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U.N.-Croatia Dispute Threatens Year-Old Peace-Keeping Mandate

By Jonathan C. Randal
Washington Post Foreign Service

ZAGREB, Croatia, Feb. 4—Just one month before the U.N. peace-keeping mandate in Croatia is due to expire, U.N. officials are working strenuously to patch up a dispute with the increasingly demanding Zagreb government.

The peace-keeping troops arrived here a year ago to monitor a U.N.-brokered cease-fire between Croatian troops and Serb nationalist forces in the republic, but the government has complained almost ever since that U.N. officials were not acting forcefully to compel Serb compliance with the truce terms.

Two weeks ago, Croatia sent troops storming across U.N. cease-fire lines in a surprise offensive to regain some territory still held by the Serbs, saying it was driven to use force by U.N. inaction. For their part, senior U.N. officials publicly accused Croatian officials of lying and undermining what little trust existed between U.N. mediators and the rival parties.

Buoyed by the early success of the offensive, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman declared last week that unless the United Nations moves more aggressively to implement the cease-fire terms, "we will liberate every inch of Croatia" with the republic's "new modern army." He also reiterated a threat

not to renew the U.N. peace-keeping mandate—due to expire March 8—a move that diplomats here say would without doubt reignite Serb-Croat warfare across the republic and perhaps draw in neighboring Serbia and other Balkan states.

Croatia has demanded that the 14,000-member U.N. force here be substantially enlarged and upgraded to force Serb compliance with the cease-fire accord, which calls for the Zagreb government to reassume political authority over the one-third of Croatia held by Serb nationalists when the truce was signed; for all Serb military forces in the republic to disarm under U.N. supervision; and for the return of more than a quarter-million Croatian refugees to their homes in Serb-dominated territory. U.N. mediators

have reported some progress in getting both sides to fulfill their cease-fire commitments but not enough to satisfy Tudjman's right-wing nationalist government, which is facing parliamentary elections later this month.

Meanwhile, diplomats here say that Croatia has another strong bargaining chip—if it chooses to use it—with which to extract U.N. concessions. All humanitarian aid to neighboring Bosnia—wracked by 10 months of warfare among its Serbs, Croats and Slavic Muslims—is channeled through Croatian harbors and airports, and diplomats say that any threat by Zagreb to discontinue that role

could powerfully influence U.N. policy in both republics. "Thanks to geography, Croatia is already in the driver's seat," remarked one Western diplomat.

U.N. officials and Western diplomats said they doubt that the nations contributing troops to the Croatian peace-keeping operation would be swayed by Tudjman's demand for more troops, or that any such force could be deployed before expiration of the mandate. "Our military planners estimate that five times the present force level would be required to enforce the [Croatian truce] against an unwilling minority" of militant Serbs, one senior U.N. official said. "No one in the West is going to give Tudjman what he wants in the time frame he says he wants it done in. No one is going to accept a lot of bodybags just to please him."

Although some diplomats believe the peace-keeping force in Croatia could gain stature and credibility by doubling its troop strength, senior U.N. officials said they hope to assuage Tudjman by moving swiftly to organize internationally sponsored talks between Croatia's Serb minority and the Zagreb government. Such talks were part of the original truce agreement but were indefinitely suspended last year when the Bosnian war broke out.

Complicating that move, however, is the two-week-old Croatian offensive, which dip-

lomatics say has damaged its reputation in the international community for relative reasonableness; given Serb nationalists throughout the Yugoslav region a public-relations windfall; and drawn censure from the U.N. Security Council and warnings from Russia, a Serb patron since czarist days.

On face value, diplomats say, Croatia would benefit greatly by renewing the U.N. peace mission, which despite its failings has served as an effective buffer between potential combatants. "Without the U.N. presence, full-scale war would break out in 72 hours," a Western diplomat said, "so what is Tudjman's alternative?" Nonetheless, resolving the present U.N.-Croatia dispute is judged a formidable task by diplomats here.

"How do you stop a government whose borders you've recognized from imposing law and order on a rebellious citizenry," asked one diplomat. "If Croatia does not withdraw, what can you do except apply sanctions and then what?" That, he said, could mean cutting off Croatian channels for aid to Bosnia, "and Western public opinion would be horrified."

Heavy Coastal Fighting Reported As Croatia Presses Offensive

Reuter

GORICA, Croatia, Feb. 4—The Croatian

army and Serb nationalist forces pounded each other with artillery today as government troops pressed their two-week-old offensive to retake Serb-held Croatian territory near the Adriatic coast.

"This is the worst day of fighting in more than a year," said farmer Marko Bucic, referring to the 1991 war between Croatia's Serbs and Croats that ended with a U.N. cease-fire early last year. Bucic's farm, which was heavily damaged by the artillery exchanges, lies near this coastal town of about 15,000 and just one mile from Serb-held territory.

The Serbs declared that Croatian troops had been forced to retreat, a claim bolstered by a senior U.N. official who said that Serb armored formations were preventing the Croats from attaining all their apparent objectives in the region and had even reconquered some territory.

The Zagreb government denied losing ground, saying its forces had repelled repeated Serb tank and artillery assaults 12 miles inland from the important Adriatic port of Zadar.

Meanwhile, U.N. officials said the Croatian government and local Serb leaders had accepted an invitation to talks aimed at reinstating the year-old cease-fire, but there was no word on when they might start.

Rivals Vie On Balkan Role of U.S.

Muslim Leader Offers Case for Air Strikes

By Christine Spolar
and Julia Preston

Special to The Washington Post

On the eve of a new round of talks among Bosnia's Muslims, Serbs and Croats, the leaders of two of the warring factions stepped up their pressure on the Clinton administration to support a United Nations peace plan or to intervene in the fighting.

In Sarajevo, the besieged Bosnian capital, President Alija Izetbegovic, a Muslim, declared in an interview yesterday that "we want air strikes" as a "more speedy way" to end the war.

But Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, arriving at U.N. headquarters in New York for the talks, urged the Clinton administration to support the plan drawn up by U.N. envoy Cyrus R. Vance and European Community mediator David Owen. "This plan is not perfect but we don't have anything better," Karadzic said in an interview, warning that the new administration would face "another Vietnam" if it chose to send troops into ground combat in Bosnia.

At the White House, President Clinton told reporters, "I think anything, any effort that increases the chances of some ultimately peaceful solution is important." He said the United States "has under review now all of its options" and he called "proper" the position of Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, who told Vance and Owen on Monday that he has questions about the "feasibility" and "practicality" of their plan—which would divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous provinces.

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Clinton "is just now saying that if the parties agree to it, that he would support it. But so far all the parties have . . . not agreed to it."

