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SITUATION LISTING

DATE 07/07/84//189

SITUATION: PRIVACY
SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:
MESSAGE:

EIA168

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ZNY MMNSH

O 211117Z SEP 83 ZFF4

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO /WHITE HOUSE

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ON-FILE NSC RELEASE INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

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SECRET 211117Z SEP 83 VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FROM: VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH 916 SECTION 1 OF 4

TO: JUDGE CLARK FOR THE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY OF STATE/ SHULTZ

DIRECTOR CIA/BILL CASEY

INFO: WH OVP

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH KADAR

PARTICIPANTS:

U.S. PARTICIPANTS

THE VICE PRESIDENT

AMBASSADOR BERGOLD

ADMIRAL DANIEL MURPHY

DONALD GREGG-NOTE TAKER

HUNGARIAN PARTICIPANTS

FIRST SEC-ETARY KADAR

PRIME MINISTER LAZAR

MINISTER JANOS NAGY

MR. BANLAKI (INTERPRETER)

LOCATION: NANDOR FEJERVAR ROOM OF UNGRIAN PARLIAMENT

TIME: 4:30 P.M. TO 6:20 P.M. 19 SEPTEMBER 1983

SUMMARY: IN AN EXCHANGE MARKED BY FRANKNESS AND GOOD HUMOR THE VICE PRESIDENT AND FIRST SECRETARY KADAR TALKED FOR ALMOST TWO HOURS. KADAR SPOKE AT LENGTH OF U.S. HUNGARIAN RELATIONS WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS HAVING IMPORTANCE FOR HUNGARY AND IN AN IMPROVING STATUS. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF HUNGARY'S BEING "CORRECT PARTNERS" TO ALL THOSE IT TALKS WITH, WHETHER WITHIN THE WARSAW PACT OR WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. THE VICE PRESIDENT NOTED THAT HE ALSO VALUED FRANKNESS, AND THAT HE WELCOMED A CHANCE TO TALK TO A MAN WHO KNEW YURI ANDROPOV WELL. THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITMENT TO ARMS REDUCTION, BUT NOTED THAT RESIDUAL FEELINGS AFTER THE KAL SHOOT-DOWN MADE IT HARD FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO TRUST THE SOVIETS. THE VICE PRESIDENT STATED THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY FOR ARMS REDUCTION, BUT THAT WE NEEDED TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND IN GENERAL LOWER TENSIONS. HE ASKED KADAR TO DRAW UPON HIS KNOWLEDGE OF ANDROPOV TO MAKE ANY SUGGESTIONS THAT HE MIGHT HAVE. KADAR AGREED THAT THE KAL TRAGEDY HAD BEEN UNFORTUNATE BECAUSE IT BROUGHT ADDITIONAL DETERIORATION TO AN ALREADY DIFFICULT

