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E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TEXT
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, AU
SUBJECT: OVP "AIDE MEMOIRE" INSISTS ON HIGH-LEVEL
- U.S. ATTENDANCE AT WALDHEIM INAUGURATION

REF: (A) VIENNA 9258, (B) VIENNA 9293

1. (C) INTRODUCTION AND COMMENT: IN PARAS 2-23 BELOW WE ARE PROVIDING AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE "AIDE MEMOIRE" SENT YESTERDAY (JUNE 24) TO CHARGE' BY THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (OVP). ALTHOUGH THE NAME OF "DR. ALOIS MOCK, NATIONAL PARTY CHAIRMAN," APPEARS ON THE LETTERHEAD OF THE DOCUMENT'S FIRST PAGE, WE HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT LUDWIG STEINER, OVP FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN AND MP, HAD THE PRIMARY HAND IN ITS DRAFTING. IT WILL BE READILY APPARENT THAT THIS DOCUMENT, WHICH URGES IN RATHER STRONG TERMS THAT AMBASSADOR LAUDER OR A SPECIAL PRESIDENTIALLY-APPOINTED SUBSTITUTE REPRESENT THE U.S. AT THE WALDHEIM INAUGURATION, IS A PECULIAR ONE. FOR ONE THING, IT COMES FROM AN OPPOSITION PARTY BUT TAKES THE FORM OF AN OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT COMMUNICATION. FOR ANOTHER, IT COMPLAINS ABOUT A U.S. DECISION NOT TO ATTEND AN EVENT TO WHICH WE HAVE NOT YET BEEN INVITED. BUT, PUTTING ASIDE QUESTIONS OF FORM -- WHICH ARE RELATIVELY UNIMPORTANT IN OUR VIEW -- ITS SUBSTANCE IS ONE WE NEED TO ADDRESS SERIOUSLY (REFTELS). AUSTRIANS

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LIKE MOCK AND STEINER, WHO HAVE LONG-ESTABLISHED RECORDS AS PRO-AMERICAN, ARE PUTTING US ON NOTICE THAT THEY WILL HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO COMPLAIN LONG, HARD AND IN PUBLIC IF THE U.S. (AS NOW APPEARS TO BE THE CASE) IS THE ONLY WESTERN NATION (ALONG WITH ISRAEL) TO HAVE ITS AMBASSADOR BOYCOTT THE PRESIDENTIAL SWEARING IN. BITTER COMMENTS AGAINST THE UNITED STATES WHICH HAVE APPEARED ON THIS SCORE IN THE AUSTRIAN PRESS DURING THE LAST SEVERAL DAYS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY JUST THE BEGINNING OF THE LATEST ROUND OF RECRIMINATIONS LOOSED BY THE WALDHEIM AFFAIR. END INTRODUCTION AND COMMENT.

2(U). BEGIN TEXT:

DR. ALOIS MOCK
CHAIRMAN OF THE OVP

6/24/86
VIENNA

-- A I D E M E M O I R E

ACCORDING TO AUSTRIAN PRESS REPORTS, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA RONALD LAUDER, DOES NOT INTEND TO PERSONALLY PARTICIPATE AT THE INAUGURATION OF THE AUSTRIAN PRESIDENT ON JULY 8, 1986. ACCORDING TO THE AVAILABLE INFORMATION, THERE IS NO THOUGHT BEING GIVEN TO SENDING A SPECIAL ENVOY FROM WASHINGTON -- SOMETHING WHICH WOULD NORMALLY BE EXPECTED IN SUCH A CASE.

3(U). SINCE THIS WOULD REPRESENT, IN PRACTICAL TERMS, AN IRREPARABLE AFFRONT TO AUSTRIA, THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLES' PARTY FEELS COMPELLED TO STATE THE FOLLOWING:

4(U). THE INAUGURATION (SWEARING-IN) CEREMONY OF AN ELECTED PRESIDENT IN AUSTRIA TAKES PLACE BEFORE THE FEDERAL ASSEMBLY IN A JOINT SESSION OF THE UPPER AND LOWER HOUSES.

5(U). NO FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ARE INVITED TO THIS STATE CEREMONY EXCEPT FOR THE ACCREDITED AMBASSADORS. ANY ABSENCE OF AN AMBASSADOR WITHOUT A SERIOUS PERSONAL REASON WOULD BE VERY UNUSUAL AND WOULD CLEARLY BE PERCEIVED AS AN UNFRIENDLY POLITICAL ACT - AN AFFRONT AGAINST THE HEAD OF STATE - AND BE INTERPRETED AS SUCH BY THE POPULATION.