In several rounds of talks in Ge-

Bosnian Serb, Muslim Differ on Role for U.S.

neva that ended in deadlock last weekend, Izetbegovic's government, Karadzic's Serbs and the Bosnian Croats all accepted the Vance-Owen plan in principle, but only the Croats agreed with the map of proposed provinces.

"We accepted the idea of 10 provinces but not the shape of them," Izetbegovic said in the interview. "Ethnic division is bad, but there is something worse—unjust ethnic division." He charged that the Vance-Owen map would reward Bosnian Serbs' "ethnic cleansing"—the practice of mass expulsions of other communal groups.

"Regardless of what the [U.N.] Security Council does," Izetbegovic said, "we will not accept the plan." If the council supports the Vance-Owen map, "it implies that genocide can be carried out and rewarded."

Karadzic, in New York, said Bosnian Serbs agree with all but 20 percent of the Vance-Owen map, which would reduce the areas under their control from the current 70 percent to about 43 percent of Bosnia's land. He proposed that the Serbs and Muslims, meeting at the United Nations, should draw up lists of the disputed territories and engage in "horse-trading."

In areas where there has been no "ethnic shifting"—the term he used in preference to "ethnic cleansing"—local referendums should be held, Karadzic proposed, to resolve control. He predicted that Muslims who end up in Serb provinces would move to Muslim provinces, and that few of an estimated 700,000 Muslim refugees would return to their homes if they became part of predominantly Serb provinces.

But without a peace settlement, Karadzic said, Serb authorities could not guarantee there would be no more ethnic purges in Serb-held areas because "it's difficult for us to control small places."

Before fighting broke out last spring, Slavic Muslims made up 44 percent of Bosnia's population, with Serbs at 31 percent and Croats at 17 percent. Under the Vance-Owen plan, Croats and Muslims would each dominate about 25 percent of Bosnian territory while Sarajevo, the capital, would be in a jointly controlled province. The U.N. plan would give the Serbs more territory in proportion to their population but Serb spokesmen say most of their people were farmers,

spread out over about 60 percent of the pre-war republic.

Izetbegovic, interviewed in his office in Sarajevo's Bosnian Presidency building, renewed his call for a lifting of the U.N. arms embargo to all the Yugoslav republics so Bosnians could buy arms to offset the Serbs' supplies from Serbia and the Serb-controlled Yugoslav army. He said he did not want foreign soldiers fighting in Bosnia.

"We don't want your boys on the ground," the Bosnian president said.

He expressed confidence, however, that "there is support in America to send us arms. . . . I don't know whose side Clinton might be taking or Congress is taking, but I do know the American people are on our side."

Karadzic, meanwhile, warned that Serbs "will defend ourselves" if foreign troops are sent to Bosnia. But he also expressed confidence that Serb militias would lay down arms if a settlement is reached.

"Don't worry," he said, "Serbs aren't born fighters. They would rather drive a Toyota than a tank."

Spolar reported from Sarajevo and Preston from New York.

Brutal Tajik Civil War Shakes All Central Asia Communists Rule Again After 20,000 Die

Clinton Seeks to Revive Arab-Israeli Peace Talks

Associated Press

President Clinton, warning that chances for peace "can slip away all too easily," announced yesterday that he is sending Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher to the Middle East to try for a resumption of suspended Arab-Israeli negotiations.

"It is an indication of the priority my administration attaches to peacemaking in the Middle East," Clinton said in a statement. "This is an historic moment. It can slip away all too easily."

Christopher was optimistic his first overseas venture would succeed. "I think we will see a resumption of the peace process at an early date," he said while posing for pictures in his office with visiting German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel.

The secretary of state is expected to leave for Israel Feb. 17 and plans to remain in the region until Feb. 24, visiting Arab countries as well, and then stop in Western Europe before returning to Washington. He also plans to meet along the way with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev to make preparations for a summit meeting between Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The peace talks opened 15 months ago under the prodding of the Bush administration.

Arab and Israeli negotiations in Washington were making measured progress toward an Israeli-Syrian settlement and also limited self-rule for Palestinians, when the talks ground to a halt in mid-December.

The expectation was for an early resumption under supervision of the Clinton administration.

But the Palestinians, already unhappy with Israel's proposals for self-rule that fell short of statehood, angrily protested Israel's deportation of about 400 Palestinians Dec. 17.

Christopher reached an agreement last Monday with Israel to get all the exiled Palestinians returned from a tent encampment in southern Lebanon by the end of the year, about 100 of them immediately. But the Palestine Liberation Organization vowed to press the U.N. Security Council to consider economic sanctions against Israel.

The Arab governments involved in the peace talks are Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, while Egypt and Saudi Arabia are considered to be influential outsiders.

Brutal Tajik Civil War Shakes All Central Asia

Communists Rule Again After 20,000 Die

By Steve LeVine
Special to The Washington Post

DUSHANBE, Tajikistan—Old guard Communists determined to preserve their power and privileges have gained the upper hand in a brutal civil war in this former Soviet republic that has sent political tremors throughout Central Asia.

Red Soviet flags with the hammer and sickle flutter from tanks roaring through the streets of Dushanbe two months after Communist forces reclaimed power from an Islamic-dominated opposition coalition. Armed vigilantes patrol the streets, checking identities and hauling suspects off for questioning. Combat helicopters roam the mountains that rise up beyond the capital in an attempt to destroy the remaining opposition strongholds.

After more than a year of demonstrations and counter-

demonstrations, the capital of this backward Central Asian republic of 5 million people is now relatively quiet. But peace has been bought at a terrible price: an estimated 20,000 to 40,000 dead and hundreds of thousands of refugees. Many intellectuals and antigovernment activists have disappeared, and the government has blockaded regions controlled by the opposition, apparently seeking to starve them into submission.

According to the estimated death toll released by the government, more people have died in Tajikistan's year-long civil war than in all other armed conflicts on the territory of the former Soviet Union put together. The International Committee of the Red Cross believes that many of the 350,000 or so refugees—a quarter of whom have

crossed into Afghanistan—are at risk from hunger and exposure.

Largely unnoticed by the rest of the world, the bloodletting in Tajikistan has become the front line in a much larger power struggle that is threatening to tear Central Asia apart. On one side is the familiar Soviet establishment of Communist politicians, old guard factory managers and collective farm chairmen, who have held power for the last six decades. On the other side is an unlikely coalition of Islamic fundamentalists, liberal intellectuals, fledgling businessmen and representatives of regions that have long been excluded from power.

The fighting in Tajikistan is being watched particularly closely in neighboring Uzbekistan, the political and economic linchpin of the region with a population of over 20 million. Determined to shore up his own power, Uzbek President Islam Karimov has begun arresting opposition politicians and sending arms to his fellow Communists in Tajikistan, according to Russian military sources and Western diplomats.

