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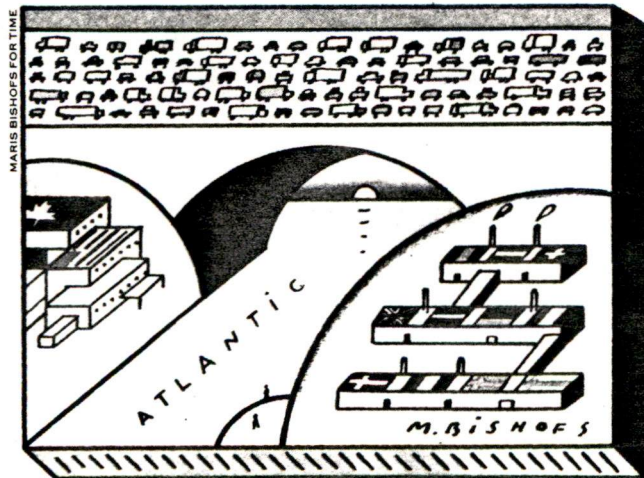
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NOVEMBER



Europe's Future: Go West, Old Man

WHEN THE GROUND BEGAN SHAKING UNDER EAST Germany more than three years ago, the race was on between the unification of Germany and the unification of Western Europe. Last month the results came in. Germany won.

West European unification was premised on the cold war: a divided Europe and a diminished (West) Germany held within the bounds of a deep, strong, European union. Given time, this might have come about. Had the cold war persisted another decade or so, a federal Western Europe might have been established in the shelter, as it were, of the Berlin Wall.

But the Wall came down and time ran out. The new Germany became preoccupied with the task of absorbing the east. Moreover, the new Germany grew too large to be swallowed by a federal Europe. The Maastricht treaty, the penultimate stop on the road to a federal Europe, was a last-ditch attempt to deny that reality.

Last month denial became impossible. Europe's exchange-rate mechanism exploded, and somewhere in the rubble lies Maastricht. What happened? The ERM tied E.C. currencies to the German mark. But much of Europe—notably Britain and Italy—was unable to keep up. The German central bank had jacked up interest rates to dampen the inflation caused by huge deficit spending on eastern Germany. The weaker E.C. countries had a choice: a) match Germany's high interest rates and risk both deep recession and political suicide; or b) drop out of the ERM. Not surprisingly, they chose b).

Amid the chaos of the currency crisis, it became clear that German political vision is as yet no match for its economic dynamism. Germany is Europe's de facto leader, but will not act the part. As Americans have learned to their constant chagrin, leadership means sacrificing some measure of national interest to the greater alliance interest. Germany knows that its interest rates set the standard for the rest of Europe. By setting its rates ruinously high, Germany was announcing

that in fighting domestic inflation it was quite prepared to lead the rest of Europe into recession. The rest of Europe has just announced that it will not be so led.

After the ERM debacle, it is clear that the grand vision of a federal Europe is an illusion. What then does Europe do?

Do more of what it does best: free trade. The E.C.'s single-market project will soon allow the virtual free flow of capital, goods and labor within the Twelve. Speaking last month in Washington, Margaret Thatcher made the case for a rapid widening of the single market. First, east to its European neighbors. And then boldly west—to North America.

Free trade between Europe and America has been bruited about before. It was raised by National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, unfortunately without result. But with the fading of visions of a federal Europe, it acquires a new urgency. Today, two potentially antagonistic trade blocs are going up on both sides of the Atlantic. The U.S. is afraid that a Fortress Europe will shut its trade doors. Europe looks warily at the budding North American Free Trade Agreement, which would create a trading zone demographically larger than the E.C.

A transatlantic free-trade area merging the two would not just prevent a trade war and increase prosperity on both sides of the Atlantic. It would have a profound global effect. As Thatcher pointed out, Europe and North America together account for more than half of world GNP. They would dictate the terms of the world economy. Given the fact that at the core of the transatlantic union would be America, Britain and other free-market countries, it could dictate a world of free trade.

Why is that good? Because common markets make not only for general prosperity but also for the kind of comity and non-belligerency that flow naturally from uncoerced commercial relations. Moreover, a transatlantic free-trade zone would signal Japan that if it had thoughts of creating a rival Asian bloc or did not modify its predatory drive for market dominance, it might find itself shut out of the new world economic order.

