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CONTROLS
C O N F I D E N T I A L VIENNA 12174

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TEXT

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, AU
SUBJECT: WALDHEIM: ELECTION AND CONSEQUENCES -- ONE
- MONTH LATER

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: AUGUST 8 MARKED KURT WALDHEIM'S FIRST
MONTH AS PRESIDENT OF AUSTRIA. THIS PASSAGE OF TIME IS
NOT TOO BRIEF, HOWEVER, TO OFFER SOME PERSPECTIVE ON THE
CONSEQUENCES OF HIS COMING TO OFFICE. WHAT IS MOST
IMMEDIATELY APPARENT IS THAT THE WALDHEIM CONTROVERSY --

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WALDHEIM HIMSELF AND THE ISSUE OF AUSTRIA'S "PAST" WHICH HE HAS COME TO SYMBOLIZE -- HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED, EITHER WITHIN AUSTRIA OR INTERNATIONALLY, AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE A POLITICAL AND PERSONAL IRRITANT FOR SOME TIME TO COME. AUSTRIA TODAY IS DIFFERENT IN SOME IMPORTANT RESPECTS THAN IN THE PRE-WALDHEIM PERIOD: THERE IS HEIGHTENED SENSITIVITY TO AND AN AWARENESS OF ANTI-SEMITISM; MORE OPEN EXPRESSION OF AUSTRIAN NATIONALISM; GREATER CONCERN WITH THE AUSTRIAN IMAGE; AND, RELATEDLY, MORE UNFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION THAN AT ANY TIME IN THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

3. POLITICAL AND MORAL AMBIVALENCE CHARACTERIZE AUSTRIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD WALDHEIM AND THE SOCIAL, CULTURAL ISSUES WHICH SURROUNDED THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND NOW, THE WALDHEIM INCUMBENCY. SOME OF WALDHEIM'S STAUCHEST DEFENDERS IN PUBLIC ARE THOSE WHO, BY POLITICAL INCLINATION AND BY MORAL CONVICTION, ARE IN REALITY OPPOSED TO WHAT HE SIGNIFIES. IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, THESE ARE FIGURES IN THE SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT WHOSE BACKGROUND AND HISTORY HAVE BEEN IN OPPOSITION TO NATIONALISTIC AND ANTI-SEMITIC AUSTRIAN TENDENCIES, BUT WHO FEEL COMPELLED TO SUPPORT HIM AS THE COUNTRY'S LEGALLY ELECTED HEAD OF STATE. AT THE SAME TIME, MANY OF WALDHEIM'S POLITICAL SUPPORTERS IN THE OPPOSITION PEOPLE'S PARTY (OVP), REMEMBERING HIS CHARACTERLESS PERFORMANCE AS FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE TIME OF THE CZECH EVENTS OF 1968 AND HIS LACKLUSTER SERVICE AS UN SECRETARY GENERAL, PRIVATELY REMIND US -- AS THEY DID DURING THE CAMPAIGN ITSELF -- OF THEIR PERSONAL ALIENATION FROM WALDHEIM AS A MAN. LONG DORMANT ISSUES OF AUSTRIA'S PAST ARE NOW OPENLY DISCUSSED. THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN ACTION TO COPE WITH REVIVED, DISTURBING MANIFESTATIONS OF POLITICAL IGNORANCE AND SOCIAL REGRESSION. BUT THERE IS, AT THE SAME TIME, BOTH FATIGUE AND MALAISE IN ADDRESSING THESE PROBLEMS. WHILE DEALING WITH POLITICAL EDUCATION AT HOME, THE GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING TO POLISH THE AUSTRIAN IMAGE ABROAD; HOWEVER, IN SO DOING IT MUST BE CAREFUL SO AS NOT TO CONFIRM AUSTRIA'S CRITICS IN THEIR ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE MORAL SUBSTANCE OF THIS COUNTRY.