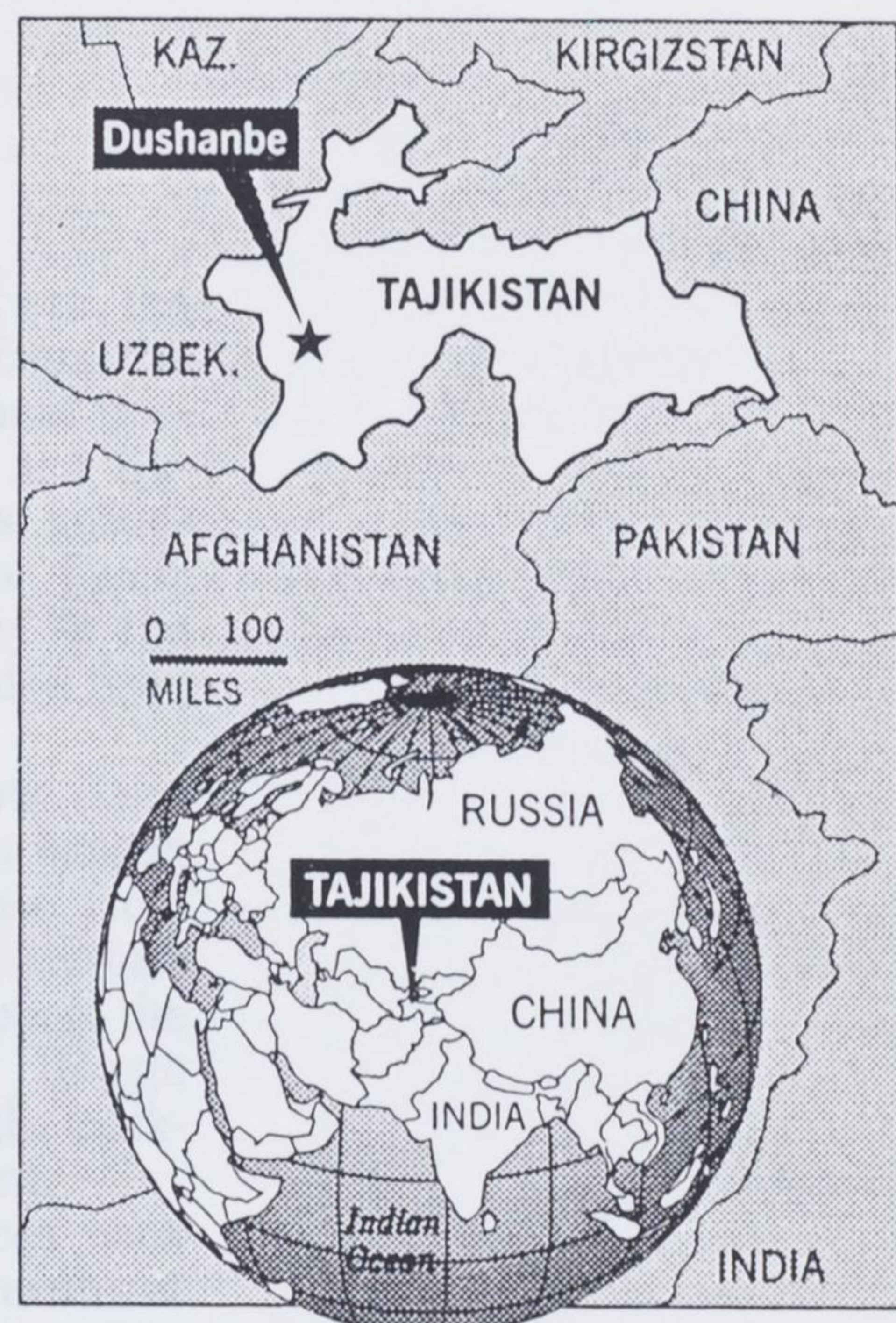
"This is the beginning of a war for the future of Central Asia," said Oleg Panfilov, an ethnic Russian journalist from Dushanbe who was forced to flee at the end of last year because he sympathizes with the opposition. "That is why Karimov is cracking down on the opposition. He regards the Tajik opposition as an ideological threat to himself."

The simmering civil strife in Tajikistan erupted into major fighting in September when opposition leaders overthrew Communist president Rakhmon Nabiyev, a holdover from the Brezhnev era. But the opposition's triumph was short-lived. After beating a tactical retreat to the provinces, Nabiyev's supporters swept back into the capital in December.

During the ensuing fighting, both sides have been guilty of atrocities, including the murders of teenage boys, the burning of enemy villages and the summary execution of political opponents. But most independent observers believe that the new government has taken advantage of its upper hand in the fighting to inflict the most brutal punishment.

"The pro-government forces are shooting the Islamic forces even when they surrender," said a senior Russian officer whose men have witnessed the Tajik fighting.

Virtually all prominent opposition leaders have been forced to flee Dushanbe, which has been turned into a government armed camp. The spiritual leader of Tajikistan's Sunni Moslems is believed to have taken refuge in Afghanistan. Other opposition activists have retreated to the mountainous eastern half of the



country, where they are reported to be preparing guerrilla resistance.

Human rights groups in Moscow are drawing up lists of dozens of intellectuals and opposition activists who have "disappeared" in Dushanbe over the last two months and are presumed dead. Government leaders deny allegations of widespread torture and arbitrary killing, while insisting that they are determined to push ahead with their offensive against the opposition.

"When there was trouble in Los Angeles, all necessary force was used to quiet it," said the country's new president, Imamali Rakhmonov, whose office in Dushanbe is defended by a machine-

Tajik Regime Drives Foes Into Mountains

gun emplacement. "We also will use whatever measures are necessary."

There is some evidence that Russian troops stationed in Tajikistan have tacitly sided with the Communists. A turning point in the conflict came with the old guard's acquisition late last year of half a dozen Soviet tanks from the Russian army garrison at Kurgan-Tyube, in southern Tajikistan. Russian officers claim the tanks were "stolen."

"Russia does not need Tajikistan as a state. It needs it as a border zone with Afghanistan," said Panfilov, the journalist. "That is why the Russian military is helping the Communists remain in power."

According to diplomats here, Uzbekistan supported Communist troops with helicopter gunships and air cover, in addition to tanks and ground troops. Karimov, the Uzbek president, has denied intervening in the conflict, except for provision of "humanitarian aid."