Almost 50 years ago, another deposed British Tory Prime Minister journeyed from Britain to America to propose union with America. The major—and forgotten—point of Churchill's Iron Curtain speech was his call for a "fraternal association of the English-speaking peoples," an association so close between America and the British Empire that "eventually there may come the principle of common citizenship."

President Truman responded with a looser but wider idea, an alliance not just with Britain but with all of Western Europe. The result was NATO, America's first ever peacetime alliance and arguably the most successful alliance in history.

Today again there is need for alliance, not military this time but economic. The threat is not the Soviet empire but growing economic nationalism and protectionism threatening 50 years of unparalleled world prosperity. The answer is a transatlantic pact, a free-trade zone embracing like-minded, market-oriented, democratic peoples stretching ultimately from Vancouver to Vladivostok.

Political union is a project best left to our children. Perhaps by their time, differences of language, that engine of nationalism, will have lost their salience. A world speaking in Macintosh icons—a world in which video has rendered language obsolete—may come to see its political divisions as archaic and encumbering as did the American states of 1789.

Tomorrow, Utopia. Today, a more modest goal: a Transatlantic Free Trade Zone. ■

With West's Protection, Kurds Realize a Precarious Dream

W. Post 9/10/92

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

IRBIL, Iraq—Out of the whirlwind known as the Persian Gulf War, a dream called Kurdistan has come to life.

When that conflict ended nearly two years ago, the 3.5 million Kurds of northern Iraq were living a repeat performance of their difficult history: Defeated, shivering and dying, they huddled in freezing mountain passes after an abortive postwar uprising against Baghdad.

Today, that disaster is a memory as a result of a U.S. intervention that started out as temporary but has turned open-ended. Under allied protection, Iraqi Kurds have come home, elected a local parliament and begun to experience their revolutionary, but fragile, experiment in self-rule.

After decades of repression, the Kurds feel an almost dizzy joy at their new-found freedom. But this elation is wearing thin against harsh economic conditions, likely

to worsen despite a planned U.N. winter relief program.

As for Kurdistan's political leaders, who say they have received high-level U.S. commitments from figures in the outgoing Bush administration that Washington will not abandon them, as it did once before, the nagging question remains: What if the Americans change their mind?

In the hilltop village of Amadiyah, the Iraqi flag is no longer displayed in the elementary school for girls. Pictures of Iraqi

President Saddam Hussein are gone. The school, once named "17th of July" for the revolution that brought Saddam's Arab Baath Socialist Party to power, has been renamed "Barzan," after a prominent Kurdish political family.

"Before, the party people were telling us what to do," said principal Eveline Sadiq Toon. "They came to the school and were forcing us to go with the children to ceremonies. They were telling us to clap. But now, if there is a holiday in Kurdistan, they do not force

us to go to ceremonies. Now we are free. Our head is in more comfort."

Her students, who wear white bows in their hair and look-alike blue tunics, still use the same textbooks as before, but their own history is no longer hidden. A poster in the corridor solicits donations for survivors of Halabja, the Kurdish village where more than 5,000 people were killed in a chemical weapons attack by Iraq's military in 1988.

See KURDS, A15, Col. 1

With U.S. Protection, Kurds in Iraq Realize Precarious Dream: Self-Rule

KURDS, From A1

Kurdistan's capital, Irbil, now has four party-owned television stations to compete with broadcasts from Baghdad. Anyone wanting to be up with office chit-chat tunes in "Zoom-Zoom," a program of political satire and commentary on the station of Kurdish leader Jalal Talabani's party.

Taher Tayib Ahmad, 41, a translator at the station, said people like it because "it makes jokes about politicians."