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INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. HE EXPRESSED SOME SKEPTICISM AT THE FACTS OF THE CASE, CITING HOW DIFFICULT IT SHOULD BE FOR A PILOT WITH MODERN EQUIPMENT TO FLY MORE THAN 500 KILOMETERS FROM HIS CORRECT COURSE. KADAR STATED THAT HE WAS POSITIVE THAT ANDROPOV HAD NOT ISSUED THE ORDERS TO SHOOT DOWN THE AIRCRAFT AND HIS BELIEF THAT THOSE WHO DID THE SHOOTING HAD NOT KNOWN THAT A CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT WAS INVOLVED. KADAR CRITICIZED BOTH U.S. AND SOVIET STATEMENTS ON THE CASE AS HAVING BEEN MADE IN "HASTE" AND ADDED THAT A SEARCH MUST BE MADE TO PUT AN END TO THIS AFFAIR. HE WELCOMED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S ASSURANCE THAT WE WOULD CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY. TURNING TO THE SOVIET UNION, HE STATED THAT THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS LIVED IN A STATE OF FEELING THREATENED, AND THAT THEY ARE AT THEIR MOST DIFFICULT WHEN THEY ARE PUT UNDER PRESSURE. HE CITED THE SOVIET PEOPLES' DESIRE FOR PEACE AND, CONTRASTING ANDROPOV WITH BOTH KHRUSCHEV AND BREZHNEV, STATED THAT ANDROPOV COULD BE EITHER A TOUGHER OPPONENT OR A MORE REALISTIC PARTNER THAN BREZHNEV DEPENDING ON HOW HE WAS TREATED. KADAR SAID HE BELIEVES THAT ANDROPOV DOES WANT ARMS REDUCTION, THAT HE IS CONSOLIDATING HIS POWER WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION AT AN ACCELERATING PACE, AND THAT HE WOULD PREFER TO DEVOTE MORE ATTENTION TO ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. KADAR WARNED AGAINST CORNERING THE SOVIETS, AND THE VICE PRESIDENT ASSURED KADAR THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN ALWAYS TRIES TO LEAVE HIS OPPONENTS ROOM FOR MANEUVER. KADAR ADMITTED THAT HE HAD A GREATER KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT NATO AND THE UNITED STATES HAVE IN THE WAY OF MISSILES THAN HE DOES OF WHAT THE SOVIETS POSSESS. HE SAID THAT THE SOVIETS SAY THAT THEY NEVER HAVE ENOUGH. KADAR STRESSED THE TERRIBLE DAMAGE THAT A WAR WOULD DO AND THEN TALKED OF THE DEVELOPING WORLD. THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED KADAR TO TELL ANDROPOV THAT HE, THE VICE PRESIDENT, DID NOT THINK THAT THE SOVIETS NEED THE SS-20S, AND THAT WE SHOULD GET RID OF THEM ALL AND TALK OF OTHER MATTERS. KADAR INDICATED THAT UNDER CERTAIN CONDITIONS, HE WOULD FAVOR A SUMMIT BETWEEN PRESIDENT REAGAN AND ANDROPOV. THE MEETING CLOSED WITH MR. KADAR RESTATING HIS PLEASURE AT THE CURRENT STATE OF U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS AND VOICING THANKS FOR THE EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING. THE VICE PRESIDENT URGED THE FRIST SECRETARY TO STAY IN COMMUNICATION, PARTICULARLY IF HE HAD ANY NEW INSIGHTS INTO THE QUESTION OF ARMS REDUCTIONS AND HOW THESE MIGHT BE ACHIEVED.

END SUMMARY

DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF MEETING: KADAR OPENED THE CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT HE WOULD BE TRAVELLING TO FINLAND ON 20 SEPTEMBER, AND THAT HE WAS AWARE THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD VISITED HELSINKI IN THE SUMMER. THE VICE PRESIDENT

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SPOKE WITH PLEASURE OF HIS TRIP THERE AND BRIEF REMINISCENCES WERE EXCHANGED.

SPEAKING WITHOUT NOTES, KADAR THEN TURNED TO THE FORMAL BUSINESS OF THE MEETING, EXTENDING A FORMAL WELCOME TO THE VICE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY. KADAR SAID HE UNDERSTOOD AND APPRECIATED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO INCLUDE HUNGARY ON THE TRIP. KADAR SAID HE PERSONALLY WELCOMED THE CHANCE TO TALK, SINCE HE BELIEVES THAT U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS ARE OF SIGNIFICANCE. HE SAID THAT IN GENERAL, HUNGARY IS IN FAVOR OF BROAD CONTACTS AND DIALOGUE. HE FELT THAT SUCH MEETINGS ARE ALWAYS OF VALUE, LEADING EITHER TO AGREEMENT

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MESSAGE:

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ZNY MMNSH
O 211117Z SEP 83 ZFF4
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO [] /WHITE HOUSE
[] SECSTATE
[] CIA

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SECRET 211117Z SEP 83 VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FROM: VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH 916 SECTION 2 OF 4
TO: JUDGE CLARK FOR THE PRESIDENT
SECRETARY OF STATE/ SHULTZ
DIRECTOR CIA/BILL CASEY