4. WHATEVER ENTANGLEMENTS BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT MAY BEDEVIL THE POLITICAL SCENE HERE, THE UNITED STATES MUST NOT FAIL TO MAKE THE NECESSARY DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN WALDHEIM AND AUSTRIA. THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT WHERE WE STAND WITH REGARD TO THE CARELESSNESS ABOUT THE CRIMES OF NAZISM WHICH WALDHEIM HAS COME TO REPRESENT. BUT, IN EXPRESSING OUR REJECTION OF FORGETFULNESS, WE SHOULD RECALL THAT THE REALITY OF AUSTRIA HAS BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY CHARACTERIZED BY THE BUILDING OF A DEMOCRATIC, HUMANE AND RESPONSIBLE SOCIETY. THE PROBLEM, OF COURSE, IS THAT ITS CEREMONIAL HEAD RIGHT NOW IS NAMED WALDHEIM. AS SO OFTEN IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, THEREFORE, OUR CRITIQUE WILL HAVE ITS DESIRED EFFECT ONLY IF IT IS INDIRECT. TO AVOID STRIKING AUSTRIA, WE MAY NOT FIRE AT WILL AT WALDHEIM. END SUMMARY.

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5. THE ISSUES

- A MONTH AFTER WALDHEIM ASSUMED THE PRESIDENCY OF AUSTRIA, A SUMMER MONTH OTHERWISE OF FORGETFULNESS, THE ISSUES, AND IN SOME CASES DIVISIVENESS, ENGENDERED
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TAGS: PGOV, PREL, AU

SUBJECT: WALDHEIM: ELECTION AND CONSEQUENCES -- ONE

BY THE WALDHEIM CANDIDACY -- THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS (WJC) ACCUSATIONS, SOCIALIST PARTY DIATRIBES, AND THE AUSTRIAN MEDIA DEPICTION OF EVENTS -- CONTINUE TO REVERBERATE BEHIND THE SCENES. THEY HAVE BECOME A NUMBER OF DISCRETE PHENOMENA:

- -- TACIT SOCIALIST REFUSAL, PARTICULARLY AMONG PARTY ACTIVISTS, TO ACCEPT THE NEW PRESIDENT FULLY AND THE HYPERSENSITIVE REACTION ON THE PART OF WALDHEIM PRO-PONENTS TO THIS REFUSAL.

- -- A SENSE OF UNEASE ABOUT AUSTRO-U.S. RELATIONS AND A SUBDUED BUT REAL CAUTION -- IF NOT ALIENATION -- VIS-A-VIS THE U.S. RELATEDLY, A SENSE THAT THE WALDHEIM PRESIDENCY ACCOUNTS AT LEAST FOR SOME OF AUSTRIA'S ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, PARTICULARLY A REDUCTION IN TOURISM.

- -- AUSTRIAN DISQUIETUDE AT THE GENERAL INTERNATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF WALDHEIM'S PRESIDENCY. DOES HE DIMINISH AUSTRIA'S IMAGE ABROAD? CAN HE TRAVEL FREELY IN THE WESTERN WORLD AND REPRESENT AUSTRIA AS IT WOULD LIKE TO BE SEEN? AND IF NOT, WHAT DO THE AUSTRIANS DO ABOUT THIS?

- --A RECRUDESCENCE OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND A RELATED HEIGHTENED SENSITIVITY TO ANTI-SEMITIC BEHAVIOR AND ACTIONS. CONSEQUENTLY, ON THE ONE HAND, MORE OVERT OR PUBLICIZED MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND, IN REACTION, INCREASED JEWISH MILITANCY AND COHESIVENESS IN VIENNA, AND PUBLIC AWARENESS AND COMMENTARY ON THE ISSUE.

- -- AND LASTLY, THE UNRESOLVED, PERHAPS NEVER-TO-BE RESOLVED, QUESTION OF AUSTRIA'S WARTIME PAST. QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN RAISED BUT SATISFACTORY ANSWERS HAVE NOT BEEN GIVEN, SETTING IN MOTION A CORROSIVE PROCESS BETWEEN THE GENERATIONS AND BETWEEN AUSTRIANS AND OTHER PEOPLES SENSITIVE ABOUT THE NAZI ERA.