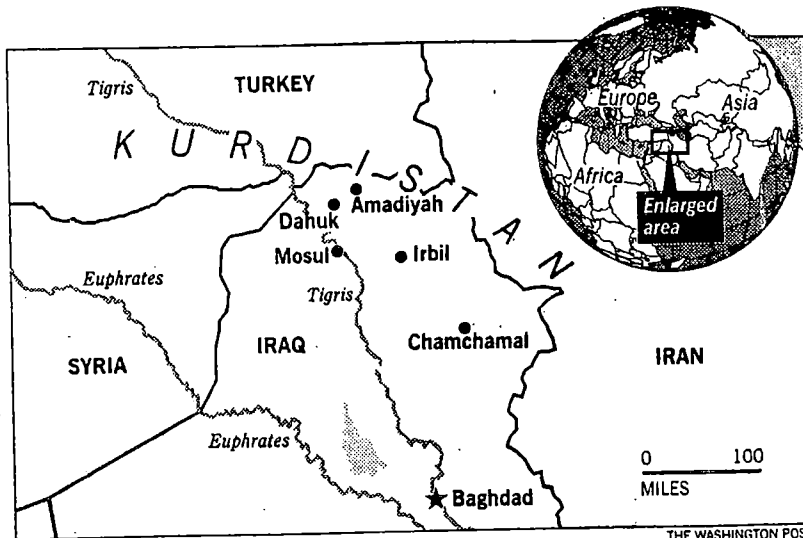
Really? About Kurdish politicians? "Noooo. We like them," Ahmad said. The politicians satirized on "Zoom-Zoom," it seems, are mostly based in Baghdad. For example, Ahmad explained with a chuckle: "Remember when Saddam swam the [Tigris] river? They alternated between this and another shot of a snake slithering through water."

This profusion of stations, which some see as a waste of money, does not bother Ahmad. "If you want my idea," he said, "I believe it's a very good thing because [before], we just viewed the television of Saddam's regime, which was like a preacher. It only had one message: Admire Saddam Hussein. We want to educate our people, to make them listen to contrasting ideas and pick up what they believe is the truth."

The same theory apparently applies to newspapers. A buyer can choose eight local party papers, including one published by the Iraqi Communist Party, as well as Baghdad's mouthpieces, al-Thawra and al-Qadissiya—with their required front-page photos of Saddam. Asked why he sold Baghdad newspapers, a teenage vendor replied: "These are the ones the Iraqis let through the checkpoints. Besides, it's democracy."

Although unyoked politically, the Kurds are heavily taxed by Kurdistan's dire economic straits. Gasoline, smuggled out of the Iraqi-controlled town of Mosul, costs \$50 a gallon. There is no kerosene for cooking or home heating, so forests have been stripped for firewood.

"It's very miserable," said Nageeba Najeeb, 21, a Dahuk resident who had been standing in line



for subsidized bread since 3 a.m. "Getting bread is very difficult. . . . We don't have oil and gas, flour is scarce. . . . Let me explain, the security condition is very nice for us, but the economic conditions are very bad."

Kurdistan's doctors, complaining about a lack of medicine, laboratory solutions and parts for hospital equipment, sound much like their peers in Baghdad—for the same reason. Kurdistan is subject to the U.N. trade embargo just as much as the rest of Iraq. Although medicine is not barred from either place, the flow of drugs has greatly diminished, and imports of medical parts are extremely difficult.

"In the U.S., maybe you see 200 cases [of Malta fever] a year," said Mohammed Othman, a physician at Irbil's Saddam Hospital. "In this city, we see 200 per day because there is no pasteurization of milk. . . . And because there is no fuel, we had no air conditioning this summer. This winter, there will not be any heat. . . . There's no money. The government is bankrupt."

At Irbil's Children's Hospital, 37 percent of patients admitted over the last six months were suffering from malnutrition or diarrhea. "It's definitely double the number" of last year, said chief pediatrician Farman Zandi, adding that his patients' twice-daily meat ration is down to twice a week.

Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani said 4,500 of Kurdistan's 5,000 villages were destroyed in Saddam's two-decade-long attempt to stamp out resistance to his rule. Most of them remain jumbled wrecks, their dynamited stone houses littering the

lush, spectacularly beautiful countryside. Thousands of their residents, without resources to rebuild, are living in tents, abandoned Iraqi military camps and even in the jail cells of the former Iraqi secret police headquarters in Sulaymaniyah.