INFO: WH OVP

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH KADAR OR GREATER UNDERSTANDING OF DIFFERENCES. KADAR NOTED THAT AMBASSADOR BERGOLD HAD SEEN MANY U.S.-HUNGARIAN MEETINGS, AND THAT ALL OF THEM ARE REALISTIC, WITH BOTH SIDES KEEPING DIFFERENCES OF SIZE AND SCALE IN MIND. KADAR SAID THAT BOTH SIDES MUST KEEP IN MIND WHO THE OTHER SIDE IS, OTHERWISE, TALKS COULD NOT BE SERIOUS. HE ADDED THAT HE HAD HEARD FROM PRIME MINISTER LAZAR OF THE PREVIOUS TALKS AND THAT HE LIKED WHAT HE HAD HEARD. HE CHARACTERIZED THE TALKS AS BEING CONDUCTED WITH GOODWILL AND BENEVOLENCE.

KADAR DWELT ON PAST INCIDENTS TO INDICATE THE RECENT IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS. HE RECALLED IN THE PAST WHEN "THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION" HAD EXISTED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, AND THAT THIS HAD BEEN A STUMBLING BLOCK TO IMPROVED RELATIONS. HE RECALLED MEETING AVERELL HARRIMAN AT A U.S.-SOVIET SPORTS EVENT IN MOSCOW AND TALKING ABOUT THIS. SUBSEQUENTLY, CARDINAL MINZENTI WAS RELEASED BY THE HUNGARIANS. THE U.S. SHORTLY THEREAFTER DROPPED THE HUNGARIAN QUESTION IN THE UNITED NATIONS. KADAR ALSO CITED THE RETURN OF THE CROWN JEWELS TO HUNGARY AND THE GRANTING OF MOST FAVORED NATION STATUS AS U.S. GESTURES THAT HAD BEEN HIGHLY APPRECIATED. HE NOTED THAT FINANCIAL CLAIMS HAD BEEN SETTLED, AND THAT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS WOULD BE IN THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES. KADAR NOTED THAT THE VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WAS A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THIS IMPROVING TREND. HE SAID THAT NOTHING LIKE A "BLOOD ALLIANCE" WOULD BE SIGNED, BUT THAT THE FACT OF THE VISIT MANIFESTED IN AMERICAN INTENTION TO IMPROVE TIES AND THAT THIS IS APPRECIATED.

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KADAR NOTED THAT THE INTERNATIONAL SURROUNDINGS AT THE MOMENT WERE NOT VERY GOOD, AND THAT NO MATTER WHAT PARTNERS IN A DIALOGUE MIGHT DO, BILATERAL RELATIONS WERE AFFECTED BY THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. KADAR SAID HE DIDN'T KNOW HOW THE CURRENT SITUATION WOULD EVOLVE. HE STATED THAT HUNGARY IS HUNGARY, AND THAT ITS INEVITABLE STARTING POINT IS ITS OWN INTERESTS, AND THAT IT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT ALL CONDITIONS TO DETERMINE THE APPROPRIATE POLITICAL STEPS TO BE TAKEN -- BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD AND WITHIN THE ALLIANCE (A REFERENCE TO THE WARSAW PACT). HE SAID THAT HUNGARY ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO BEING A CORRECT PARTNER "TO ALL OUR PARTNERS." ONCE HUNGARY HAS A VIEW ON A SUBJECT, IT WILL SAY THE SAME THING TO THE UNITED STATES, TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE AND TO THE SOVIET UNION. ANY OTHER GROUND FOR POLICY WOULD BE NOTHING BUT SHIFTING SAND. KADAR THEN TURNED TO HUNGARY'S TIES WITH THE SOVIETS AND NOTED THAT PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH IS NOT VERY WELL INFORMED, IS THAT HUNGARY IS TRYING TO FIND ITS OWN SOLUTION DOMESTICALLY, BUT THAT IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS IT IS A SATELLITE OF THE SOVIET UNION. KADAR SAID THAT AS THE VICE PRESIDENT KNOWS, IN ANY ALLIANCE THE LARGEST MEMBERS' WORD CARRIES MOST WEIGHT. KADAR ADDED THAT "SATELLITE" IS NOT THE APPROPRIATE WORD TO DESCRIBE HUNGARY'S STATUS. SMILING, KADAR SAID THAT THE U.S. IS NOW EXPERIENCING WITHIN THE NATO ALLIANCE SOME OF THE SAME PROBLEMS THAT RUSSIA IS HAVING IN THE WARSAW PACT. KADAR THEN SAID, "ANDROPOV KNOWS US WELL, THIS IS HELPFUL TO US, WE HAVE TO EXPLAIN LESS." KADAR SAID THAT THERE WAS NO PRETENSE BETWEEN THE HUNGARIANS AND THE SOVIETS, THAT ANDROPOV IS A LONG-STANDING FRIEND WITH WHOM HE CAN SPEAK OPENLY AND FRANKLY. HE SAID, "THERE IS NOTHING MORE TO IT THAN THAT." KADAR RECALLED A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH FINNISH LEADERS WHERE BOTH HE AND THE FINNS ADMITTED THAT IF "THE BIG ONES" (THE SOVIETS) LEFT THINGS TO US, WE COULD DO BETTER. KADAR QUICKLY ADDED THAT THINGS ARE NOT LEFT IN HUNGARY'S OR FINLAND'S HANDS, AND THAT THIS MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.