6. THE GOVERNMENT

- THE GOVERNMENT HAS PUT ITS BEST FOOT FORWARD, COOLLY AND CORRECTLY SUPPORTING THE PRESIDENT. RELATIONS BE-

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TWEEN WALDHEIM, ON ONE SIDE, AND CHANCELLOR VRANITZKY AND FOREIGN MINISTER JANKOWITSCH, ON THE OTHER, SEEM TO BE SMOOTH. THERE APPEARS TO BE A CONSENSUS THAT PRAGMATIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS REQUIRE COOPERATION IN PROMOTING AUSTRIA, WHICH MEANS PROMOTING WALDHEIM -- SPECIFICALLY AGAINST INTERNATIONAL ATTACK. THIS WAS CLEAR IN JANKOWITSCH'S VEHEMENT DEFENSE OF WALDHEIM AGAINST ATTACKS BY BAVARIA'S FRANZ JOSEF STRAUSS OVER THE WACKERSDORF NUCLEAR PROCESSING PLANT. BUT UNDERNEATH IT ALL, THERE ARE THE SOFT MURMURS IN THIS COUNTRY OF RUMOR, WHERE EVERYONE SEEMS TO KNOW EVERYBODY ELSE'S BUSINESS, THAT APPEARANCE IS NOT REALITY. IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION, COMMITTED SOCIALISTS MAKE LITTLE EFFORT TO CONCEAL THEIR DISDAIN FOR WALDHEIM AND THE OBDURATE INSENSITIVITY THEY FEEL HE SHOWED IN HANDLING THE ISSUE OF THE PAST, AND HIS PART IN IT. AMONG THE MEDIA AND POLITICAL ELITE THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONSHIP WITH WALDHEIM IS A QUESTION OF DUTY, NOT DESIRE.

7. SOCIALIST PARTY

- WITH THE SEPARATION OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT SINCE SINOWATZ TURNED THE CHANCELLORSHIP OVER TO VRANITZKY, PART OF THE SPO HAS BEEN FREE TO SPEAK OUT MORE CANDIDLY ABOUT WALDHEIM. WHILE THE SEPARATION OF PARTY
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FROM GOVERNMENT WAS DICTATED BY PRAGMATIC POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, IT WAS, AS WELL, A MANIFESTATION OF THE INABILITY OF SINOWATZ AND SOME OF HIS CHIEF LIEUTENANTS TO ACCEPT THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORAL VERDICT AND REMAIN IN THE GOVERNMENT. THESE SOCIALISTS HAVE ACCEPTED WALDHEIM'S ELECTION JURIDICALLY AS A DEMOCRATIC DECISION BUT CANNOT, FOR PERSONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL REASONS, ACCORD HIM THEIR PERSONAL ACCEPTANCE. AS A GOVERNING PARTY, HOWEVER, THE SPO HAS LEFT OPEN THE DOOR TO WALDHEIM, FEELING THERE IS LITTLE OTHER CHOICE BUT TO SEE IF THE PROBLEM OF HIS PRESIDENCY CAN BE KEPT WITHIN MANAGEABLE BOUNDS, EVENTUALLY RECEDING FROM CENTER STAGE AS WALDHEIM CONFINES HIMSELF TO THE INOFFENSIVE CEREMONIAL ROLE THE OFFICE HAS LONG BEEN. ON THE OTHER SIDE, CERTAIN CONSERVATIVE FIGURES HAVE SOUGHT TO SIMPLIFY ANTI-WALDHEIM MANIFESTATIONS ON THE PART OF SPO MEMBERS, ACCUSING THEM OF "UNWILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT AN ELECTION DEFEAT," OF AN INABILITY TO ACCEPT THE FIRST NON-SPO-SUPPORTED PRESIDENT IN AUSTRIA'S HISTORY.