A former Communist Party leader, Karimov has stepped up harassment of his political opponents over the past few weeks. Last month, the Uzbek Supreme Court banned the principal opposition movement, Birlik, accusing it of unspecified "anti-government activities." A few days earlier, a U.S. government report on human rights in the former Soviet Union accused the Uzbek government of attempting to "silence the opposition" through arbitrary arrests, beatings, press censorship, phone taps and severe restrictions on individual liberty.

The obvious ideological split in Tajikistan between communism and Islam is complicated by long-standing regional rivalries that had been suppressed for

decades. Throughout the Soviet era, the Kremlin picked Tajik leaders from the industrialized regions of Khodzhent (formerly Leninabad) in the north and Kulyab in the south. Other regions, including such remote areas as the Pamir Mountains and the Garm Valley in the east of the country, were excluded from political power.

The anti-Nabiyev coalition was dominated by mountain people, who happen to be more religious than those from more urbanized regions. Intellectuals living in Dushanbe tended to support the anti-Communist opposition, though Nabiyev could usually count on the backing of his home region, Khodzhent.

After driving opposition forces back into eastern Tajikistan, government troops are now concentrating on sealing off the border with Afghanistan. Independent military sources said opposition troops are in contact with Afghan *mujaheddin* led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, from whom they have received U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and other arms. Many observers expect an opposition offensive in the spring.

Last week Rakhmonov imposed a state of emergency along the Afghan border. Russian President Boris Yeltsin has promised to send 2,000 additional troops to patrol the border.

"If we manage to seal the border and stop the weapons coming from Afghanistan for one or two months, we'll be able to manage our other problems," said Rakhmonov, a former collective farm chairman from Kulyab who was chosen to succeed the ineffectual Nabiyev.

Correspondent Michael Dobbs contributed to this report from Moscow.

Navy No Longer Has Tactical Nuclear Arms, Russia Says

By Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, Feb. 4—Russia's Defense Ministry announced today that submarines and other naval vessels have been stripped of their tactical nuclear weapons, in accordance with a pledge made in 1991 by former Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Meanwhile, in a less positive sign of Russia's military condition, four sailors in the once-vaunted Pacific Fleet are reported to have died of pneumonia resulting from chronic malnutrition. An additional 86 sailors have been hospitalized for similar problems, according to a report by Reuters.

The removal of the tactical nuclear weapons marked another milestone in post-Cold War retrenchment, as Russia and the United States begin to peel off layers of armaments. Last month outgoing U.S. president George Bush and Soviet President Boris Yeltsin signed the historic START II accord, which will reduce overall nuclear arsenals by nearly two-thirds. The treaty must be ratified by the legislatures of both countries before it can take effect.

Today the Belarussian parliament ratified the long-delayed START I arms treaty, which the United States and the Soviet Union signed in 1991. Because of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the pact must be ratified by all four former Soviet republics in which the nuclear weapons are based: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Today's action in Minsk, by a vote of 218 to 1, leaves only Ukrainian ratification required before the more ambitious START II treaty can be implemented.

START II applies to long-range strategic weapons, not the shorter-range tactical ones, long considered to be more destabilizing, that were covered in today's Defense Ministry statement.

According to the statement, these tactical nuclear weapons have now been dismantled and removed from all Russian submarines, ships and Navy airplanes and placed in land depots. According to the Nuclear Weapons Databook, the Soviet Union had about 3,600 such sea-based tactical missiles in mid-1988. The Defense Ministry did not say when the process had been completed, but presumably it was fairly recently.

The death of the four sailors at a remote island training center, meanwhile, is being investigated by military prosecutors. Reuters said a Russian television reporter who visited the hospital where the 86 sailors are being treated for chronic malnutrition and related problems described them as having "hair full of lice and extremities frozen black."

According to Reuters, the reporter was told by Pacific Fleet officials that the four dead sailors had died of pneumonia that "was aggravated by physical weakness and loss of weight." The region's naval command has put the force on extra rations in response, Reuters reported.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, its once mighty military has fallen on hard times, like nearly everyone else here. Soldiers and sailors have joined the lines of those selling their lifetime possessions—including uniforms and military medals—on the streets. In addition, defense officials have reported an increase in crime in the ranks.

The Russian Tass news agency reported today that an army general in charge of security at the Defense Ministry had been arrested on theft charges. He was accused of stealing a foreign computer and printer from the offices of the ministry's general staff.

GI Kills a Somali Boy; Mission Gets Murkier

By Molly Moore

Washington Post Foreign Service

MOGADISHU, Somalia, Feb. 4—A 13-year-old Somali boy darted into the noontime traffic of Mogadishu's main street today, racing toward a U.S. Marine vehicle, shouting and waving an object at the U.S. Marines inside. Within seconds, one of the Marines shot and killed the youngster.

The Marine, according to military officials, believed the boy was going to lob a grenade or bomb into the vehicle.

The incident, which occurred on one of the busiest sections of Mogadishu's re-emerging shopping district, demonstrated the growing tension among U.S. soldiers who find themselves grappling not only with unseen rooftop snipers but with children who throw rocks at them, steal from them and point life-like toy guns at them on darkened streets.

The mounting frustrations and "mali citizens in the past two months. Two soldiers and one civilian employee of the Army also have been killed in shootings.

The troops in the city, where about 300,000 homeless Somalis have sought refuge from rural villages pillaged by warring clans, routinely are pelted by rock-throwing children. When their humvees and trucks stop at road intersections, some youngsters divert soldiers' attention by shouting and banging on their vehicles while others reach inside and snatch sunglasses, packages of food or any other item that is not tied down.

For military troops already jittery from frequent sniper fire, weary of blistering heat, dust and primitive living conditions, the children are tearing at dangerously stretched nerves.

"I'm fed up with these kids," one Marine driver snapped during a recent drive through a crowded city neighborhood, as a throng of children surrounded his humvee, then began hurling rocks when he refused their pleas for money and food. He stepped out of the humvee and shook his M-16 rifle at the youngsters, scattering them like a flock of skittish birds.

As the effective police force for a lawless city, the GIs are serving in roles not envisioned when they were sent to secure airports, docks and roads for food distribution. The night police beat is particularly treacherous.

On one recent night, a Marine patrol rounded the corner of a building and came face to face with a 9-year-old wielding what appeared to be an assault rifle. One of the Marine infantrymen was a split second away from pulling the trigger of his M-16 when a sliver of light illuminated the boy's "weapon"—a crudely built, wooden toy gun draped with a real belt of spent cartridges.

In the past few days, soldiers have begun confiscating the toys from children—who are only emulating the adults around them who carry real guns. The GIs trade the youngsters packaged military meals in return for surrendering their "weapons."

The split-second decisions such as those of the Marines facing a boy with a toy gun in the darkness or another waving an unknown object in the noontime sun can be radically influenced by fear, weariness and frustration. Military officials, who are investigating the killing today of the Somali boy, said they believe it was that combination of factors that led the Marine to fire.