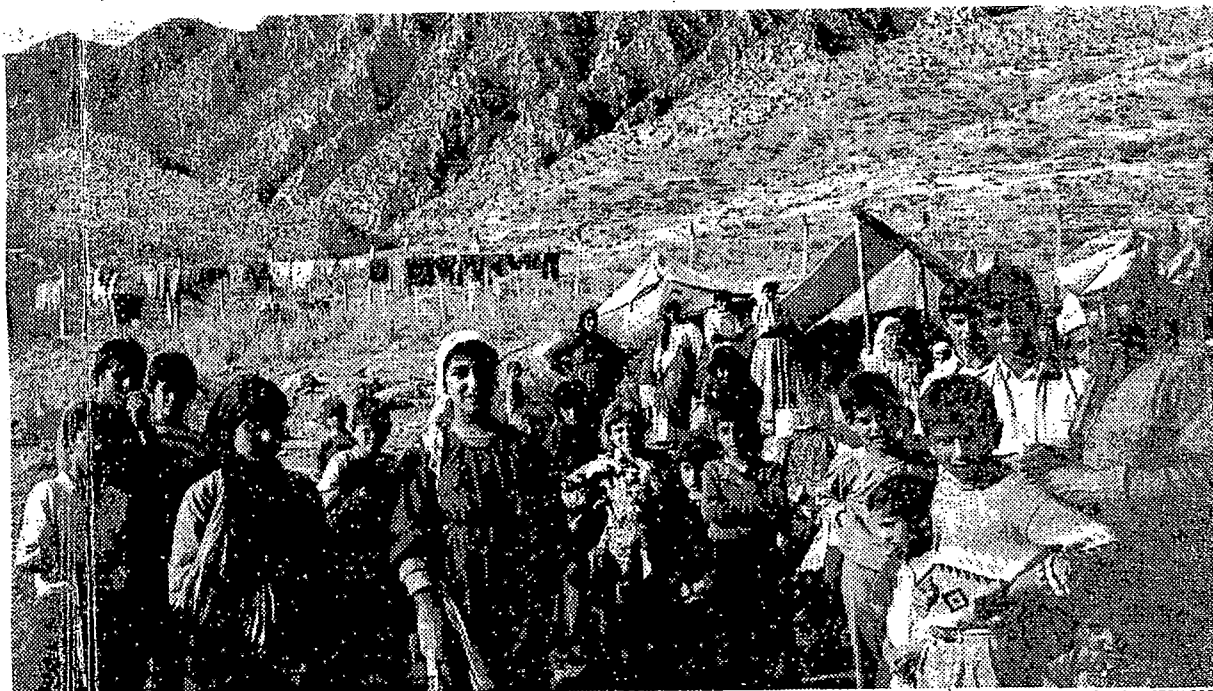
The U.N. embargo also hinders village reconstruction, as well as restoration of Kurdistan's agriculture sector, since it bans much of the required equipment and supplies. "I've distributed food four times since the beginning of the crisis," said relief worker Rolf Baecher of Medico International. "I've never distributed fertilizer or seed."

"Kurdistan was one of the agricultural resources of the Middle East, and now it is being fed by Western governments because of these emergency funds, which have to be used in a certain time and only for food and fuel," he said.

Salim Adoshi is a dour man whose mood matches the books of Iraq's government-run Rafidain Bank, whose Dahuk branch he manages. How it remains open is a mystery. "We haven't got the currency to pay [depositors] their own money, so how can we make loans to them?" Adoshi grouched. "Some people have 100,000 dinars here, and we can't give it to them."

Before Baghdad imposed its own embargo on Kurdistan a year ago, "we used to get as much money as we needed from the central government," Adoshi said. "Every month we brought 4 million, sometimes 5 million dinars from the Central Bank of Iraq."

"We say we are happy because we are with Kurdish people, our people. In happiness or unhappi-



BY CARYLE MURPHY—THE WASHINGTON POST

Displaced Kurds recently returned from Turkey live in tents in Iraqi Kurdistan, waiting for villages to be built.

ness, we are together," he said. "But we need help. We need currency to pay people their money and salaries. Could you ask Western governments if they can make contact with the Iraqi government to pay our money . . . or maybe give us some of the Iraqi money in foreign banks?" he asked.

Despite their problems, Kurds so far have been remarkably tolerant of their government. "Our government is new," Sartip Abdullah said. "And it has empty pockets," added his friend, Askandar Abdullah, 24.

In big-nation politics, Kurdistan is still a baby. Last month, its parliament declared Kurdistan would be a self-autonomous state within a new, federal system in Iraq—when, and if, Saddam leaves office. The rest of Iraq's exiled opposition endorsed this stance at a conference two weeks ago, but there is no guarantee a post-Saddam government would accept it.

Meanwhile, the mere idea of Kurdish self-autonomy within Iraq is anathema to Kurdistan's other neighbors, including Turkey, Iran and Syria—all of which fear the impact on their own Kurds of the Iraqi Kurds' experiment.