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- ALTHOUGH MANY IN THE RANKS OF THE OVP, THE PARTY THAT SUPPORTED HIS PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY, HAVE LITTLE AFFECTION FOR WALDHEIM AND MINIMAL REGARD FOR HIS CHARACTER, OVER THE PAST MONTH HE HAS CONTINUED TO BE A POLITICAL RALLYING POINT FOR THE OVP IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE GOVERNING SOCIALISTS. THE ISSUE OF "FOREIGN INTERFERENCE" AND, RELATED TO THIS, THE IDENTIFICATION OF WALDHEIM WITH A RESURGENCE OF AUSTRIAN NATIONALISM HAVE BEEN A STICK WITH WHICH TO BEAT THE SOCIALISTS AND, IT IS HOPED, WILL BE USEFUL INSTRUMENTS TO THE SAME PURPOSE IN THE UPCOMING PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. IN LINE WITH THIS, THE OVP HAS MAINTAINED A STRONG NATIONALIST POSTURE, REMINDING THE PUBLIC PERIODICALLY OF WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS BEHAVIOR, ALL THE WHILE DENYING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ANTI-SEMITIC AND AUSTRIA-FIRST TONES WHICH EMERGED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. PART OF THIS HEIGHTENED NATIONALIST ATTITUDE HAS AFFECTED THE TEXTURE OF OVP RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THEY ARE COOLER THAN BEFORE THE AFFAIR WALDHEIM, ALTHOUGH THIS ATTITUDE HAS MANIFESTED ITSELF LESS IN POLICY TERMS AND MORE IN THE PERSONAL BEHAVIOR OF OVP LEADERS REGARDING THE SENSE OF IRRITATION, AND AT TIMES OUTRAGE, WHICH THEY FEEL ABOUT AMERICA'S TREATMENT OF AUSTRIA.

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9. OVP-SPO RELATIONS

- DESPITE THE DISSONANCE AND EVEN AGGRESSIVENESS WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE WALDHEIM CAMPAIGN, BOTH MAJOR PARTIES HAVE NOW ATTEMPTED TO PUT POLITICAL FRACTIOUSNESS BEHIND THEM. CLEARLY, CONSENSUS RATHER THAN CONFRONTATION IS STILL THE PREFERRED POLITICAL ATTITUDE HERE AND THERE SEEMS TO BE A LARGE MEASURE OF CONSENSUS THAT, AT LEAST ON THE PUBLIC LEVEL, THERE MUST BE UNITY BEHIND AUSTRIA'S PRESIDENT. THE TWO PARTIES ARE ALSO MINDFUL THAT A MEASURE OF COOPERATION WILL BE NECESSARY BOTH IN CAMPAIGNING FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND PERHAPS IN FORMING A COALITION, SHOULD THE ELECTION RESULTS LEAD TO THAT CONCLUSION. ALL THAT BEING SAID, THE WALDHEIM ISSUE IS, NONETHELESS, ONE WHICH HAS DISRUPTIVE POTENTIAL AND COULD CAUSE A RETURN TO THE AGGRESSIVE STYLE OF POLITICKING WHICH CHARACTERIZED THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN. IN PARTICULAR, THE WALDHEIM ISSUE COULD BE REIGNITED IF, FOR EXAMPLE, A U.S. CONDEMNATION OF WALDHEIM FORCED THE GOVERNMENT AND/OR THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO REACT IN WAYS WHICH MIGHT BRING INTO QUESTION ITS SUPPORT FOR THE PRESIDENT, OR WHICH PUT IT AGAIN ON THE TACTICAL DEFENSIVE OVER ISSUES LIKE NATIONALISM OR "FOREIGN INTER-

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ERENCE." IN SUCH A CASE THE U.S. ITSELF WOULD BECOME ONE OF THE ISSUES. OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WOULD BE CHILLED AND THE GOVERNMENT CALLED UPON BY THE OPPOSITION AND POPULAR SENTIMENT TO REACT. BOTH PARTIES WOULD HOPE TO AVOID SUCH CONTENTION BUT NEITHER IS TOTALLY IN CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESSES THAT HAVE EMERGED HERE IN CONNECTION WITH WALDHEIM.