"He had to make a decision he now has to live with," said U.S. military spokesman Col. Fred Peck.

Military investigators combed the site of the shooting for evidence of what the youngster may have been holding when he spooked the Marine, but found nothing according to Peck. The Somali children in Mogadishu frequently approach military troops offering to sell them cigarettes and other items.

Peck said one bullet reportedly was fired, killing the 13-year-old and wounding two other youngsters nearby. Investigators said the bullet may have passed through the body of the teenager and ricocheted off the street, splitting into fragments that injured the two bystanders.

For troops who have had more training as infantrymen than policemen, duty in Mogadishu has been disorienting.

"It's been a major disillusionment," one Marine captain said of his experiences in the city. "We come here to help these people and they end up shooting at us."

The soldiers sent to more isolated reaches where starvation was more rampant and the success of the relief efforts is more evident say their experiences have been far different.

In Baardheere, one of the towns worst hit by starvation, the children greet the military convoys with smiles and waves, rather than with the sneers and rocks of the city children. On a tour of Marine camps nearby, where troops are covered in a perpetual coat of red dust and the temperature hovers near 100 degrees daily, Gen. Hoar asked a group of troops whether they'd rather be stationed in Mogadishu or on the sun-baked plains of Baardheere.

The troops replied in unison, "Here!"

Zairian Asks West to Send Troops to Force Mobutu Out

Associated Press

KINSHASA, Zaire, Feb. 4— President Mobutu Sese Seko's main rival came out of hiding today to urge foreign military intervention in Zaire as Western pressure mounted for Mobutu to surrender his 27-year monopoly on power.

Senior officials from the United States, France and Belgium met today in Brussels to consider ways to further isolate Mobutu economically and politically. On Wednesday, the three nations demanded

Mobutu transfer power to Etienne Tshisekedi, his rival and head of a transitional government. Mobutu was forced to accept under pressure from Western aid donors.

Mobutu called the officials today from his remote ancestral home in Gbadolite, 725 miles northeast of Kinshasa, to reject the latest Western demands, saying they amounted to "condemning the firefighter instead of the arsonist."

Pressure has been building against Mobutu since last week,

when rioting by army troops over pay led to an outbreak of fighting with Mobutu's presidential guard and a confrontation between forces loyal to Mobutu and pro-Tshisekedi troops. Tshisekedi's government said at least 1,000 people have been killed, mainly regular army troops killed by presidential guards.

Tshisekedi has been in hiding since the fighting began but came out today to plead for foreign military intervention. "One of our friends, Belgium, already has troops

just across the river" in Brazzaville, Congo, he told a news conference. "That is why I have launched an appeal to the international community . . . to introduce [soldiers] into the country to assure our security."

France and Belgium, however, are withdrawing most of the troops they sent last week to Brazzaville. France said its 150 marines had completed their mission of evacuating foreigners from Kinshasa and Belgium said most of its 550 paratroopers were also leaving.

Helping Somalia With The Basics

U.N. Health Agency Creates Success on a Small Scale

By David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

WAGADE, Somalia—As a piece of engineering, the waste-water system in this village won't win any prizes, but that doesn't keep it from being the object of civic pride.

A series of pipes runs from drains under the concrete stalls and troughs where most of the 3,500 residents of this village do their bathing and laundry. They carry the water about 15 feet to an underground concrete tank about 25 feet deep. The tank's walls have holes that let the waste water seep into the surrounding soil.

What isn't obvious is the problem this jerry-built system solved: malaria. Before the tank, waste water drained through the dirt along a narrow public path, around a group of huts and onto flat ground. It made a perfect breeding ground for mosquitoes.

"We told them . . . this water was the main reason for the malaria," said Mohamed Shekh Muctar, a Somali mathematician and official of the World Health Organization (WHO). "They decided how to solve their problem. This was their idea. It is better than nothing."

In other places, development agencies might have advised the village to build a more permanent drainage system, or simply built one for it. In this case, however, WHO provided only the helpful initial insight about the relationship between disease and stagnant water. The Ministry of Labor—when Somalia had a government—provided 10 sacks of cement, and the community raised the money for the rest of the materials.

The WHO approach is part of what it calls its Basic Minimum Needs program in the Lower Shabelle region, along the coast of southern Somalia. Its strategy is to foster self-reliance and native problem-solving, rather than impose "correct" answers or priorities.

WHO began the program here in mid-1988, but it was suspended during most of 1991 and 1992, during the country's civil war. In the past two months it has started again, its top priority to immunize children—especially those born in the last two years, who are most likely to be unprotected. As before, the shots are given by vil-

"The strategy was not to compel them," Muctar said of the program, which he heads in Lower Shabelle. "It is bottom-up planning. The community attitudes must be responsibility, accountability, initiative and solidarity."

As its name suggests, the concept behind Basic Minimum Needs development is broad and, in some ways, shallow. Its aim is to improve many parts of village life a little, not transform any sector utterly.

If a village accepts the program, WHO officials distribute a questionnaire that offers the community a picture of itself that it might not otherwise have. The survey asks about family size; age, weight and height of children; access to clean water or latrines; the number of people sleeping per room and innumerable other subjects. Some villages appoint representatives responsible for making sure families answer the surveys.

Officials tabulate the results and suggest general goals: perhaps that every person should be able to get to drinkable water within a half-hour's walk, or that children have appropriate height and weight for their age (an indicator of adequate nutrition).

The village then decides what it wants to spend its money and time improving.

Water is almost always the highest priority,

even in this region, which is a tropical river basin and far less arid than most of Somalia. The program has given hand-operated water pumps to many villages, though villages are responsible for repairs.

Hersi Iyow, a Somali WHO official in Mogadishu, says that out of 38 hand pumps distributed over the the program's two-years of peacetime operation, only four are out of commission, and only two were looted. The claim is difficult to verify independently, but Brian Copeland, an English water engineer, reported a different fate for 10 pumps the relief organization Oxfam provided to villages south of the nearby town of Merca before the civil war. "They are all either looted, some are broken, and in some the water is too low. But none of them [is] working," he said.

Iyow says the pumps from the Basic Minimum Needs program have survived in part because of the villages' sense of investment in them.

The program also promotes cash crops and simple manufacturing to supplement subsistence farming. Some villages have been given sesame seed to be grown and crushed into oil. Six villages have beekeeping cooperatives, 15 have handicraft cooperatives, and three have projects to purify limestone for use in cement.

For virtually all such projects, WHO makes five-year, interest-free loans to village cooperatives. Its contracts with the cooperatives list individual shareholders and are signed by a village leader, if only by a thumb print. The program here is less than five years old but, according to documents at the program's office in Merca, some loans already had been repaid before the civil war destroyed the local economy.

