

## Congress of Vienna, again, 170 years after Capodistria

by Criton Zoakos

A cabal of foreign ministers met in Vienna, Austria, May 13-16, for a conference whose secret proceedings, in many ways, were reminiscent of the infamous 1815 Congress of Vienna. For three days and three nights, all the foreign ministers of Western and Eastern Europe, as well as Andrei Gromyko of the Soviet Union and George Shultz of the United States, held meetings both private and public, bilateral and multilateral, official and unofficial but, above all, non-stop. What was going on?

The ostensible occasion for the gathering was the 30th anniversary of the Austrian State Treaty of 1955, which accorded Austria the status of a neutral power poised in the middle of the European continent between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. No treaty anniversary, however, has ever in the past merited the undivided attention of all senior foreign ministers of East and West for three days without interruption. The ministers and their chief aides were not there for the hoopla of celebration; they were there to arrange, behind the backs of their own peoples and governments, one of the most dramatic shifts in international relations: The subject of the secret dealings and negotiations was the ushering of an era in which "United States power and influence worldwide," in the words of Henry Kissinger, "is reduced to approximately 25% of its immediate post-World War II extent."

George Shultz has been dedicated to this perspective since his nomination as secretary of state in August of 1982. In fact, it was on the occasion of his nomination that Henry Kissinger, in a private lecture to Shultz, promulgated his "25%" theory. Shultz was in Vienna to supervise the liquidation of American international commitments, especially to Europe, the Middle East, and Africa. He was also attempting to coordinate with Gromyko a diplomatic gameplan designed

to smother President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) in the course of the next 12 months.

### Shultz ready to sell out SDI

During his memorable six-and-a-half hour meeting with Gromyko, Secretary Shultz, pointedly, asked his Russian counterpart if he could elaborate on a proposal, made by Soviet General Secretary Gorbachov in a public speech in Warsaw, suggesting that, if the United States abandoned totally the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, then, the U.S.S.R. might consider "drastic reductions" in its offensive nuclear arsenal. Gromyko, reportedly, answered that no such proposal formally existed from the Soviet side. Shultz, however, made it clear that the United States would be interested in negotiating away the SDI under the terms suggested by Gorbachov.

Moreover, Shultz, in meetings with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German foreign minister, Roland Dumas of France, Geoffrey Howe of Britain, and Giulio Andreotti of Italy, succeeded in producing a series of statements which variously reject and denigrate the strategic doctrine of "Mutually Assured Survival," initially promulgated by President Reagan in March of 1983. Mutually Assured Survival, the strategic concept which guides the development and deployment of the U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative program, is a doctrine which places emphasis on protecting populations from nuclear attack by means of defensive weapons and measures against nuclear bombs. It is designed to replace the existing doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction, MAD, and its cognates such as "deterrence" and "flexible response," which are based on the idea that security in the nuclear age is only feasible if one offers one's own unprotected population

to one's adversary as a "nuclear hostage."

On Andrei Gromyko's insistence, and with the approving nod of George Shultz, West German Minister Genscher announced that in the view of all his NATO colleagues, certain "misunderstandings" on the matter of strategic doctrine arising from the SDI are being corrected and the alliance will once again emphasize Mutually Assured Destruction. Lord Carrington, NATO's Secretary General, warned the alliance against pinning any hopes on the SDI, "against any false optimism arising out of strategic defense programs," and advised that, in conformity with Gromyko's wishes, NATO's upcoming summit meeting in Lisbon will remedy the situation by issuing a policy which reemphasizes the validity of the MAD doctrine. Lord Carrington is a business partner of Henry Kissinger and was formerly co-chairman of the firm Kissinger Associates, Inc.

