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lurSATURDAY-SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 14.15, 1992 MU

What PlacejfolT Russia W;

In Clinton9s Puzzle? e

By Stephen S. Rosenfeld

ASHINGTON -- Yes. the

Cold War is over. but from a

security standpoint the largest, most important and mostadilficult single

piece of the global jigsaw puzzle that remains to be ut tn place is Russia.

Ready or not, ill Clinton is going to

-have to tum to this formidable task.

' now the West has had it easy.

ajor initiatives have been M05-

5, and they have mostly involved

unilateral bursts of strategic retreat,

military reduction and political re-

straint. The West took the gains and

claimed much of the credit and paid

relatively little in return.

This imbalance has generated a

backlash at the Russian end: a feeling

that the relationship is one-way and

unfair. This feeling exists apart from, .

but it feeds, a parallel tendency of

nationalism that runs not only among

extremists but among committed

democrats as well.

The Russian ambassador in Wash-

ington, Vladimir Lukin, is among the

proven democrats who think Russia

should not fall into what he calls

"infantile pro-Americanism." An ex-

ample: Russia inherited a lopsidedly

mihtarized economy and is driven by

desperation to sell arms abroad, but

it is then scolded by Washington,

which is far richer and peddles its

arms energetically.

il. Lukin is mentioned as a posi-

replacement for Foreign Minister

Andrei Kozyrev, should he be

dumped by the embattled President

Boris Yeltsin. Mr. Kozyrefs subordi-

nation of foreign policy to domestic

revival has made him a champion of

accommodation with the West. He

has been outspoken in warnin of a

comeback by those with a " ascist

ideology" and "a grand vision of re-

storing Russia in its grandeur to the

borders of the former U.S.S.R."

Russia's passage puts Russians in

psychological duress. The United

States must respond with due tact.

The difficulty comes in the specifics.

Should the United States stop expect-

ing Mr. Yeltsin to eliminate the big

SS-IS intercontinental missiles?

What about use of the Russian army

in the current Baltic mode - in bar-

gaining out the rights of the 25 mil-

lion ethnic Russians whom the break-

ur of the Soviet Union left as citizens

0 countries other than Russia?

Is the US. government supposed

to sit and smile if Russia decides to

resume a classical pan-Slav pro-Ser-

bia course in the Balkans? Suppose

the no-retum crowd continues to

keep Moscow from negotiating on the Kuril Islands with Japan? The United States has got to assert its interest in these and other related matters. There's no place in US. policy for uinfantile pro-Russianism." But American chances to be listened to can only be improved if some basic considerations are kept in mind. The first priority IS democratization. Nothing else will ensure that Russia, weak or strong, will be a good friend and partner. Anythin else mocks the sacrifices of the Col War. Churchill, in his famous Iron-Curtain-is-descending speech of 1946, invited Stalin's Russia to take its "rightful lace among the leading nations of e world" - but democra was the condition. Recalling this 0 - fer recently, Paul Wolfowitz. undersecretary of defense, renewed it. Democra remains the condition - in particu ar, he said, political control of the military's policy and budget. The West should see to it that NATO stops dithering and reinvents ' itself promptly as the Atlantic club of democratic nations. Military NATO will stew for years over what sort of threats to rprepare for. Political NATO shou d offer membership to the countries. reborn or new, that earn it. Poland would be first. This is not sirnpl a matter of prestige. It is a .. matter 0 giving the politically invaluable reward of full acceptance in the company of the West. Overpromising is a bad Western habit. Says Anders Aslund, an esteemed Swedish adviser to the Russian government: "The West is urportedly supporting Presi ent Yeltsin, democracy and a market economy in Russia, but it stothed supportm this country after II. ad ceased toie a Communist. totalitarinn, aggressive. centrally planned economy." We are entitled to ask the Russians and the others if they are serious. They are entitled to ask us. The Washington Post. Jimmy Carter Redux? Don i ASHINGTON - In the 24 years since Lyndon Johnson left the White House, the only Democrats who have experienced the joys and tribulations now awaiting Bill Clinton and his crew are the men and women who worked for Jimmy Carter. Two of the most pointed and poignant comments I have heard about the 1992 election and its consequences came from people who were central players in the Caner administration. On election night, when most Democrats were euphoric, former Vice President Walter Mondale told me in a telephone interview that he could not escape one sobering thou t. tllf Congress treats Bill Clin-

ton 1 e way it did Jimmy Carter," he said. uwe wont be out of power for 12 years. but for 28 years next time."

The next day, Stuart Eizenstat. Mr. Carterls domestic policy chief, was both trenchant and touching in his reaction. ul feel as if a burden has been lifted off my shoulders," he said. For 12 years, he said, he had winced at the repeated Republican use of the Carter administration's economic woes as a warning of what would happen if voters elected another Democrat to the presidency. "I

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felt." Mr. Eizenstat said. "that we had left a crippling legacy to our party and now Clinton has finally exercised that devil."

