

Centre for Policy Studies

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Box
acknowledged
verbally by C.S.

12/12

Prime Minister

I attach some miscellaneous memoranda:

1. A historical note about Hungary
2. Note on Disarmament
3. Note on Gibraltar
4. Note on a conversation with General Walters
5. Note on Dr. Musich (Argentina)
6. Note on Monsieur Chirac

Hugh Thomas

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Simon Webley Secretary: Nathalie Brooke

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HUNGARY: A HISTORICAL NOTE

Recorded history begins with the Roman conquest of the western half of the country in 9 B.C. This half, which contained two thirds of the population, became the province of Pannonia. The River Danube was the frontier of the Empire and all to the East remained primitive.

Map 1.

The frontier held till the 3rd century A.D. Then barbarian invasions brought successive waves of depopulation and repopulation as the original inhabitants fled, and were replaced by wandering tribes of Germans, Huns and Slavs. The demographic bottom was probably reached during the Avar supremacy in the 7th century A.D. The Avars, like the Huns, were nomads from Central Asia and as such liked to keep their grazing land free of peasants. In their day Hungary probably contained only 200,000 people, half of them Avars and their dependants, half of them frightened peasants of debatable ancestry.

Hungary received its definitive repopulation at the end of the 9th century when the Magyars, a people of Finnish stock, arrived from the Russian steppe. A hundred years later the Magyars abandoned paganism and pastoralism in favour of Christianity and settled cultivation. (Stephen, King and saint, ruled 997 - 1038): Hungary had joined the medieval European community and the population of the area had begun to increase. It was known in the West as a place through which expeditions had to pass on the overland route to the Holy Places in Palestine.

Medieval Hungary, ruled by the descendents of St. Stephen, the Arpad dynasty, though increasing in prosperity with each generation, remained by European standards underpopulated. As such it suffered less damage than the rest of Europe during the 14th century pandemic of bubonic plague known as the Black Death. By 1500 the population had reached 1.25 m.

On the horizon, however, was a new threat: the Ottoman army. This was to prove a harsher brake on population growth than the plague bacillus. The Ottomans followed their easy victory at Mohacs (1526) by occupying half (east) Hungary: by failing to occupy the other half they condemned it to the fate of a no-man's land in a long struggle between Cross (as represented by the Hapsburgs of Austria) and Crescent for the Turks.

These evil days ended with the Turkish failure before Vienna in 1683 and the subsequent liberation of Hungary by the Austrians. Hungary west and east of the Danube became a prosperous agricultural country, ruled by landowners under the Hapsburg monarchy - both before and after 1806 (when the Holy Roman Empire became the Austrian Empire). The Hungarian gentry seized control of the Nationalist movement of the early 19th century and, after the Compromise of 1867, Hungary (extended, as in Map 2), became recognised as the second kingdom in the Dual Monarchy (Kaiserlich und Königlich, or imperial and royal) which lasted till 1919. Meantime, the growth rate picked up again as Hungary became involved in urbanization and industrialization. The growth of a large Hungarian Jewish community helped to make 19th century Budapest a great centre of culture.

Map 2

Hungary has not done so well in this century. Though the dismemberment of the Kingdom of Hungary at the end of the First World War was carried out according to virtuous principles it is difficult not to feel that people who had picked the winning side, like the Roumanians did better than those who had sided with the Central Powers. Hungary's ethnic purity (it is now homogeneously Magyar) was created by allotting to the new state only impeccably Magyar areas. (As a result, although there are no Roumanians in Hungary, there are 1.5 m Magyars in Roumania.) An attempt to reverse the verdict of the First World War during the Second proved disastrous and, after a temporary expansion at the expense of its neighbours, Hungary resumed its Versailles frontiers. It had lost about a million dead in the Second World War including the vast majority of Jews, perhaps 400,000, a heavy blow for a country of 9 m people. Growth in the post-war period has been slow: the 1975 population is only 10.5 m and the projection for the end of the century 11m.

See
Population
Graph.

Since 1948 Hungary has been a (reluctant) communist state. The establishment of communism in a state where a tiny minority of the electorate was the achievement of the experienced communist leader Rakosi who coined the phrase "salami tactics" to describe his own operation. All parties of the Right were fatally compromised after 1945 by their connection between 1940 and 1945 with

it constituted)

the nazis. The revolution of 1956 failed to overthrow communist rule but, since then, Kadar has ruled the nation with a sure if subtle hand.

Hugh Thomas
December 1983

ROMAN EMPIRE 395 AD.