Basic medical care also is usually a priority in most villages. The WHO program (as well as

numerous others) helps train community health workers, similar to licensed practical nurses. They dispense a limited array of drugs from village health centers, treating such ailments as ear infections, scabies, diarrhea and malaria.

"Some of these diseases I myself diagnose. If they become difficult to me, I send to Merca Hospital, where they have medical doctors and some tests for the laboratory," explained Mohammed Addow Nur, a 41-year-old health worker at Jalle, a village within walking distance of the Indian Ocean beach on the road outside Merca.

Even before the arrival of the WHO, virtually every village had a midwife. The program trains them and offers clean gloves, plastic aprons, sterile scissors for cutting umbilical cords, bandages, gauze, and iron tablets for post-partum mothers.

Awlai Hajiyow Mohammed, a 48-year-old midwife in Wagade, learned her profession from her mother. Through a translator, however, she said: "I believe I am doing better than my mother [because of] this training."

The long-term success of the Basic Minimum Needs strategy of rural development, however, is far from certain. Some observers say its early successes were overstated. It remains to be seen how much community spirit remains after the civil war.

But many aid officials, even skeptics, are convinced that its approach is one of the few that might work in this increasingly atomized society. "I believed before . . . that [Basic Minimum Needs] was not such a good thing," said Ayub Sheik Yerow, a Somali and regional officer for Unicef, who has observed the program since its inception. "But when I saw it, it was appearing as something very realistic and practical."

U.N. Mission Results in Protests But No Sign of Progress in Haiti

By Michael Tarr
Special to The Washington Post

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Feb. 4—A four-day visit by U.N. special envoy Dante Caputo ended today after triggering hostile, pro-government demonstrations that left a Haitian journalist missing. There was no sign of agreement on a proposed international observer mission.

The dispatch of up to 500 United Nations and Organization of American States observers was seen as the first step in a new U.S.-backed diplomatic effort to solve the crisis set off by the September 1991 military ouster of elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

A lack of agreement could force the Clinton administration, which is seeking a quick solution in Haiti, to stiffen a leaky embargo imposed by the OAS 15 months ago or to consider alternative sanctions.

Caputo and the army-backed government of Prime Minister Marc Bazin appeared to be deadlocked over a detailed U.N. proposal that spells out the terms under which the mission would operate. Earlier, Caputo had obtained letters from Bazin and army chief Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras agreeing in principle to the mission, which is meant to monitor respect for human rights and democratic norms.

But in a televised speech last week, Bazin said the proposed terms would place the troubled Caribbean nation under "international tutelage" and announced that he would never sign. Foreign diplomats said Bazin presented Caputo with "unacceptable" amendments that would give the government a say in the mission's size and membership and restrict its movement.

[In Washington, U.S. officials said they were conferring with the OAS and the United Nations about possible ways of forcing the Haitian military to cooperate. The officials said there could be an attempt to tighten the OAS embargo to prevent the Haitian armed forces from obtaining oil and weapons.]

Speaking on condition of anonymity, a businessman consulted in the drafting of the amendments said the government would not accept more than 100 observers.

Caputo made no public statements during his visit, and the U.S. diplomatic mission provided security after protests—clearly encouraged by the government—on his arrival Monday turned violent.

Tropic FM, an independent radio station, said today that reporter Colson Dorme, 26, had been missing since filing a dispatch Monday from the airport.

*Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak*

Aspin's Rising Star

*He and Powell urge
restraint in the Balkans.*

The source of President Clinton's apparent retreat from an interventionist policy in the Balkan civil war is Defense Secretary Les Aspin, the rising star in the new administration's national security and foreign policy constellation.

The Pentagon brass got the word at their Wednesday morning classified briefing: Clinton, reversing his campaign rhetoric, is staying out of Bosnia militarily. "There was no sign of impatience by Clinton to jump into this," an administration official told us. The continuation of George Bush's passive hands-off policy is attributed to Aspin's outspoken advice to Bill Clinton, backed by Gen. Colin Powell.

Aspin thus has made his first mark on this nation's foreign policy within two weeks of the inauguration. That sends a strong signal that the Pentagon will be exercising extraordinary influence in the Clinton administration. Aspin could become the dominant policy maker, as Henry Kissinger was under Nixon and Ford and James Baker was under Bush.

The defense secretary intends to play a major role in Clinton's goal of accomplishing what Bush tried and failed: to draft a global policy for the post-Soviet world that will bottle up nuclear power, prevent major wars and minimize the use of American military power. When Powell introduced Aspin at Fort Myer's Ceremonial Hall for his swearing-in (Aspin invited an unprecedented 3,000 guests), the Joint Chiefs chairman praised him for having "so rightly pointed out in the past" that American power is "not a power that we can afford to squander."

Aspin's quiet persuasion is pulling Clinton back from military action in the former Yugoslavia in the face of strong interventionist pressure from Democratic Sens. Joseph Biden and Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Republican

Sen. Richard Lugar. Another change Aspin and Powell are helping engineer is a switch in the U.S. focus from Iraq to Iran as the correct long-range policy to protect U.S. interests in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf—again avoiding the use of military force.

Behind the scenes, Aspin was supported for Clinton's Pentagon portfolio by two former Republican defense secretaries—Melvin Laird and Dick Cheney. They respect not only his expertise as a defense intellectual dating back to his days as one of Robert McNamara's whiz kids 25 years ago but also his animal cunning as a political fighter who staved off efforts by the left to unseat him as House Armed Services Committee chairman.

The unpublicized decision Aspin made to beef up his "policy shop" with some of this country's best strategic brainpower shows his intentions. He recruited Ambassador Frank Wisner, a respected officer in the Foreign Service, to be his undersecretary for policy. That is the key post held by Paul Wolfowitz in the Bush administration, but Aspin has added important new functions and several new assistant secretaries to Wisner's office who are expert in fighting the trench warfare that traditionally splits the State, Defense and National Security Council bureaucracies.

The Aspin team clearly threatens State Department eminence. "Alarmed is too strong a word," a top State Department aide told us, "but it may be happening in front of our eyes."

Secretary of State Warren Christopher not only lacks Aspin's foreign policy expertise, but few outside his inner entourage at State know what he thinks, and he seems unduly careful not to say. Christopher, who has been deputy at both Justice and State, is no stranger to bureaucratic warfare. However, intimates say he has little zest for such combat. When asked if Christopher understands the threat from Aspin, a Clinton adviser said the "right" question is not whether Christopher understands but "does he care?"

