED WITH BUSEK'S PRAISE OF
USIA'S INTERNATIONAL VISITOR PROGRAM, WHICH HE
PARTICIPATED IN 1971.

HUNT

ADMIN
END OF MESSAGE

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