For now, the only thing standing between this endangered experiment and its four hostile neighbors is the United States and allies Britain and France. They became guarantors of Kurdistan's fate by their creation of a security zone here after the gulf

war, their continuing aerial surveillance of northern Iraq and their promises to Kurdistan's leaders.

Talabani and Barzani, whose parties dominate the Kurdistan parliament, said in separate interviews that they got high-level assurances of continued U.S. protection when they met then-secretary of state James A. Baker III as part of an Iraqi opposition delegation last July.

"In London and Washington, they said it's a commitment. They used this word," Talabani said. "It means to me that we are not alone in our struggle." Although independence has long been a dream of Kurds scattered throughout this region, Talabani said: "We are realistic. We don't think it's possible to have it. The Arabs must thank God we are not asking for an independent state."

Barzani was even more explicit. "Both Mr. Baker and [National Security Adviser Brent] Scowcroft emphasized that they will not allow the Iraqi government and Saddam to commit these acts upon the Kurds again," he said. "I personally believe that two people of that caliber . . . will not drag America's name down by abandoning their promises."

"When I spoke to Mr. Scowcroft I genuinely and truly tried to remind him of the 1975 experience," Barzani continued, referring to the abrupt cancellation of covert aid then being supplied to Kurdish rebels against Saddam by the CIA after

the agency's partner in that operation, Iran, signed a border treaty with Iraq.

"He said he genuinely regretted that, and he promises that situation would never, ever come about again," Barzani said.

Barzani was also encouraged by what he interpreted as Baker's endorsement of the Kurdish stand on federalism, which calls for "Kurdish self-determination within the framework of a united Iraq."

Baker, according to Barzani, said, "That is an excellent resolution and I support it."

The line separating Kurdistan from the rest of Iraq is now a well-fortified string of Iraqi army detachments, sometimes only 500 yards from a much more slender thread of Kurdish forces, called *pesh merga*.

"We are frightened of course, because they have artillery, mortars," said Namek Aziz, the policeman in charge of the Kurdish checkpoint at Chamchamal. "We are not sleeping well."

Asked why the Iraqis, visible just down the road, do not simply overrun his checkpoint, Aziz replied: "First, they are frightened of the Americans. Then they are frightened of the *pesh mergas*. If there was no fear of the Americans, they would attack us, they would kill us. If the help of America was not with us, we could not stay here."

Macedonia Appeals for Recognition, Aid

W. Post 11/18/92

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Kiro Gligorov of Macedonia appealed to the United States yesterday to recognize and aid his small Balkan republic in the face of growing threats to plunge it into the chaos that has engulfed the rest of the former Yugoslav federation.

Gligorov made his appeal in a meeting with acting Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. But State Department officials said there has been no change in the U.S. position of following the lead of the European Community, which has refused to recognize Macedonia's independence because of objections by Greece.

A U.S. effort to provide \$10 million in aid to Macedonia before settling the recognition issue has run into complications in Congress. Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.), the ranking Democrat on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, objected to allocating funds for helping Macedonia with its political and economic institutions because the United States does not recognize it.

In a letter to Eagleburger Oct. 22, Hamilton added that he did not object to humanitarian aid to Macedonia. State Department officials said some humanitarian aid will be supplied.

Greece has lodged vehement objections to recognition of Macedonia, because the Athens govern-

ment considers the name "Macedonia" to be exclusively Greek. However, the Balkan republic of 2 million people, which is situated between Serbia and Greece and traces its history to the 6th century, refuses to change its name.

"There is no power which could make a nation renounce its name," Gligorov told Washington Post editors and reporters yesterday.

The domestic political clout of Greek Americans and concern about the stability of the Greek government have been factors in the Bush administration's reluctance to break with Athens on the Macedonia issue. Taking a similar stand, the Democratic Party's platform declared that "the United States must be sensitive to the concerns of Greece regarding

the use of the name Macedonia." President-elect Bill Clinton took the same position in a letter last month to Greek Americans.

Gligorov said the situation in Macedonia is "more and more difficult," largely because of the country's inability to receive financial assistance from international development banks because of its lack of diplomatic recognition. Last week, four people died in riots in Macedonia involving members of the Albanian community, as ethnic tension grew amid growing economic distress.

A State Department official, calling the situation "absolutely horrible," expressed the hope that the European Community will adopt a policy more beneficial for Macedonia at a summit meeting next month. In the meantime, officials conceded that failure to resolve the "what's-in-a-name" issue could have major reverberations on the Baltic scene.