National security adviser Anthony Lake has not been seen or heard since the inauguration. But close colleagues claim his respect for intellectual candlepower will give Aspin unprecedented Oval Office exposure in persuading Clinton to the Pentagon's world view.

That view is illustrated by Aspin's restraint in the Balkans. The rumpled, canny 22-year congressman from Wisconsin, who bucked Democratic leadership to support Desert Storm, is an activist unwilling to play the role of global policeman.

Paul Lendvai

A New Crop of Dictators

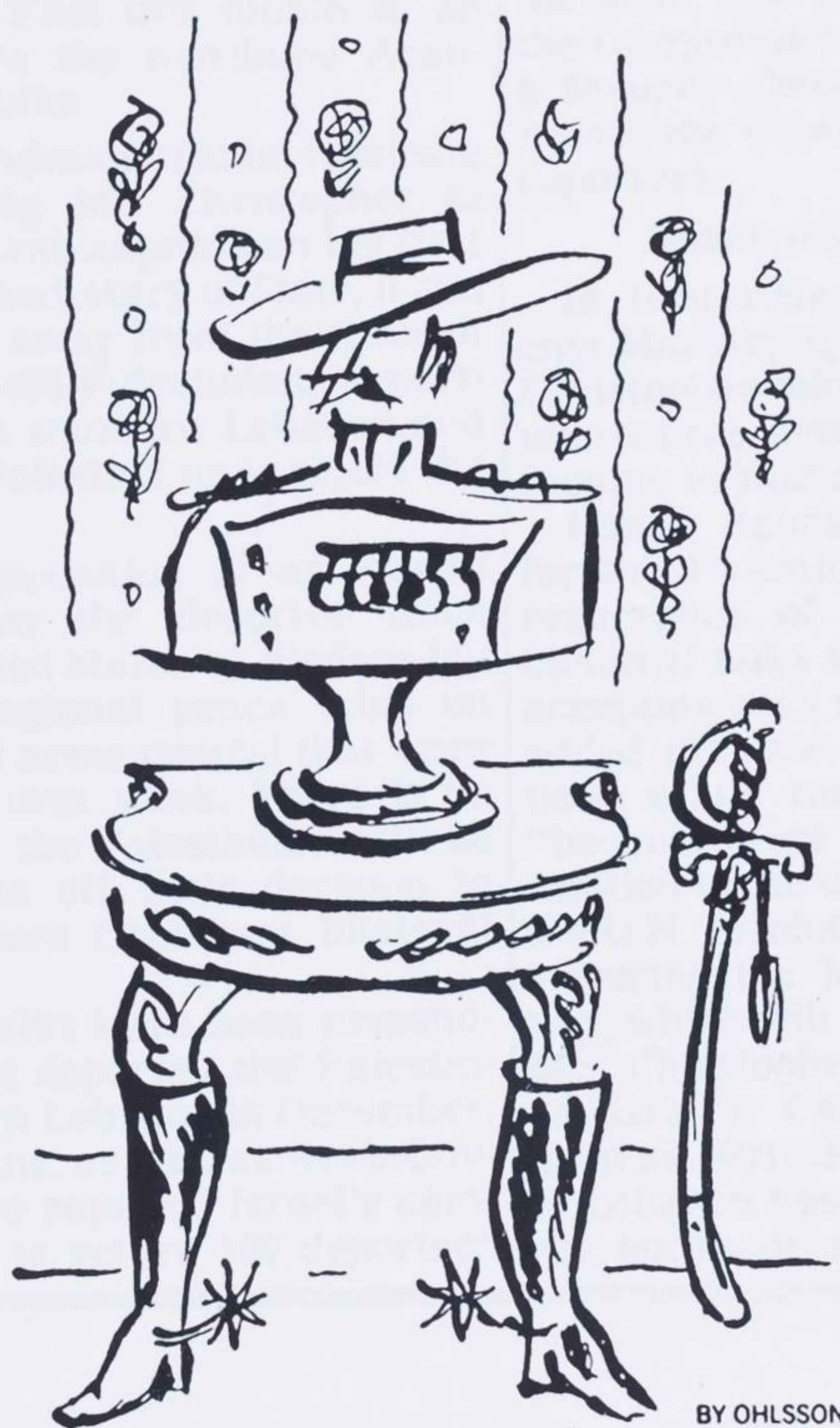
VIENNA—The Clinton administration will not only have to cope with the tragic mistakes committed by President Bush in dealing with Serbian aggression in the Balkans. Overshadowed by the human disaster in Bosnia and the bloody ethnic struggles on the rim of the erstwhile Soviet Union, a populist backlash in favor of authoritarian policies with nationalistic and racist overtones is beginning to emerge as the single most dangerous threat to what Polish Prime Minister Anna Suchocka recently called "very fragile" democracy in post-Communist Central and Eastern Europe.

Three years after the collapse of communism, the real proportions of economic and moral bankruptcy have become evident even in such countries as Hungary and the former Czechoslovakia. Though conditions vary from country to country, the unique process of transition from dictatorship to civil society, from command economy to market economy, is everywhere fraught with rising political and social tensions. The simple truth is that exaggerated hopes, often whipped up by thoughtless Western promises, have been bitterly disappointed.

Economic crisis, erosion of the political center, rising nationalistic and racist emotions and the pent-up resentment of a frustrated youth constitute a dangerous mixture. Ambitious politicians, in danger of losing power, are willing to hitch their fortunes to the prevailing winds of populism.

This is the background against which the fight over the control of the electronic media and the press from Budapest to Warsaw, from Bratislava to Zagreb, must be seen. Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his government are good at projecting an image of respectability abroad, but they have been less successful at keeping the budget deficit, inflation and unemployment under control. Antall blames the electronic media and the press for his and his government's low standing in popularity polls. After 18 months of personal attacks, orchestrated demonstrations and investigations of alleged financial mismanagement, the presidents of the radio and television systems have resigned in protest against government meddling.

Hungary's right-of-center government seeks to impose tight control over key edito-



rial appointments, programming and budget in order to safeguard "national interests." The president of television, Elmer Hankiss, an internationally renowned sociologist, and Csaba Gomer, a political scientist who is head of the radio network, have been publicly accused of giving free rein to programs "alien and hostile" to national values and reflecting "cosmopolitan liberalism."

A less publicized but similar battle for control of the media has been waged in Poland, Slovakia and Croatia. A recent amendment to the law on the electronic media adopted by a parliamentary majority in Warsaw stipulates that TV and radio programs must respect "Christian values and the religious feelings of viewers and listeners."

Serbia's strongman Slobodan Milosevic has for years maintained tight scrutiny over Radio Belgrade's programming. It is less well known, however, that President Franjo Tudjman of Croatia has also placed trusted associates in

charge of the state-controlled electronic media. Furthermore, critical news magazines and dailies in Croatia were forced out of business or subjected to government takeover bids.

