

## Moscow summit pact was sealed in blood

by Chris White

The real agenda of the July 30-31 Moscow summit between U.S. President George Bush and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov was written in blood on a Lithuanian customs house, and in the towns and villages of Croatia.

Over the weekend before the summit, military partisans of Greater Serbia and allied paramilitary so-called "Chetnik" forces initiated a bloodbath on behalf of carving up the territory of Croatia for the reestablishment of a Greater Serbia, as if to parody the eve of World War I. As the summit drew to a close, the bodies of eight brutally murdered Lithuanian customs officials were found in their station on the Byelorussia border. The murders were one of the subjects addressed in the Bush-Gorbachov concluding press conference.

For the record, Bush aligned himself with Gorbachov and apportioned equal blame for recent violence in Lithuania on both Moscow and the Lithuanian leadership. Asked by a journalist about their views of the massacre, Gorbachov spoke first, saying that Soviet KGB head Gen. Vladimir Kryuchkov had "offered his assistance" to investigate the incident and deal with the perpetrators. He said that both sides should "avoid excesses" and resort to "discussions" to resolve problems peacefully. Bush chimed in saying he "regretted the violence," and endorsed Gorbachov's call for "discussions." Said Bush: "We clearly favor negotiations, and a reduction of cross-border violence on both sides." He praised Gorbachov's promise that there would be an investigation on the matter, and said the U.S. supported "cooperation between the two sides."

### Regional crises the main agenda

The concordance betrays the real agenda of the summit. Contrary to the elaborate propaganda about the conclusion of a strategic arms control agreement (START), the main agenda of the summit was the extensive regional crises, in-

cluding Yugoslavia and the Balkans, Cyprus, the Israeli-Arab conflict, Iraq and the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, and Cuba. The signing of the START treaty provided publicity for the "conclusion of the Cold War" arms control agenda. In reality, it hardly figured as an item on the business agenda. The "spheres-of-influence" type of regional agreements under negotiation ought rather to be seen as containing the seeds of conflicts to come.

The summit sessions focused on attempting to reach secret, and not-so-secret, U.S.-Soviet "sharing-of-influence" or "spheres-of-influence" arrangements for the Balkans, West Asia, and other regions under discussion. Both sides are actively exploring the possibility of future *joint* or parallel deployment of military forces to jointly police these areas.

Such a joint military operation is perhaps being shaped up for Yugoslavia, as a pre-summit briefing by U.S. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft revealed. Scowcroft hailed the U.S.-Soviet cooperation in the Iraq war as a model for "what we need in other crisis spots," citing Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

The possibility of joint military deployments also emerged during the just-concluded one-week tour of the U.S.S.R. by Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. This was Powell's third round of meetings in two months with Soviet Chief of the General Staff Gen. Mikhail Moiseyev, and other military leaders. Appearing with Moiseyev at the end of his Moscow talks, Powell said he could envision future American-Soviet "joint military exercises," and Moiseyev responded by stressing that Soviet-American relations are "the best since the spring of 1945," when the Allied U.S. and Soviet troops met on the Elbe during World War II.

Such spheres-of-influence agreements include areas defined as the internal interests of either party, and areas of competition.

The bloody-handed butchery outlines part of the area which the Russians are claiming as theirs. On July 30, as the summit began, Soviet Ambassador to Prague Deryabin underlined this in a note to German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the current chairman of the recently established Crisis Group of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). In the note, Deryabin protested the role of the European Community (EC) in the Yugoslav crisis. The Russian ambassador emphasized that the June 18 Berlin CSCE formula on Yugoslavia had to be "observed in all its elements." This involved, Deryabin wrote, the preservation of Yugoslavian unity and territorial integrity.

As the letter arrived, Serbia's parliament resolved that Germany should be excluded from EC mediation efforts. And Yugoslavia's Prime Minister Ante Markovic, it was announced, would be heading to Moscow for a two-day visit beginning Aug. 1. The visit had been arranged during a mid-July visit to Belgrade by Yuli Kvitsinsky, the Soviet Foreign Ministry coordinator for CSCE affairs.