IN RESPONSE, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID HE ALSO VALUED FRANKNESS AND THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO MENTION TO THE PRESS, EITHER IN EUROPE OR IN THE UNITED STATES, THE MATTERS DISCUSSED HERE WITH MR. KADAR (KADAR NODDED IN AGREEMENT). THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID HE WELCOMED THE RARE CHANCE TO TALK TO A MAN WHO KNOWS ANDROPOV WELL, AND THAT HE WOULD REPORT IN FULL WHAT HE LEARNED FROM KADAR WHEN HE MEETS PRESIDENT REAGAN ON THURSDAY. THE VICE PRESIDENT REFERRED TO HIS 40-MINUTE MEETING WITH ANDROPOV AT THE TIME OF BREZHNEV'S FUNERAL BUT ADMITTED THAT NO ONE IN THE UNITED STATES KNOWS ANDROPOV

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WELL. THE VICE PRESIDENT STRESSED PRESIDENT REAGAN'S COMMITMENT TO SIGNIFICANT ARMS REDUCTIONS IN THE INF, START AND MBFR NEGOTIATIONS.

SHIFTING TO THE KOREAN AIRLINE TRAGEDY, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THIS HAD BECOME A SIGNIFICANT ISSUE FOR THE UNITED STATES, SINCE SOVIET BEHAVIOR FOLLOWING THE SHOOT-DOWN HAS MADE IT VERY HARD FOR THE AMERICANS TO BELIEVE THAT THE SOVIETS CAN BE TRUSTED. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THIS IS WHY THE KAL INCIDENT WAS SO LARGE AND SIGNIFICANT (KADAR NODDED UNDERSTANDING AT THIS POINT). THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT A LOT OF RHETORIC EXISTS ABOUT THE INCIDENT, BUT THAT THE AMERICAN REACTION IS GENUINE AND

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MESSAGE:

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO [REDACTED] /WHITE HOUSE

[REDACTED] SECSTATE

[REDACTED] CIA

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SECRET 211117Z SEP 83 VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FROM: VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH 916 SECTION 3 OF 4

TO: JUDGE CLARK FOR THE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY OF STATE/SHULTZ