The Roman Frontier in
Hungary



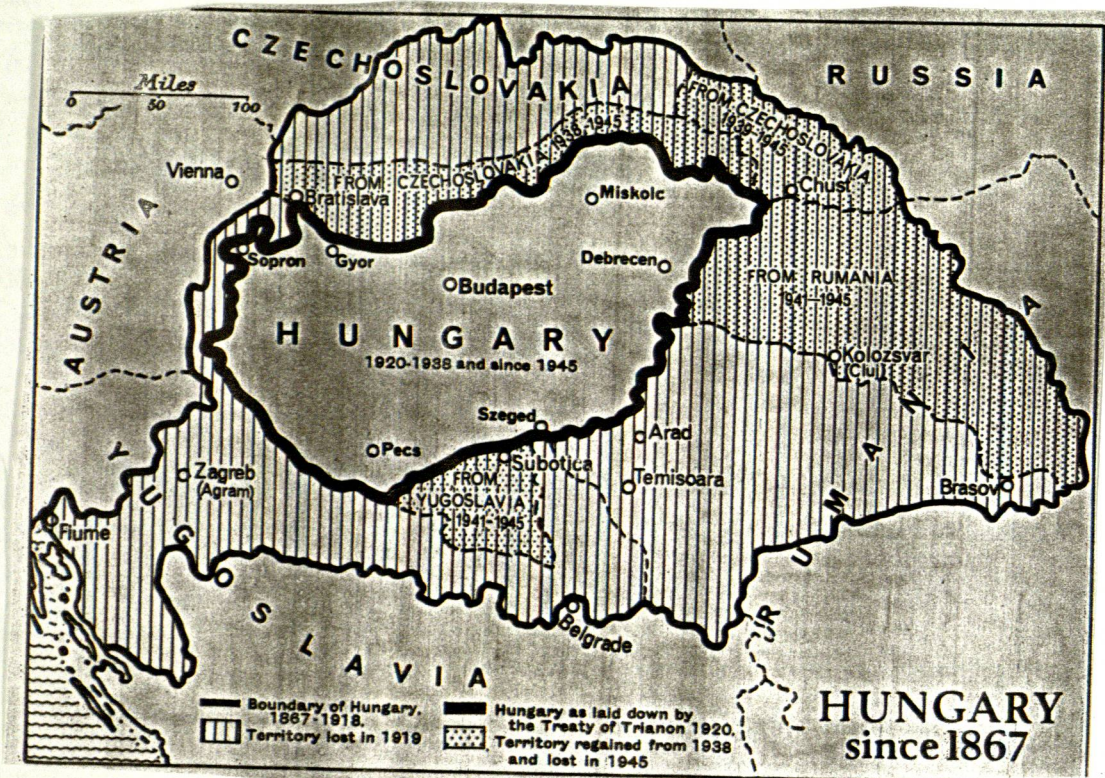
Vgl. Völkerwanderung (38/39)