10. WALDHEIM

- WALDHEIM HIMSELF HAS TAKEN TO THE HIGH ROAD. WRAPPED IN THE POMP AND AUTHORITY OF HIS OFFICE, HE HAS SOUGHT IN HIS PUBLIC APPEARANCES TO GAIN RESPECTABILITY AND ACCEPTANCE BY TAKING A NON-PARTISAN, HUMANISTIC LINE AND BY APPEALING FOR SOCIAL PEACE. NOTWITHSTANDING WHATEVER SUCCESS HE IS HAVING OR MAY HAVE IN CREATING A NEW IMAGE FOR HIMSELF -- AND THE AUSTRIAN PRESIDENCY HAS TRADITIONALLY LENT ITSELF EASILY TO CREATING THE AURA OF ELDER STATESMANSHIP-- THE SHALLOW OPPORTUNISM HE CAME TO SYMBOLIZE FOR MANY SOCIALISTS DURING THE CAMPAIGN MADE HIM THE POLAR OPPOSITE OF WHAT THEY (AND OTHERS LIKE THEM) STAND FOR. THOSE INDIVIDUALS WITH STRONG IDEOLOGICAL CONVICTIONS AND MEMORIES OF THE WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH WILL LIKELY NEVER BE RECONCILED TO THE WALDHEIM PRESIDENCY. AT THE SAME TIME, IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT VIRTUALLY ALL AUSTRIANS DO CONCEDE HIM LEGAL ACCEPTANCE. AND IN THE END, SHOULD HIS PRESIDENCY RUN SMOOTHLY AND NOT DISCREDIT AUSTRIA, HE WILL LIKELY GAIN IN GENERAL POPULAR AND MORAL ACCEPTANCE AS WELL.

11. SOCIAL ISSUES: ANTI-SEMITISM, NATIONALISM

- IT IS DIFFICULT TO CAPSULIZE THE CHANGE IN THE AUSTRIAN ENVIRONMENT SINCE THE WALDHEIM CAMPAIGN, BUT ONE OF THE MAIN FEATURES OF THIS CHANGE HAS BEEN BOTH THE RISE IN THE EXPRESSION OF AND THE REACTION TO ANTI-SEMITISM. THERE HAS ALSO BEEN A DISPLAY OF CERTAIN AUSTRIAN PRIDE OR PUGNACITY, PERHAPS AS A REACTION TO WHAT AUSTRIANS FEEL HAS BEEN PROFOUND INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND SLURS ON THEIR NATIONAL CHARACTER DURING THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND NOW IN HIS PRESIDENCY. IN THOSE TWO RESPECTS, AUSTRIA APPEARS SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT TODAY THAN IT DID SEVERAL MONTHS AGO. IN THE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTION, ANTI-SEMITISM HAS BECOME A WIDELY DISCUSSED PUBLIC ISSUE, BOTH IN THE MEDIA AND THE POPULACE AT LARGE. ALONG WITH OVERT EXPRESSIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM THERE HAS ALSO BEEN AN EQUIVALENT ANTI-ANTI-SEMITIC REACTION ON THE PART OF MANY AUSTRIANS AND ON THE PART OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN VIENNA. OTHER AUSTRIAN REACTIONS, SUCH AS ON THE WACKERSDORF ISSUE AND OBSTINATE OR PRIDEFUL SUPPORT OF

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WALDHEIM, SUGGEST THAT IN THIS COUNTRY OF LUKEWARM IDENTITY WALDHEIM HAS, IRONICALLY, HELPED ADVANCE A SENSE OF NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS. A SPATE OF ARTICLES, REVIEWS AND DISCUSSIONS DEALING WITH BOTH PHENOMENA TESTIFY TO THE EMERGENCE OF THESE ISSUES INTO POPULAR CONSCIOUSNESS. AND BOTH GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION HAVE FOUND THAT THEY MUST DEAL POLITICALLY WITH THESE PUBLIC SENTIMENTS.