DIRECTOR CIA/BILL CASEY

INFO: WH OVP

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH KADAR

THAT WE FEEL THAT IT WAS A BARBAROUS ACT. THE VICE PRESIDENT STATED THAT HE COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT ANDROPOV KNEW OF ANY CONDONED THE SHOOT-DOWN. THE VICE PRESIDENT CONJECTURED SAYING THAT HIS OWN FEELING WAS THAT ANDROPOV MUST HAVE BEEN SHOCKED WHEN HE HEARD OF THE INCIDENT. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID WE WILL CONTINUE NEGOTIATING, BUT THAT INF DEPLOYMENT WILL TAKE PLACE UNLESS THERE IS A BREAK-THROUGH IN GENEVA. HE ADDED THAT EVEN IF DEPLOYMENT TOOK PLACE, MISSILES COULD BE REMOVED FOLLOWING NEGOTIATED REDUCTINS. THE QUESTION IS, WHAT CAN BE DONE TO IMPROVE THE CURRENT SITUATION TO MOVE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND TO REDUCE TENSIONS, AS FAR MORE THAN JUST U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE AT STAKE. THE VICE PRESIDENT URGED KADAR TO TELL ANDROPOV THAT THE UNITED STATES KNOWS THE HIGH STAKES INVOLVED, AND THAT WE ARE SERIOUS ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. HE THEN URGED KADAR TO MAKE ANY SUGGESTIONS AS TO WHAT MIGHT BE ONE TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION.

KADAR RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE COULD NOT GIVE DIRECT SUGGESTIONS, AND THAT IN SOME CASES HE COULD ONLY GIVE INDIRECT ANSWERS TO THE VICE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS. KADAR NOTED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS ABOUT PRESIDENT REAGAN'S COMMITMENT TO ARMS REDUCTIONS, AND THAT OUR NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA ARE CONDUCTED WITH THIS OBJECTIVE IN MIND. REFERRING TO THE KAL SHOOT-DOWN, KADAR SAID THAT IT HAD BEEN UNFORTUNATE AS IT BROUGHT ADDITIONAL DETERIORATION TO AN ALREADY DIFFICULT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. KADAR THEN SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH TO DESCRIBE HIS DIFFICULTY IN BELIEVING THAT A COMMERCIAL PILOT WITH MODERN EQUIPMENT COULD FLY 500 KILOMETERS OFF HIS APPROPRIATE COURSE WITHOUT KNOWING IT. HE STATED THAT THE SHOOT-DOWN HAD OCCURRED BECAUSE OF MANY FACTORS,

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BUT THAT HE WAS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THAT ANDROPOV HAD NOT ISSUED THE ORDERS TO SHOT; AND THAT EVEN THOSE WHO HAD DONE THE SHOOTING DID NOT KNOW THAT A CIVILIAN AIRCRAFT WAS INVOLVED. KADAR STATED THAT BOTH SOVIET AND U.S. STATEMENTS ON THE INCIDENT HAVE BEEN MADE IN "HASTE." KADAR WELCOMED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S ASSURANCE THAT ARMS REDUCTION TALKS WILL GO ON, AND THAT NOW A SEARCH MUST BE MADE TO END THE KAL AFFAIR AND TO FIND NEW SOLUTIONS.

KADAR THEN TURNED TO THE SOVIET UNION, DESCRIBED THE PRIMITIVE SITUATION WHICH EXISTED AT THE TIME OF THE 1917 REVOLUTION, AND THE DIFFICULTIES THE SOVIETS HAVE HAD IN CATCHING UP TO MORE MODERN SOCIETIES. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE, THROUGHOUT THEIR HISTORY, LIVED IN A STATE OF FEELING THREATENED; AND THAT WHILE IN A NUMBER OF FACETS OF CIVILIAN LIFE THEY ARE UNDER-DEVELOPED, WHENEVER THEY FEEL THREATENED THEY ARE "UP TO THE MARK" IN BEING ABLE TO RETALIATE. KADAR SAID THE SOVIET SYSTEM CANNOT BE CHANGED FROM THE OUTSIDE BY PROPAGANDA, EDUCATION OR FORCE. DOMESTIC IMPROVEMENTS WILL BRING THINGS THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL LIKE, BUT THAT THE SOVIET SENSE OF BEING THREATENED WILL KEEP THEM "UP TO THE MARK" IN TERMS OF DEFENSE. KADAR ADDED THAT BOTH THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP AND THE SOVIET PEOPLE WANT PEACE, AND THAT MAY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS EXIST WHICH THEY WOULD PREFER TO DEAL WITH. KADAR URGED THE UNITED STATES TO KEEP THESE THINGS IN MIND AND IF THIS WERE DONE, HE WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE CONDUCTED.