Bush's behavior at the final press conference is as heinous as what he did in June 1989 after the brutal massacre of China's democracy movement in Tiananmen Square. It is a sellout of those seeking freedom in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, more monstrous than the sellouts of 1953 or 1956 or 1967. This has not been missed in Lithuania or Ukraine. Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, blaming the massacre on Soviet leaders, pointed out that Bush was making such atrocities possible. The Ukrainian democracy movement, Rukh, the day before Bush's arrival in Kiev, was stating that the U.S. President would not be welcome if he came as a "messenger of Gorbachov." Rukh attacked Bush's belief in the importance of maintaining "stability" in Moscow.

### **New 'international security system'**

Radio Moscow broadcasts in the days prior to the summit were more frank than their western counterparts in discussing what was to go on. On July 29, Radio Moscow reported that "ways of settling conflicts in the Balkans and Mideast through joint efforts" would be a featured subject of discussion at the summit. Such discussions, the broadcast went on, would be central to achieving "a new international security system."

In Moscow, Bush took up the theme. "We stood together, for the first time in 50 years, to face down aggression in the Persian Gulf," stated Bush in his speech to the Moscow State Institute for International Relations July 30. He said that Soviet support for the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq was "crowning proof" that the U.S. and Soviets were overcoming hostilities.

Bush referred to a number of Third World crisis spots where the U.S. and Soviets have shown their ability to cooperate, including Angola, Namibia, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Cambodia, and the Horn of Africa.

What Radio Moscow called the "new international security system," is the context for the other headline-grabbing development at the summit, the joint announcement on July 31 that both countries will convene a conference in October, ostensibly on Mideast peace. This was also a subject of the final Bush-Gorbachov press conference. To this end, both U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III and Soviet Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh will be making visits, albeit separately, to the region. Baker left Moscow for Israel immediately after the summit; Bessmertnykh will also soon be going to Israel, and will reportedly arrange for Soviet resumption of diplomatic relations with Israel, but tied to certain Israeli diplomatic concessions.

Bush called this an "historic opportunity right now" for a "just and enduring peace" and to achieve a "comprehensive settlement." He said "the historic opportunity must not be lost." Gorbachov said the U.S.-Soviet joint initiative for the Middle East was an "extremely important step."

### **'Growing strategic cooperation'**

BBC's correspondent characterized the "joint Soviet-American initiative" on the Middle East as a sign of "growing strategic cooperation" between the two countries. Here, it is the Palestinians and the people of Lebanon who are again slated to become the blood sacrifices to this new Moloch.

The Russians have been pushing for similar such "cooperation in Asia and the Pacific." The Soviet weekly *Rossiya* identified the area as a prime candidate for such arrangements. Noting that the Soviet Union and the U.S., together with other powers, can "contribute greatly to the adjustment" of regional conflicts, *Rossiya* said that "Asia and the Pacific" are a prime area for such activity. "The Soviet Union and the U.S. are inclined to cooperation in Southeast Asia, as the guarantors of security. . . . Their interests in the region coincide."

*Rossiya* said that both the U.S. and the Soviets condemn the Khmer Rouge and Pol Pot. Beyond this, "We in Moscow used to tease Washington, that we would offer to leave Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam, if the U.S. [would] leave Subic Bay and Clark in the Philippines. But now the U.S. and the Philippines are discussing the end of the U.S. military presence. The Soviets are reducing forces in Europe. The level of confrontation is lessening." And more people are dying.

In this area, Bush put the U.S. forward as mediator in Japan's dispute with the Soviet Union over the Northern (Kurile) Islands, seized by Russia at the end of World War II. Bush offered "to do whatever we can to help. . . . The United States is working to open doors to Soviet entry into the economic mainstream."

The language of "new international security arrangements" and "regional guarantors" ought to provide chilling reminders of the parallels to the period before World War I. The slaughter which underlines such language is the omen of where such agreements lead.