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12. POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- FROM AFAR, WALDHEIM AND AUSTRIA ARE OFTEN SEEN AS ETHICALLY COEVAL -- PRODUCTS OF AN UNREGENERATE NAZI PAST. SUCH AN IDENTIFICATION, PARTICULARLY IN THE U.S., APPEARS ALMOST INEVITABLE SINCE WALDHEIM WON LANDSLIDE APPROBATION FROM THE AUSTRIANS AT LARGE AND THEREBY HAS BECOME AUSTRIA'S PRINCIPLE REPRESENTATIVE. BUT THERE IS
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A SIMPLE DEFECT IN THIS LOGIC: WHILE IT DOES NOT NEED TO BE SAID THAT WALDHEIM IS OF AUSTRIA, IT NEEDS TO BE NOTED THAT AUSTRIA IS NOT MORALLY COEXTANT WITH WALDHEIM. THE QUESTION SHOULD RATHER BE PUT JUST HOW REPRESENTATIVE WALDHEIM IS OF AUSTRIA. WHATEVER ELSE WALDHEIM MAY OR MAY NOT BE, HE IS FUNCTIONALLY NO MORE THAN THE CEREMONIAL HEAD OF A COUNTRY NOW GOVERNED BY AN ADMINISTRATION -- AND SINCE THE WAR BY A CONSENSUS -- THAT IS PROFOUNDLY DEMOCRATIC, HUMANISTIC, AND CONCERNED ABOUT THE VERY SAME ISSUES OVER WHICH MANY OF AUSTRIA'S CRITICS -- MANY OF WHOM ARE AMERICAN -- HAVE BEEN SO VOCIFEROUS. IT IS IRONIC THAT THIS GOVERNMENT -- THE IDEOLOGICAL ANTITHESIS TO WALDHEIM -- HAS BEEN CALLED UPON AND IS COMPELLED TO DEFEND A MAN THEY CONSIDER SO FAR FROM BEING REPRESENTATIVE OF THEIR OWN "WELTANSCHAUUNG" AND THEIR OWN VISION OF CONTEMPORARY AUSTRIA.

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13. THE GOVERNMENT, CAUGHT BETWEEN THE ANVIL OF WALDHEIM AND THE HAMMER OF THEIR BELIEFS, MUST RENDER UNTO WALDHEIM HIS DUE, AND TO AUSTRIA ITS DUE. SHOCKED BY MANIFESTATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM AND THE INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO THEM, THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOW SOUGHT TO INCREASE ITS INFORMATION EFFORTS IN THE SCHOOLS ON THE SUBJECT OF FASCISM AND THE ATROCITIES OF THE NAZI ERA. IT HAS, AT THE SAME TIME, BEEN SENSITIVE TO THE CRITICISM ABROAD AND HAS LAUNCHED A CAMPAIGN TO DEAL MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH INTERNATIONAL MISPERCEPTIONS OF AUSTRIA. WHAT IT CANNOT DO IS CHANGE THE FACT OF WALDHEIM'S ELECTION. WHAT IT MUST DO IS DRAW DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THIS FACT AND THE LARGER REALITY OF AUSTRIA. BUT, WITHOUT SEEMING TO CONDEMN WALDHEIM, IT

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CAN DO SO ONLY BY IMPLICATION. SUCH DISTINCTIONS ARE VALID AND DESERVE OUR RESPECT, AS DO THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION. IN POLICY TERMS IT BOILS DOWN TO STEADFAST U.S. CONDEMNATION OF ANTI-SEMITISM, TO PRINCIPLED POSITIONS REGARDING THE ISSUES UNEARTHED DURING THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN. BUT U.S. POLICY MUST ALSO ENCOURAGE THIS FRIENDLY AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT, IF WE WISH TO ASSIST AUSTRIA IN COPING WITH THE REMNANTS OF ITS OWN PAST. WE CAN DO THIS ONLY BY LIMITING OUR DIRECT CRITICISM OF WALDHEIM AS WE TAKE ISSUE WITH ALL THAT THE UNRESOLVED AUSTRIAN PAST REPRESENTS. BLOCH
END OF MESSAGE

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