TURNING TO ANDROPOV, KADAR NOTED THAT HE HAD WORKED CLOSELY WITH KHRUSCHEV AND BREZHNEV, AS WELL AS THE CURRENT SOVIET LEADERSHIP. ALL HAD BEEN HUMAN, EACH WITH HIS OWN PECULIARITIES. HE CREDITED KHRUSCHEV WITH HAVING DONE GOOD THINGS IN HIS TIME, NOTED THAT BREZHNEV WAS MORE EMOTIONAL, AND THAT HE HAD CONDUCTED A MORE SOBER FOREIGN POLICY. ANDROPOV IS DIFFERENT. HE IS NOT A COMPUTER WITHOUT FEELINGS, BUT HE IS MORE RATIONAL AND REALISTIC REGARDING DOMESTIC AFFAIRS THAN HIS PREDECESSORS. HE SEES THINGS AS THEY ARE, AND HIS RECENT ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES HAVE BEEN SERIOUSLY PUT FORWARD. KADAR SAID, "IF YOU ARE LOOKING FOR AN OPPONENT, HE IS TOUGHER THAN BREZHNEV BECAUSE HE IS MORE REALISTIC." AS A PARTNER, HE WOULD BE BETTER THAN BREZHNEV FOR THE SAME REASONS -- I.E., REALISM AND SPECIFICITY. THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED IF ANDROPOV WANTS ARMS REDUCTION. KADAR STATED THAT IT WAS HIS DEEP CONVICTION THAT ANDROPOV DOES WANT ARMS REDUCTION. THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED HOW MUCH FLEXIBILITY ANDROPOV HAS. KADAR NOTED THAT ANDROPOV IS A NEW LEADER, AND THAT HE IS TAKING SOVIET LEADERSHIP INTO HIS HANDS AT AN ACCELERATING PACE. HE HAS BROUGHT UP THINGS REGARDING DOMESTIC PARTY PROGRAMS WHICH MEAN VERY DIFFICULT GOING FOR HIM INSIDE THE SOVIET UNION. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT WE HAVE NOTED ANDROPOV'S CLOSE ATTENTION TO DOMESTIC MATTERS AND WONDERED IF THIS MEANT THAT OTHERS WERE FOLLOWING

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MILITARY MATTERS MORE CLOSELY. KADAR STATED HIS BELIEF THAT ANDROPOV DEALS WITH BOTH MILITARY AND ECONOMIC MATTERS.

KADAR STATED THAT THE HUNGARIAN VIEW TOWARD MISSILES WAS CONSERVATIVE, AND THEY DO NOT WANT TO SEE MISSILES WHERE THEY DO NOT ALREADY EXIST; AND THAT WHERE THEY ALREADY EXIST, THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE FEWER OF THEM. THE SOVIET POSITION IS SIMILAR AND IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO TALK WITH THEM. KADAR NOTED THE VICE PRESIDENT HAD SAID THAT IF DEPLOYMENT STARTS THAT NEGOTIATIONS WILL GO ON.

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MESSAGE:

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 DE [REDACTED] #0916/4 2641255
 ZNY MMNSH
 O 211117Z SEP 83 ZFF4
 FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
 TO [REDACTED] WHITE HOUSE
 [REDACTED] /STATE DEPT
 [REDACTED] /CIA

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SECRET 211117Z SEP 83 VIA PRIVACY CHANNELS

FROM: VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH 916 FINAL SECTION OF 4