6(U). SUCH AN ABSENCE BY AN AMBASSADOR WOULD BE AN OFFENSIVE GESTURE AND A DELIBERATE INSULT AGAINST THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE WHO ELECTED THIS PRESIDENT BY A CLEAR MAJORITY IN AN UTTERLY FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC ELECTION CARRIED OUT IN TWO ROUNDS WITH A VOTER PARTICIPATION LEVEL OF 87.3.

7(U). NORMAL FRIENDLY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO STATES PRESUPPOSE THE FULL RESPECT OF CONSTITUTIONALLY-ELECTED GOVERNMENTAL REPRESENTATIVES, INCLUDING, OBVIOUSLY, A FREELY ELECTED HEAD OF STATE. AN AFFRONT AGAINST THE HEAD OF STATE IS, BY

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GENERAL INTERNATIONAL CUSTOM, REASON ENOUGH TO PLACE THE ACCREDITATION OF AN AMBASSADOR IN QUESTION.

8(U). IN THE SPECIFIC CASE OF THE INAUGURATION OF DR. WALDHEIM, THE ABSENCE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR WOULD BE AN UTTERLY CLEAR DEVALUATION OF THE CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAM SENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S. ON THE
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OCCASION OF THE ELECTION OF DR. **KURT WALDHEIM**.

9(U). IN ADDITION TO THE FORMAL ASPECTS OF SUCH AN EVENTUALITY THERE IS THE POLITICAL DIMENSION, WHICH IS EVEN MORE SERIOUS.

10(U). IT IS PRECISELY ON ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST DR. WALDHEIM IN PARTS OF THE U.S. PRESS AND THE DISCUSSIONS AND THE RESOLUTIONS IN THE U.S. HOUSE AND SENATE THAT THE ABSENCE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR WOULD BE A POLITICAL SENSATION OF THE FIRST ORDER. GRAVE CONSEQUENCES OF A GENERAL POLITICAL NATURE WOULD BE INEVITABLE, IF ONLY ON ACCOUNT OF THE GEO-POLITICAL POSITION OF PERMANENTLY NEUTRAL AUSTRIA SITUATED IN THE CENTER OF EUROPE.

11(U). UNFORTUNABLY, FEW STATES ON EARTH HAVE A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM WHICH FULLY RESPECTS CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

12(U). IF THE U.S WERE TO ASSUME SUCH AN UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED PRESIDENT OF AUSTRIA -- WHOSE FRIENDSHIP TOWARDS THE LEADING POWER OF THE FREE WORLD HAS REMAINED UNSHAKEN FOR DECADES -- THIS WOULD SERVE AS A SIGNAL TO OTHER STATES OF COMPARABLE SIZE WHICH CAREFULLY MONITOR THE ACTIONS OF THE US TOWARD SMALL NEUTRAL COUNTRIES.

13(U). IT WOULD BE EVEN MORE ASTONISHING TO SUCH STATES, AND ESPECIALLY TO THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE, IF THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND THE AMBASSADORS OF ALL THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WERE TO BE PRESENT BUT NOT THE U.S. AMBASSADOR.

14(U). WITH ALL DUE RESPECT TO AUSTRIA'S INTEREST IN GOOD STATE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, THIS WOULD PRODUCE AN IMPRESSION WHICH WE DO NOT WISH TO CREATE UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES. NOR CAN WE IMAGINE THAT THIS COULD BE IN THE U.S. INTEREST. UNFORTUNATELY, IT HAS BEEN OVERLOOKED THAT AUSTRIA IS LOCATED IN A VERY SENSITIVE AREA IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND THAT EVERYTHING WHICH HAPPENS IN AND TO OUR COUNTRY IS SEEN AS IF THROUGH A DISPLAY WINDOW BY THE EAST AND ALSO OTHER EUROPEAN

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STATES.