But is there any reason to believe that Mr. Clinton will be "another limmy Caner." either in the opposition he draws from his own party 5 congressional wing or in the economic mess he creates? No one can say, but the differences between the men are far more striking than their similarities. The main parallels include their background as Southem governors, devoid of national government experience. Both defeated establishment Republican presidents by exploiting public disenchantment with Washington insiders and using the rhetoric of reform to suggest that they were not conventional Democrats.

That is more than casual kinship. But the differences are more vivid - and consequential.

Mr. Carter was a Naval Academy graduate and an engineer. His model of policy-making was rational. efficient and introspective. Governing to him was an exercise in problem-solving Where He Can Let Humanity and Wisdom Coincide OSTON - At his first news conference since the election. Bill Clinton was asked what his priorities would be in foreign policy. He listed a multi-year defense budget plan. nuclear weapons reduction. continuation of the Middle East peace process and global economic arrangements. Those are matters of profound longtenn import- the first tests of Bil

By Anthony Lewis

momentum for the goal of European unity. The European pohtttctans were waiting for American leadershi . which never came. One of Clinton as president - per- in Kosovo could bring Iran in more broadly. Elsewhere. other examples of humane concerns coinciding with political wisdom await Mr. Clinton. One, of urgency, is Cambodia.

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The European politicians were waiting for  
American leadership, which never came. One of  
the first tests of Bill Clinton as president - per-  
haps the first -- will be whether he acts to stop  
Serbian aggression.

The needed steps are not obscure. They include  
bombing Serbian military supply depots and the  
Serbian guns that pound Sarajevo and other cities  
from the hills. lifting the arms embargo that cripples  
Bosnia's ability to fight the well-armed Serbs,  
and shooting down the Serbian helicopters and  
planes that now violate the UN Security Council  
resolution against flights over Bosnia.

The Yugoslav situation demonstrates for Bill  
'Clinton and the rest of us that concern for human  
lives does not make a foreign policy "unrealistic,"  
as Henry Kissinger tried to persuade us. To the  
contrary, failure to amnst the Serbian killers  
now will almost cer ' y create worse political  
problems later.

Serbians are already showing signs that they will  
out uethnic cleansing" next in Kosovo, a  
r 'on of Serbia whose inhabitants are mostly  
e t\_: Albanians. When that happens, Albania  
may \_ntervene, then perhaps Bulgaria and Mac-  
edonia. There are reports of Iran sending guerrillas  
to help the Bosmans, and Serbian savagery  
in Kosovo could bring Iran in more broadly.  
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coinciding with political wisdom await Mr. Clinton.  
One, of urgency. is Cambodia.

US. policy over recent years has insisted on bringing the Khmer Rouge mass murderers into the United Nations peace plan for Cambodia. Now, living up to their record. the Khmer Rouge are trying to sabotage the plan.

It IS time for the United States to stop trying to wheedle the Khmer Rouge into playing politics instead of war. it is time to put firm pressure on Thailand to stop helping the Khmer Rouge, letting them cross the border freely, trading with them for the plunder of Cambodia's forests.

A final, pathetic example is East Timor. Indonesia seized that remote land 17 years ago, illegally using American-supplied arms while Secretary of State Kissinger winked.

One year ago this week Indonesian troops fired into a peaceful march by 1,000 unarmed East Timorese, killing more than 100. The Indonesian government put on a show of concern. But its new governor of East Timor, Abilio Jose Osorio Soares, - just said: "In my opinion there should have been more people killed. Why did only that number die? Why not all 1,000?"

Realpolitik, as it is called, says we should not care about brutal and murderous governments. But they have a way of coming back to haunt us.

The New York Times.

ing. Come up with a solution. check your calculations. then act.

Congress did not respond well to that approach. And Mr. Carter did not react well when legislators tinkered with his solutions.

But Mr. Clinton is a lawyer. not an engineer. and is consultative and more elusive by instinct. He is as flexible as Mr. Carter was rigid -- some would say too flexible.

Mr. Carter viewed politics as a sort of penance exacted of those who aspire to leadership in a democracy. He saw politics as a rather tawdry men.- of ego. ambition and selfish interest: and he did his best to keep it at bay)

Mr. Clinton, by contrast. loves politics. He gets joy from the bickering and dickering and he clearly is renewed by the hours he spends with voters and politicians. The schmoozing and shop-talk that Mr. Carter found a burden. Mr. Clinton craves

The third difference is that Mr Carter came to Washington wearing his Georgia parochialism as a badge of honor. He made a point of saying in his 1976 campaign that he had never met a Democratic president.

Mr. Clinton is a polar opposite. He celebrates the moment when, as a awe-struck high school student. it met John F. Kennedy. And he has had a connection to every Democratic president and presidential contender for the past 20 years.

Indeed. Mr. Clinton comes to this job as the most thorough. "if networked" politician of his era, He has been part of every major movement in his party, from the McGovern campaign on the left to the Democratic Leadership Council on the right



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The Washington Post. /