TO: JUDGE CLARK FOR THE PRESIDENT

SECRETARY OF STATE / SHULTZ

DIRECTOR CIA / BILL CASEY

INFO: WH OVP

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION WITH KADAR

KADAR SAID, "I DON'T KNOW IF TALKS WILL GO ON, BUT THAT EVEN IF THEY DO THEY WILL BE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT." KADAR DREW ON HIS HUNTING EXPERIENCE TO NOTE THE FACT THAT EVEN A RABBIT, NOTED FOR ITS SHYNESS AND COWARDICE, WILL ATTACK IF SURROUNDED. HE NOTED THAT THE SOVIETS ARE NEITHER SHY NOR COWARDLY, BUT THEY DO LIVE UNDER A SENSE OF BEING THREATENED AND THAT IT IS NOT A GOOD THING TO TEST THIS FEELING. HE ADDED THAT TALKING PARTNERS SHOULD BOTH BE ABLE TO SAVE FACE, AND THAT IF THERE IS NO CHANCE TO SAVE FACE, THERE IS LITTLE CHANCE OF REACHING AGREEMENT ON EITHER LARGE OR SMALL MATTERS.

THE VICE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN ALWAYS LIKES TO LEAVE HIS OPPONENTS ROOM FOR MANEUVER. KADAR SAID THIS IS A GOOD THING. RESPONDING TO KADAR'S MENTION OF THE RABBIT, THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED, "WHO IS THE RABBIT WHEN ONE SIDE HAS HUNDREDS OF INF LAUNCHERS AND THE OTHER SIDE HAS NONE." KADAR RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT HE HAS A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT THE UNITED STATES AND NATO HAS IN THE WAY OF ARMAMENTS THAN HE DOES OF WHAT THE SOVIETS POSSESS. HE ADDED THAT THE SOVIETS SAY THAT THEY NEVER HAVE ENOUGH, AND THAT THIS STEMS FROM THEIR MILITARY PROFESSION WHICH CAUSES THEM ALWAYS TO STRESS THOSE THINGS THAT NATO HAS THAT ARE AHEAD OF THE SOVIET UNION. KADAR SAID THAT HE HAD OFTEN ASKED THE SOVIETS WHAT WOULD

HAPPEN IF A DIRECT CLASH SHOULD TAKE PLACE BETWEEN THE WARSAW PACT AND NATO. HE SAID THE SOVIETS SHRUG AND SAY, "IT WILL BE OK." KADAR SAID THAT HE FELT THAT GLOBALLY, THERE WAS A ROUGH MISSILE BALANCE BUT THAT THE BALANCE WITHIN EUROPE WAS QUITE A DIFFERENT THING.

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KADAR THEN TURNED TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD CITING THE NEED FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO ADDRESS THE PROBLEMS OF THE THIRD WORLD. HE PREDICTED THAT THE VERY BACKWARD NATIONS WILL MAKE BIGGER PROBLEMS AS THEY WRESTLE WITH THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROCESS. HE ASKED, "WHAT SHOULD WE DO, ARM OURSELVES OR COME TO GRIPS WITH THE REAL PROBLEMS?" HE NOTED THE AMOUNT OF FOREIGN DEBT AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A WORLD DEPRESSION. HE SAID IT WOULD BE BETTER TO USE LESS MONEY ON WEAPONS AND MISSILES, NOTING THAT HUNGARY WANTS TO BE LEFT ALONE AND THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE ENOUGH TO KEEP THEM OCCUPIED AT HOME. THE VICE PRESIDENT RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD AGREE ON THE PROBLEMS CITED BY KADAR BUT PERHAPS NOT ON THE APPROACHES TO THEM. KADAR MENTIONED CHINA AND EGYPT BRIEFLY AS COUNTRIES THAT HAD FREQUENTLY CAUSED PROBLEMS AND SWITCHED SIDES. HE THEN TURNED TO THE MIDDLE EAST, WHICH HE SAID WAS A SERIOUS SITUATION, AND SUGGESTED THAT ISRAEL MIGHT HAVE BECOME THE TAIL THAT WAGS THE DOG. IN RESPONSE, THE VICE PRESIDENT OUTLINED THE MERITS OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S 1 SEPTEMBER 1982 PEACE PLAN FOR THE MIDDLE EAST. KADAR NOTED THE VARIOUS FACTIONS WITHIN THE PLO, AND SAID THAT THE PALISTINIANS WOULD GO THEIR OWN WAY NO MATTER WHO SAYS WHAT. KADAR ADMITTED CONFUSION AS TO WHAT THE PLO WANTS. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THEY WANT IDENTITY AND A PLACE TO AT LEAST BURY THEIR DEAD, AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE GIVEN THOSE THINGS.