Maßstab 1 : 22 500 000

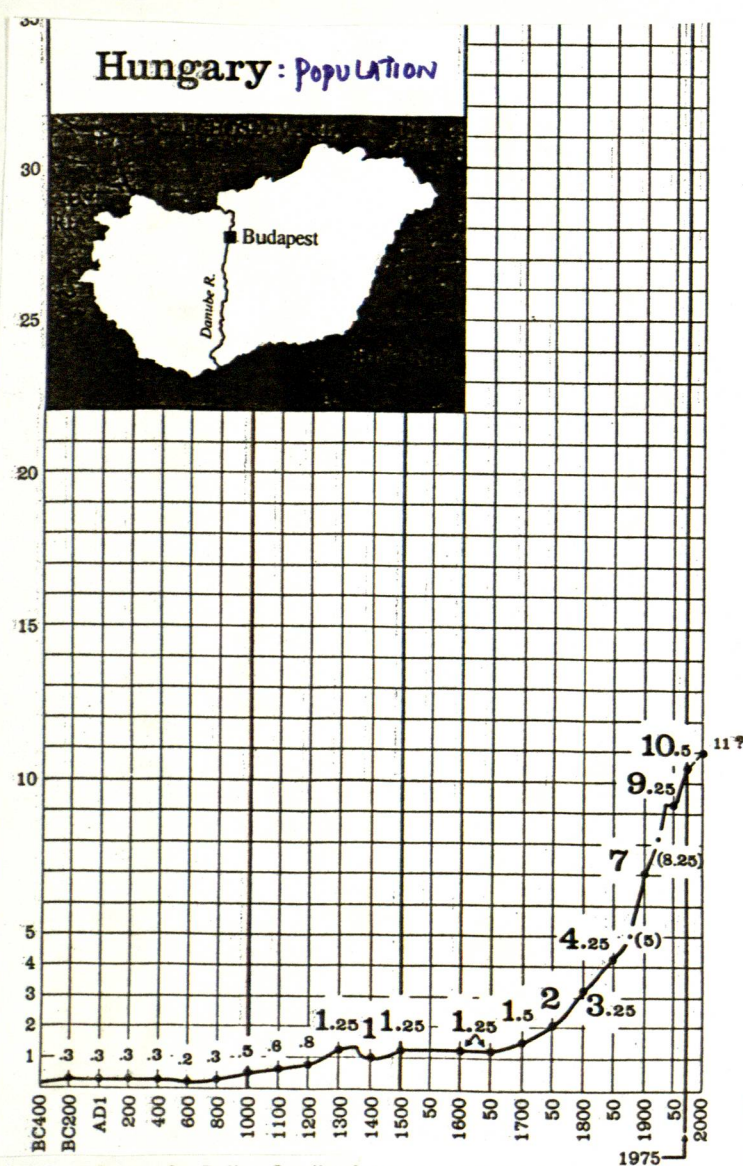
K. Stade

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MAP 1



MAP 2



POPULATION GRAPH

millions of population by year.

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2.

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DISARMAMENT

1. Public relations

We have made effective replies about the current Western-Soviet negotiations. Public opinion recognises generally the strength of our position. But would it not be helpful to have published a general survey of Western-Soviet negotiations since 1945? Such a survey wd. not say the West has always been intelligent. But on the whole we have been wise & humane. We cd stress:

- (1) the Russian failure to agree to the complete internationalisation of nuclear energy in 1946-1947;
- (2) the Russian development of missiles between 1945 & 1957, while the West (US) quite neglected that side of things;
- (3) the Russian build-up of ICBMs after 1969, when the US thought that they had enough;
- (4) repeated Russian failures to accept inspection; &
- (5) Russian intransigence over the test ban negotiations - etc.

2. Khrushchev

Although a bully & often a boaster (about his 50 megaton bomb), Khrushchev did admit, when retired, that inspection was desirable. See attached document. I think that might be used to advantage.

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2 ARMS CONTROL

Therefore, I think there is no longer any reason for us to resist the idea of international control. If I had any influence on the policy of the Soviet Union, I would urge that we sign a mutual agreement providing for more extensive inspection than was possible when Zhukov and I deliberated. More specifically, I would favour on-site inspection in designated parts of the country around our frontiers. (When I talk about our frontiers, I'm talking about our western borders. I'm putting aside the problem of our eastern borders because we have a special situation there with China. The pathological hatred of the Chinese for the Soviet Union and our ideological line makes an understanding with them impossible for me to imagine.)

Sticking to the matter of our relations with the West, I'd also favour on-site inspection at all military bases, especially airfields. It's essential that airfields be open to inspection, so that neither

side could concentrate troop transports for a sneak attack. We're afraid of a surprise attack by our enemies just as much as they're afraid of such an attack by us. We need a system of inspection as much as they do.

KJI 606

'But what about espionage?' people might ask. 'Wouldn't we be inviting NATO to send spies into our country masquerading as control commission inspectors?' My answer to that is: we'll learn as much about the other side's military technology as it will learn about ours. In other words, we will have the same opportunities as our potential enemies to engage in military intelligence. After all, what is military intelligence but an attempt to find out what your adversary is doing? And isn't that basically the same thing as arms control inspection? Both sides are engaged in military intelligence, just as both are engaged in counter-intelligence. As long as there are two opposing social systems in the world, those whose profession is espionage won't be out of a job.

KHRUSHCHEV MEMOIRS Vol II 606-7

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DISARMAMENT (2)

3. A proposal by Mr. Elliot Richardson (Democrat)

I had a conversation with this ex Secretary for Defense, ambassador to Britain & international lawyer etc. He said he thought one new approach to disarmament might be to seek an international panel which as well as (or instead of) the US-Soviet negotiators, might be asked to work out a plan for reduction of armaments to a level which wd. threaten the world less, but give the super powers equivalent security to what they now have. The purpose would be to get individuals, as opposed to governments, concerned. His proposed panel is: the Pope, Lee Quam Yew, Pérez de Cuellar, Castro (!) & L^d. Carrington.

