International

Bush appeasement sets up Poland for China treatment

by Konstantin George

The July 10-12 visit by President George Bush to Poland and Hungary confirmed that his policy is to betray both these countries, delivering their opposition patriotic forces to the same fate met by the Chinese pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square. The only hope for real stability, based on economic development and the abandonment of the murderous austerity policies of Moscow's quisling regimes in Warsaw and Budapest, was snuffed out when Bush:

- 1) rejected outright any significant aid for Poland and Hungary, thus sealing the fate for any future governments with large non-Communist participation;
- 2) endorsed the very prescription of "sacrifices," "hard work," and "hard times not yet at an end," that Poles have been hearing and suffering to near the breaking point since last year, from the Communist regime of Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

The Bush administration's insults didn't end there. White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, in a July 10 interview with Radio Warsaw, declared that "giving too much money" to Poland "might create the problem of a young person in a candy store. . . . You can create the problem that there is so much there that they don't know which direction to take and don't have the self-discipline to take the right steps."

This, to a hungry people who have seen no meat in the shops since mid-June, who lack soap, detergent, medicine, and rudimentary health care.

Walesa: 'I am sitting on a powder keg'

The West cannot claim that it wasn't warned about the catastrophe looming in Poland and Eastern Europe. Polish opposition leader Lech Walesa, the head of Solidarity, told President Bush in Gdansk on July 11, in a desperate appeal for a large-scale (\$10 billion) aid package:

"We don't want this place to be like China. Events there have warned us that a lack of balance between economic reforms and political change leads to Tiananmen Square. . . . The streets of Gdansk may become like Tiananmen Square. We don't want this to happen. . . . The U.S. and Europe are capable of influencing our reforms through economic aid. I hope you leave here convinced that we need your help."

Walesa pleaded with Bush "to avoid the destabilization of this part of the world. . . . It would be dangerous for Poland as well as for other countries, a disaster for democracy."

A July 10 interview with Walesa on Polish TV had carried the same urgent warnings:

"Poland is a powder keg. We cannot wait any longer. The situation is very complicated. We are more and more afraid that the reforms will fail. I am sitting on a powder keg."

Walesa's appeals fell on deaf ears. Bush's response left the union leader "visibly exasperated," as the July 11 issue of the Paris daily *Le Figaro* noted.

The Kissinger 'New Yalta' plan

Instead, what Bush presented was:

- "aid" for Poland amounting to a piddling sum of \$115 million, and \$25 million for Hungary;
- the same calls for "sacrifices," "hard work," demanded by the quisling Communist regimes.
- the demand, at a July 11 luncheon with Polish party and Solidarity leaders, that a coalition government be formed, in the full knowledge that the economic breakdown and austerity ensures the ignominious demise of any such government, the end of Solidarity, and an inevitable imposition of the Tiananmen Square nightmare that Walesa fears.

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As soon as that luncheon ended, the leader of a minority pro-coalition faction of Solidarity, Adam Michnik, closely tied to the U.S. "Project Democracy" network and an admirer of Gorbachov, left for Moscow. Michnik will attend a seminar co-sponsored by the Soviet Foreign Ministry's International Relations Institute. He will return bearing a Soviet ultimatum that Solidarity humiliate itself by joining an austerity coalition government—or else. With that ultimatum will come a Gorbachov invitation for Walesa to visit Moscow.

The manner in which Bush treated Walesa and Solidarity, throwing them to the Russians, was chillingly reminiscent of the way in which, during World War II, the Anglo-American leaders wrote off Poland's legal government, the London-based Polish Government in Exile, and told its leaders, "Go to Moscow and try to negotiate the best terms you can with Stalin." (To this day, the Government in Exile remains the legal government of Poland, pending truly free elections there.)

Bush's visit, in short, reaffirmed his commitment to implementing the "Kissinger Plan" for Europe, to neutralize West Germany, while ensuring that Moscow retains solid control through brutal repression over its Eastern European satellites.

Next stop: Hungary

As Bush arrived in Hungary July 11, the Hungarian government newspaper Magyar Hirlap published an interview with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, who stressed that Hungary requires \$1.5 billion in foreign capital, mostly investments, because the last thing Hungary could afford, with its \$19 billion in foreign debt—the highest per capita by far in the East bloc—are more credits given with the kind of austerity conditions demanded by the International Monetary Fund. Nemeth emphasized that no aid package, and/or a policy of continuing with the vicious IMF-imposed cycle of more credit = more debt = more austerity, would ensure a "political explosion."

"All consequences arising from economic stagnation and the debt burden cannot be thrust upon the population without a transition, because this would create a political explosion that would sweep away the economic and political reforms desired by most people. What we need is foreign capital, mostly working capital."

The Hungarian opposition issued the same warnings on Bush's arrival that Walesa had given: real economic help, an end to austerity, and all linked to genuine political freedom—or else the China model of barbarous suppression will surely come to Hungary.

This was expressed eloquently by Miklos Haraszti, a leader of the largest opposition group, the Hungarian Democratic Forum:

"Eastern Europe's nightmare is that Gorbymania in the West and the saving of Gorbachov could become an excuse for pardoning rights violations," with Haraszti citing the examples Armenia and Georgia, where Gorbachov ordered the massacre of innocent demonstrators.

Haraszti, expressing the view of the great majority of Hungarians, demanded that Bush apologize for past betrayals of Hungary by the U.S.-Soviet condominium, and pledge no future betrayals. He referred to the Hungarian uprising against Russian occupation in 1956, when the West did nothing while Hungarian freedom fighters were massacred:

"Most people here still remember that the West let us down in 1956. I think that now might be a good time for Bush to express his regret."

Preparing the military option

Moscow's goal toward Poland and Hungary is to crush the opposition, mass repression and killing, and to impose martial law regimes. For the short term, the Soviet Union would prefer to postpone explosions through another round of the "expectations game." For Poland, that would mean manipulating the country through the expectation of change through a coalition government. For Hungary, the same policy around the expectations of "free elections" pledged for 1990. The extreme economic crisis and popular desperation in both countries ensure the ultimate failure, sooner or later, within the next 3-12 months, of any such expectation games.

Anticipating this failure, Moscow is preparing the ultimate solution, along the lines of what has transpired in China. The military-political preparations for a crackdown are already in full swing.

On July 5, the commander-in-chief of the Soviet Navy, Admiral of the Fleet Vladimir Chernavin, arrived in Warsaw for a four-day visit that had nothing to do with the navy of either country. On July 6, he was followed by Gen. Lt. Viktor Dubinin, the new Soviet commander of the Northern Group of Forces, as the Soviet troops based in Poland are called. Up until 1987, Dubinin had been first deputy commander of the NGF, and now came after a two-year stint at the Soviet General Staff.

On July 8, one day before Bush arrived, Radio Warsaw revealed the true agenda of the Chernavin visit, declaring that the admiral and his Polish military hosts, led by Polish Defense Minister Florian Siwicki, had discussed "the current political situation in both countries and questions in connection with the cooperation between the Polish Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as questions of Polish-Soviet cooperation in various spheres."

With Bush's sellout, the die has been cast for ugly repeats of Tiananmen Square murder and barbarism in the streets of Eastern Europe. Moscow and its Warsaw Pact military stooges are readying their troops for the occasion, when the game of "buying time" has, inevitably played itself out. It is still not too late to reverse this almost inevitable course of events, but, to do so, requires nothing less than a political revolution in the West, beginning in Washington.

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