

Kissinger Watch by M.T. Upharsin

Beware of Metternissinger!

The latest in Henry Kissinger's long and boring essays was published in the *Los Angeles Times* Aug. 26. Boiled down to its essence, the article was an appeal for restoring a "balance of power" system modeled on what the Congress of Vienna had created in 1815.

"To have stability, an international system must have two components: a balance of power and a generally accepted principle of legitimacy," Kissinger intoned. He attacked moralistic fixations on such ideas as "the principle of self-determination," for undermining "the requirements of security."

To readers familiar with Kissinger's "intellectual career," this would be a re-hash of the thesis that he wrote in the 1950s, under the overall direction of McGeorge Bundy at Harvard, and published under the title *The World Restored*. That book promoted Austrian Prince Metternich's hostility to the ideas of republicanism associated with the early United States of America.

Since Bundy and Kissinger were national security advisers through most of the 1961-76 period, and since their ideas have continued to dominate the National Security Council since, anti-American Metternichean *realpolitik* has held U.S. foreign policy hostage for almost three decades. Bush's NSC chief Brent Scowcroft used to be on the board of directors of Kissinger Associates.

Now, Kissinger's Metternichean philosophizing has come under attack from a leading West European publication. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which speaks for the moderate-conservative branch of the Ger-

man establishment, ran a front-page editorial Aug. 28, contrasting the Kissinger world-view unfavorably with that philosophical-legal-theological tradition embodied in the American Declaration of Independence.

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* editorial reflects a mood of disgust with Kissinger in a faction of the transatlantic policy establishment. Stateside, Kissinger's policies were attacked by *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis (who charged that Kissinger rejected the power of the philosophical ideas associated with the United States) and A.M. Rosenthal; by Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-N.Y.), and by *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen. The same *Los Angeles Times* that syndicates Kissinger's columns, has run a flood of letters to the editor hostile to him.

Most to the point, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* commentator Günter Nonnenmacher contrasted the Western historical and philosophical notion of "human rights" to the views of Nixon and Kissinger, who "looked at international relations from the view point of power—and *realpolitik*." He noted: "The historian Gordon Craig has called the former U.S. foreign minister 'Metternissinger,' as he used the travel and communication facilities of his time for a 19th-century cabinet diplomacy."

This Metternissingerian approach has characterized the détente policy of the past years, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* writer said, but added: "Peace and stability will not last without freedom and self-determination for the individual and peoples."

It is vain to think that the Gorbachov, with whom the West seeks to make a deal, really believes in the "conception of freedom based on the individual," which is "considered at best secondary in the socialist system," Nonnenmacher stressed. The

leading values of the Western world, he wrote, are based on "Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christian-Jewish theology, which culminated in the American Declaration of Independence and resulted one and a half centuries later in the United Nations Organization declaration on human rights of 1948." These conceptions, Nonnenmacher wrote, are foreign to Moscow's interpretation of human rights.

Metternich's ghost and Chinese Communists

Much of the anger against Kissinger is surely in reaction to his cold-blooded defense of the Deng Xiaoping regime in China. That brings us back to Metternich.

One person from whom Kissinger has taken important advice on China is John K. Fairbanks of Harvard University. Fairbanks, now in his 80s, is the leading academic apologist for Chinese Communism. He claims that Communism is the positive culmination and expression of Chinese civilization and history. Fairbanks takes pride in having advised Kissinger on the latter's first diplomatic trip to China, under Nixon, that the only effective way to deal with the Chinese leadership would be to be aware of their imperial self-conception of being at the center of the world. An able diplomat who seeks success in China, must kowtow to the rulers in Beijing, Fairbanks advised.

Fairbanks regards the late Sir Charles Webster, a British historian, as his mentor. Webster, among other things, was the semi-official British Foreign Office historian of the Congress of Vienna, and admired the "Concert of Europe" policies of British Foreign Minister Castlereagh, Metternich's partner in diplomatic crime.