RETURNING TO THE MISSILES, THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED KADAR TO TELL ANDROPOV THAT THE UNITED STATES SAW NO NEED FOR THE SOVIET SS-20S, AND THAT THEY SHOULD BE DESTROYED SO THAT OTHER PROBLEMS COULD BE DEALT WITH CONSTRUCTIVELY. BOTH MEN AGREED THAT BOTH SIDES WANT TO REDUCE TENSIONS, AND THAT THE SEARCH MUST GO ON FOR WHAT KADAR REFERRED TO AS "A MEETING PLACE." THE VICE PRESIDENT ASKED IF HE MEANT A PHYSICAL MEETING. KADAR STATED THAT UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES HE WOULD FAVOR SUCH A MEETING. THE VICE PRESIDENT LAUGHINGLY STATED THAT KADAR SOUNDED LIKE A DIPLOMAT. KADAR THEN REFERRED TO THE MEETING WHICH PRESIDENT ACRTER HAD HELD WITH BREZHNEV. BOTH HAD BEEN RELUCTANT BEFORE THE MEETING BUT SUBSEQUENTLY DEVELOPED HUMAN FEELINGS TOWARD EACH OTHER. KADAR SAID THAT IF WE STRIVE FOR A NORMAL SITUATION, THE MEN SHOULD MEET BUT THAT WE NEED A LITTLE BETTER ATMOSPHERE THAN EXISTS NOW. RUEFULLY, HE STATED THAT IN TODAY'S PAPER HE HAD READ THAT WHILE GROMYKO WAS REFUSING TO GO TO THE UNITED NATIONS, THE HUNGARIAN FOREIGN MINISTER WAS VISITING WASHINGTON WHILE THE VICE PRESIDENT WAS VISITING HUNGARY. "WHAT A WORLD," KADAR NOTED.

THE VICE PRESIDENT THEN REMINDED KADAR OF PRESIDENT

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SUBJECT CATAGORY: IN

MESSAGE / ANNOTATION:

CARTER'S UNFORTUNATE ENCOUNTER WITH A RABBIT WHEN HE WAS FISHING IN PENNSYLVANIA. KADAR LAUGHED AND SAID HE HAD READ OF THE MATTER KADAR THEN RECALLED THE NIXON-KENNEDY CAMPAIGN OF 1960 IN WHICH IT HAD SEEMED TO THE WORLD THAT KENNEDY WAS THE ANGEL AND NIXON THE DEVIL. SUBSEQUENT EVENTS -- THE BAY OF PIGS FOLLOWING KENNEDY'S ELECTION AND RAPPROCHEMENT FOLLOWING NIXON'S ELECTION -- SHOWED THAT IT IS NOT A SIMPLE MATTER TO TELL WHO IS THE ANGEL AND WHO THE DEVIL. ALL ARE HUMAN BEINGS.

THE MEETING ENDED AMICABLY, WITH KADAR SAYING, "LET'S AGREE NOT TO BLOW UP THE GLOBE BUT TO TRY TO IMPROVE THINGS." HE SAID HE WOULD TRY TO CONTINUE TO IMPROVE U.S.-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS. HE THANKED THE VICE PRESIDENT FOR THE SINCERE APPROACH HE WAS TAKING TO THESE RELATIONS AND THE EXCELLENT ATMOSPHERE OF THE MEETING THEY HAD JUST CONDUCTED. THE VICE PRESIDENT IF HE HAD ANY NEW IDEAS AS TO HOW ARMS REDUCTION TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS COULD BE MORE EFFECTIVELY CONDUCTED.

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