I said that I thought the merit of his suggestion was that it wd. give Castro the world role he wants but get him out of subversion in the Third world. (I'm afraid his assistants might not call things off, though, even in his absence). Elliot Richardson said he had heard through his good sources (one a doctor of Castro's now in Texas; the other ex Congressman Bingham) that Castro is bored & wants something new (!) to do.

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GIBRALTAR

Tristan Garel Jones showed me his memorandum ^{to you} on this.

You may remember that, last year, the king of Spain said to me: "of course we do not want Gibraltar back tomorrow. It wd. have a terrible effect on the Moroccans, who wd. start asking for Ceuta & Melilla; & my regime wd. not survive any concessions on those places. The Army wd. not permit it."

However, I am very happy to work on this, if you wd. like me to, positively. I happen to have known the (unpopular) Spanish foreign minister and his two chief assistants on Gibraltar & Nato (serenes Mayans and Viñas) for many years. That might be useful. Like everyone interested in such matters, I also know Hassan.

Angus Thomas
Dec. 10, 1983.

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4 Conversations with General Vernon Walters, US ambassador at-large

ARGENTINA

He told me that both he & Mr. Haig last year were quite unable to persuade General Galtieri of yr. seriousness at the beginning of his Falkland crisis (about April 11 or so). He told Galtieri that if Argentina did not settle, we wd be back on the islands in 80 days (actually it was 74). ~~At~~ The Admiral said "50,000 Argentines wd die rather than give in". Mr Haig said: "Admiral you haven't been in a war. I have. You only know what 50,000 deaths are when you see the body bags & the quartermaster". (I expect you know this anecdote)

CUBA

Gen Walters saw Castro last year for six hours. He formed the view that Castro really still believed his "duty" to support revolutionary wars of liberation. Everything else was negotiable. He thought Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, the Communist from many years who is No. 2 in the government, is really a Soviet viceroy.

Castro's & the Soviet aim in Central America is Gen. Walters's view is Mexico. If they achieve a civil war in Mexico through Guatemala, the US, in

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General Walter's view will become "totally involved" in their own problems in their hemisphere. Remember Communist regimes have one big export: refugees (one of my maxims). We - the US - pardoned 6 million illegal Mexican immigrants last year (can it be true?). Castro is already there among them; arms are coming into ^{new} Mexico as well.

Add to that a revolutionary French Canada & "the game wd. be up". You could forget about our troops in Germany or anywhere in Europe. Remember the Russians want to get hold of Germany without a fight. They want those factories to work for them.

I suppose General Walter is known for his flesh creeping remarks which he delivers with great good humor.

Hugh Thomas
December 1983

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5.

ARGENTINA

Conversation with Dr. Arnaldo Musich, *recently in London*

Banker and lawyer. "Dr. Kissinger's correspondent in Buenos Aires". Ex-Argentine Ambassador to the U.S. He came to see me on the suggestion of David Watt of Chatham House. He said Sr. Alfonsín had not expected to win by such a landslide. Despite that his government would be weak because:

- (a) it included people in the cabinet chosen by the party leaders not himself;
- (b) the two strongest institutions in the Argentine are still the Army and the Peronist movement which are not democratic;
- (c) Argentina is still a sick country and real democracy will take years to establish; &
- (d) there will be attempts at subversion by the left, and no one knows if the ex-guerrillas will return en bloc and, if so, what will they do.

The Falklands did not play much part in the election campaign. The evidence is that Dr. Costa Mendez failed to be elected either as leader or senator by his so called conservative party.

Dr. Musich said he and his friends had looked on the Falklands adventure as a "typically caesarist" action carried out by a dictatorship anxious to be popular.

He did not think the Falklands would be emphasised much (or at all) by the new government.

N.B. Note that another Argentine lawyer and business man (also, a "client" of Dr. Kissinger!) told me he thought Alfonsín's government had so many starry-eyed socialist economists in it that the economy would soon be in an even worse mess than it had been before.

Hugh Thomas.

Monsieur Jacques Chirac

I had lunch at the French Embassy with Monsieur Chirac as guest of honour on Friday Dec. 2nd. In the course of general conversation, M. Chirac said that he was quite definitely opposed to enlargement of the Community to allow Spanish & Portuguese entry: the prime ministers of those countries cd. be invited to meetings of heads of govt but their peoples shd. not expect ~~to~~ ever to participate in the other European arrangements.

Hugh Thomas
Dec. 10 1983