It is generally well known that the foreign ministers of all the major West European countries have, with direct encouragement from Secretary Shultz, formed a cabal to oppose President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative. The leading conspirators are Geoffrey Howe of Britain and Hans-Dietrich Genscher of the Federal Republic of Germany. Contrary to the foreign ministries, most of Western Europe's defense ministries and military establishments, already in desperation before the overwhelming military superiority of the Russians, strongly favor the American SDI. The split evident in Washington between George Shultz and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, is replicated in virtually every Western European government, between foreign ministries and defense ministries.

The May 13-16 "Congress of Vienna," was a conference of all the anti-SDI forces, coordinated by Eastern and Western foreign ministers, which took a series of important steps for the purpose of killing the SDI. Neither Shultz, nor Howe, nor Genscher, have any illusions respecting the consequences of an American failure to develop and deploy the SDI: They know that it will immediately lead to an unbreakable Russian strategic monopoly over the globe. Having resolved to oppose the SDI, their remaining principal concern is how to stage-manage as smoothly and painlessly as possible, the imminently expected collapse of American power and influence to "approximately 25% of its immediate post-war extent," in Kissinger's classical formulation.

### **The Russian imperial scheme**

The scheme adopted by these latter-day Castlereaghs and Capodistrias of 1815 fame, is to soon transform all of Europe, East and West, into a more or less homogenized, albeit multilingual, satrapy of Russia, to be administered, on all important matters of strategic and economic policy, under the discreet or not-so-discreet dictation of Moscow. Inside Shultz's State Department, working under Shultz's direction, there is a clique of foreign service officers, originally appointed by Kissinger, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, and Lawrence Eagleburger, who are pursuing implementation of this policy

in minute detail. They include Richard Burt, head of the European section of the State Department, and deputy assistant secretaries John Kelly (Western European expert), Robie M. Palmer (Soviet expert), James F. Dobbins (arms-control expert). Also members of this cabal are the current U.S. ambassador to Sweden, L. Paul Bremer III, and the current ambassador to Greece, Monteagle Stearns, among others.

Whereas the process of transformation into Russian satrapies of nations such as Greece, Finland, Sweden, and Austria itself, has progressed significantly, the principal obstacle to Moscow's and Kissinger's design is the Federal Republic of Germany. The F.R.G.'s government, having adopted a policy of strong support for the American SDI (despite Foreign Minister Genscher), is the last remaining European rallying center against the planned Russian takeover. Whatever resistance against this cynical redrawing of Europe's political map is found in other Western European nations, it is pivoted around the Bonn government's continuing fight. Therefore, the Vienna cabal's principal tactical concern was how to break Germany.

Shultz, according to West German newspaper reports, while in Vienna, caused certain State Department officials to circulate the "analysis" that the present government of Chancellor Kohl is considered by Washington a lame duck government and that "the administration in Washington is not wedded to Chancellor Kohl." While this undermining of Bonn was going on, Foreign Minister Gromyko during a May 16 meeting with Genscher, announced bluntly that "the Soviet Union wishes the Federal Republic of Germany to stay out of the SDI." And, Gromyko continued, "the American plans to militarize space will shift the international strategic balance, which will not remain without severe consequences. If the German government participates in the SDI, the Federal Republic will have to bear these consequences, too."

Beyond these matters, the Vienna cabal of May 13-16, established a quasi-formal forum of regular meetings and consultations, between East European and West European foreign ministers, the idea being that such contacts will strengthen the "homogeneity" of a Europe which, abandoned by the United States, is being ordered by Moscow to find a "new identity."

When Secretary Shultz returned to Washington after 16 days of globe-trotting and selling out, he let it be known to the media and the public back home that "very little" was achieved by his strenuous diplomatic work, and even less by his six-and-a-half hour meeting with Gromyko. The truth of the matter is different: Shultz's trip and activities in Europe and the Middle East were undertaken for the purpose of undermining the ability of America's friends there to resist the unfolding Russian takeover. His message to Europe was: "We are not going to help you." His message to Gromyko was: "We are going to help you carry out a smooth takeover of Europe."

The subject of the mini-"Congress of Vienna" was Kissinger's "25% solution."