Of Diplomats and Lame Ducks

Bush has a lot to watch until Clinton takes over

The day after the election, Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger opened his morning staff meeting by asking his top lieutenants to compose a "watch list" of foreign leaders who might try to exploit the 11-week transition of power between the Bush and Clinton administrations. "It's not clear to our foes and even our friends out there who, if anyone, is running the show here," Eagleburger told his department chiefs. "The uncertainty could lead some of them to think, foolishly, that they can get away with something." Heading everyone's list of potential troublemakers were Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. President Bush will keep Clinton informed but won't hesitate to act decisively on his own if anyone threatens America's vital interests. But the difficulty of doing so was reflected by the new lapel pin Eagleburger is now wearing: a tiny brass duck on crutches.

In the immediate aftermath of his election defeat, George Bush showed no taste for lame-duck diplomacy. Talking to national-security adviser Brent Scowcroft before his return to Washington, Bush canceled a trip to Moscow he had tentatively planned for after Thanksgiving. He made it clear that he would not take any foreign-policy initiative that would unnecessarily commit or constrain Bill Clinton. The steep tariff imposed on French wine last week (page 59) was something Bush felt he had to do, given European violations of trading rules. But Bush officials hope to settle the issue quickly so that Clinton doesn't take office amid a raging trade war. White House chief of staff James Baker, who quit as secretary of state to try to revive Bush's flagging campaign, did not plan a return to the State Department. He can stay involved in foreign policy from the White House. But first Baker went off to hunt birds in Texas.

Despite Bush's and Baker's desire to lie low, some potential crises may not be avoidable. Saddam Hussein could defy United Nations weapons inspectors again. Fidel Castro could be toppled in Cuba. Peacemaking deadlines are looming: Nov. 15 for

of the military options that we declined to use in Bosnia. Otherwise we could see Albania, Greece and Bulgaria drawn into the conflict."

■ **Middle East peace.** Arabs and Israelis both fear that the negotiations Baker nurtured may founder during the months it takes the Clinton team to get up to speed. Baker's chief Mideast adviser, Dennis Ross, wants to help the parties firm up agendas so the four sets of bilateral talks can progress during Clinton's early months. But aides say Baker won't go to the region unless the parties signal beforehand

that the trip could bear fruit. "It could be a totally futile gesture, a kind of silly-looking farewell tour," said a Baker associate. Arab and Israeli officials have genuine worries about the lame-duck phenomenon. They say a Baker trip would be effective only if Clinton threw his support behind it—perhaps by sending an adviser along. Baker aides think that's inappropriate and unlikely, but they say that Clinton or his secretary of state-designate could endorse the trip.

■ **The former Soviet Union.** With unrest raging in many republics, and Russian President Boris Yeltsin facing a rebellious Congress of People's Deputies meeting in December, Bush officials want to speed up Western debt relief to the newly independent states. Eagleburger also may travel to Moscow to try to shore up a Bush-Yeltsin deal promoting single-warhead long-range missiles, which the Russian military is now trying to roll back. But lame-duckery could thwart that effort if Moscow thinks it could get a better deal from Clinton.

Bush and his foreign-policy team have no illusions about their effectiveness. "When you've had your ass handed to you in an election, and you're on your way out, it's harder to use force, because you don't want to commit your successor," said a senior administration official. "But it's harder to use finesse effectively, because you simply don't have the same aura of power abroad." The bottom line, this adviser said, is that "Bush is going to be playing a lot of defensive football." For George Bush, the foreign-policy president, it's an unaccustomed way to play out the season.

MARGARET GARRARD WARNER in Washington



FALEH KHALIBER—REUTER

Saddam Hussein, a child killed in the former Soviet republic of Azerbaijan, Muslim refugees in Bosnia



COSTA SAKELLARIOU—FOCUS-MATRIX



LUC DELAHAYE—SIPA

the next step toward demobilization in Cambodia and Dec. 15 for final demobilization in El Salvador. Other situations need active engagement from the Bush administration. Among the most volatile:

■ **The former Yugoslavia.** Bush officials expect they'll have to step up aid efforts in Bosnia, where hundreds of thousands are in danger of starving and freezing to death. That wouldn't represent any change in policy. But one top official told NEWSWEEK that if the Serbs widen the conflict by moving on Kosovo province, populated by ethnic Albanians, "we'll have to look at some