15(U). SINCE 1945, WHEN IT WAS SUBJECT TO A QUADRIpartite OCCUPATION, AND ESPECIALLY AFTER 1955 FOLLOWING THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL SOVEREIGNTY, AUSTRIA HAS ALWAYS UNEQUIVOCABLY FELT IT BELONGED IDEOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY IN THE CAMP OF THE LIBERAL PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACIES. AUSTRIA HAS PROVEN THIS BY IMPRESSIVE DEEDS DURING DIFFICULT SITUATIONS SUCH AS THE HUNGARIAN REVOLT, THE CZECHOSLOVAK CRISIS, THE POLISH CRISIS. EVEN DURING THE SOVIET OCCUPATION OF A LARGE PART OF AUSTRIA, THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLE CHOSE FREEDOM AND DEMOCRACY AT THE BALLOT BOX, DESPITE VERY HEAVY PRESSURE. THIS ATTITUDE HAS NOT CHANGED TO THE PRESENT DAY.

16(U). AS A PERMANENTLY NEUTRAL COUNTRY, AUSTRIA HAS ALWAYS PASSIONATELY FULFILLED HER HUMANITARIAN DUTIES TOWARDS REFUGEES AND DISPLACED PERSONS.

17(U). TO NAME JUST ONE EXAMPLE: THE EMIGRATION OF SOVIET JEWS VIA AUSTRIA WAS INAUGURATED DURING THE TIME WHEN THE PEOPLE'S PARTY WAS IN POWER FROM 1966 TO 1970. SO FAR 266,000 SOVIET JEWS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS OPPORTUNITY.

18(U). OVP MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT HAVE ALWAYS ENDEAVOURED TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN AUSTRIAN RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL. IN 1961, THE THEN STATE SECRETARY IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY, DR. LUDWIG STEINER, WHO IS NOW FOREIGN POLICY SPOKESMAN OF THE OVP, FOUNDED THE AUSTRO-ISRAELI SOCIETY IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE THEN SOCIALIST MINISTER PROPST. DR. WALTER SCHWIMMER, AN OVP MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, IS THE CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE AUSTRO-ISRAELI SOCIETY; HIS PREDECESSOR WAS BRUTALLY MURDERED.

19(U). LET US TURN TO THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL ASPECTS: SINCE 1945, THE OVP HAS BELIEVED THAT FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTED AN ESSENTIAL PILLAR OF OUR INDEPENDENCE. WE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AWARE OF WHAT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE CONTRIBUTED TO OVERCOMING THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE POST WAR PERIOD.

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20(U). ON THE BASIS OF PROFOUND IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTIONS, THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLES' PARTY REJECTS ANY EQUIDISTANCE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FREE WORLD AND THE SOCIALIST CAMP. THE OVP HAS ALWAYS MADE CLEAR ITS POSITIONS REGARDING IDEOLOGY AND ITS FRIENDSHIPS AND CONSEQUENTLY HAS PUT UP WITH SERIOUS CONTROVERSIES WITH THE SOCIALIST PARTY OVER A LONG PERIOD OF TIME.

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21(U). HAVING SAID THIS WE WANT TO STATE THAT, DESPITE THE ENTIRELY UNDERSTANDABLE EXASPERATION WHICH ESPECIALLY THE VOTERS OF THE AUSTRIAN PEOPLES PARTY FEEL IN RESPONSE TO SUCH AN OFFENSIVE AND UNFRIENDLY ATTITUDE BY THE U.S., OUR PRINCIPLES WILL NOT ALLOW US TO DEVIATE FROM OUR FRIENDLY POSITION TOWARDS THE U.S.

22(U). BUT WE MUST NOTE THAT IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO FIND UNDERSTANDING FOR THIS US ATTITUDE AMONG OUR VOTERS AND THE POPULATION IN GENERAL. IT WILL NOT ALWAYS BE EASY TO COUNTERACT THE IMPRESSION THAT AMERICAN POLICY IS NOT GUIDED BY PRINCIPLE OR A SENSE OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY IN A QUESTION OF SUCH IMPORTANCE FOR AUSTRIA, BUT SHORT-SIGHTED DOMESTIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

23(U). A HUMAN ASPECT ALSO HAS TO BE CONSIDERED. DESPITE AN INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN LASTING FOR MONTHS, NONE OF THE ACCUSATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS AGAINST DR. **KURT WALDHEIM** COULD BE PROVEN. AS AN HONORABLE MAN IT WAS DIFFICULT FOR DR. **KURT WALDHEIM** TO FACE A CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER WHICH CONTINUED FOR MONTHS. THE ABSENCE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR AT THE INAUGURATION WOULD THEREFORE ALSO REPRESENT A PERSONAL INSULT AGAINST DR. **KURT WALDHEIM**. IT WOULD LEND SUPPORT TO THE PERSONAL ATTACKS. BLOCH

END OF MESSAGE

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