Similar tendencies can be discerned in newly independent Slovakia, where Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's government has just sacked the entire management and senior editors of a critical daily in Bratislava. The previous directors of Slovak radio and television were also accused, as in Hungary, of favoring the opposition and of manipulating news.

Except for a thin layer of very compromised individuals, there has not been a total settling of scores with the previous *nomenklatura*, the former political and economic ruling class. Many media personalities and journalists have been active before and could therefore be blackmailed. The emerging network of jobs in the media, the political and economic administration tends to confirm the assessment of a cynical Hungarian journalist: "There are two kinds of former Communists: the 'good' ones, who collaborate with the government in power, and the bad ones, who side with the opposition and criticize the lack of institutional safeguards for political freedom and pluralistic media." The old and often manipulated files of the various internal security services are potent weapons in the political infighting.

There is a growing danger in East Central Europe that radical nationalists might be tempted to exploit the heightened tensions—for example, with respect to the sizable Hungarian minorities in Romania, Slovakia and Serbia—as a pretext to cover up concrete failures of the respective governments and to appear to be wielding a "strong hand." Anti-foreign and frequently antisemitic tendencies are also often masked under the more respectable cover of anti-communism and the "defense of national and Christian values." Were any East European government to violate the principles and practice of Western democracy, under whatever pretext, the new U.S. administration could play a crucial role in checking the rise of an extreme right-wing radical nationalism.

The writer is a Hungarian-born Austrian political writer and director of Radio Austria International.

Christopher Plans Mideast Trip

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 4 — Secretary of State Warren Christopher will travel to the Middle East this month in an effort to revive the moribund Arab-Israeli peace talks.

The Clinton Administration is hoping that by sending Mr. Christopher to Israel and to Arab capitals on his first foreign trip as Secretary of State, it can shift the focus away from the issue of the more than 400 Palestinians deported by Israel to southern Lebanon and persuade the Palestinians to rejoin the peace talks.

But Arab opposition to an Israeli compromise on the deportee issue forced the United States on Wednesday to postpone regional peace talks on economics and arms control that were scheduled for next week. There is no indication that the Palestinians will be willing to back off their decision to boycott the more important bilateral negotiations.

The peace talks have been suspended since Israel deported the Palestinians to southern Lebanon in December. The Palestinians, as well as Arab Governments, have rejected Israel's compromise offer to return 100 deportees

immediately and to begin an appeals process to return the rest by the end of the year. The Palestinians argue that the compromise does not comply with a Security Council resolution that demands the immediate return of all the deportees.

Resumption Seen for April

In Jerusalem today, an Israeli Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Mr. Christopher told Foreign Minister Shimon Peres that bilateral talks might resume in mid-April.

Hanan Ashrawi, the spokeswoman for the Palestinian team, said that a resumption of both multilateral and bilateral talks would depend on Israel accepting back all of the deportees. She added that she did not think negotiations would take place before April, "because there has to be an acceptable solution to the deportee issue, meaning the U.N. resolution has to be fulfilled."

During the Middle East leg of the trip, which will last from Feb. 17 to 24, Mr. Christopher is planning to visit Jerusalem, Cairo, Amman, and Damascus. Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri of Lebanon has asked him to visit Beirut, but no decision has been made.

Bosnia Mediators Urging U.S. to Join Peace Force

By PAUL LEWIS

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, Feb. 4 — The international mediators trying to solve the Balkan crisis are suggesting that the Clinton Administration contribute troops to the new peacekeeping force needed for Bosnia and Herzegovina under their peace plan as a way of putting its stamp on American policy toward the crisis, diplomats here say.

Former United States Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, who represents the United Nations, and Lord Owen, who represents the European Community, have also suggested that the Clinton Administration take a lead in asking the Security Council to set up a special tribunal to judge accusations of war crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to create a special human rights commission to monitor conditions there.

7,000 Now in Place

Lord Owen and Mr. Vance, officials here say, both feel that the Clinton Administration wants to distinguish its policy toward the crisis in the former Yugoslavia from that of the Bush Administration. They see an American contribution to the new peacekeeping force there as a way of doing this.

The plan calls for the deployment of a new peacekeeping force of about 20,000 to 25,000 troops in Bosnia and Herzegovina to monitor a cease-fire, supervise the disengagement of the various forces, check heavy weapons, keep highways open and prevent infiltration from abroad.

The roughly 7,000 British, French,

Spanish, Egyptian and Ukrainian troops now in the country could be used for these duties since they would no longer be needed for escorting relief convoys. But Mr. Vance and Lord Owen have suggested in their talks at the United Nations with representatives of a number of countries that the Clinton Administration should contribute some of the additional troops required.

In the past the Pentagon has opposed taking part in peacekeeping operations because it did not want American forces under foreign command. And officials say President Clinton might be reluctant to press for a change in this policy when he is already locked in a political struggle with the Department of Defense over future budget levels as well as admitting homosexuals into the armed forces.

An alternative approach that could meet some of the American military's objections, suggested by some officials here, might be to ask NATO to take over the operation in some way. Part of

the peacekeeping forces now deployed there.

The two mediators continued their efforts to build up support for the peace plan today but with still no sign that the Clinton Administration is ready either to endorse it or to suggest an alternative approach. Only the Croats have accepted the whole plan so far. The Serbs appear close to accepting it, but Bosnia's Muslims still hope that the United States will help them get a better deal.

The plan, which divides Bosnia and Herzegovina into 10 autonomous provinces, requires the Serbs to surrender some 39 percent of the land they have conquered in the civil war and would leave them as the dominant ethnic group in only three of these provinces, accounting for about 43 percent of the territory. Serbian forces now control about 70 percent of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Under the plan's military provisions,

An opportunity is seen for Clinton to set new policy.

all armed forces would be required to retreat into designated provinces controlled by their ethnic group. The United Nations force would monitor their heavy weapons to insure that they are not used and also to insure freedom of movement for people of every ethnic group throughout the whole territory.

The two mediators have also suggested creating a new interim central government, with a strong mechanism for enforcing human rights and reversing "ethnic cleansing" actions and to replace the present Bosnian Government of President Aliya Izetbegovic, which has lost Serbian support and has

only partial support from the Croats.

This nine-member interim government would last until the three parties have drawn up a new constitution and elected its replacement. But there is nothing to prevent the ethnic groups, which appoint three members each, from naming people serving in their present governments.

The three parties have already agreed that the new constitution will provide for "the highest level of internationally recognized human rights" in the set of general constitutional principals they have all signed.

The two mediators propose appointing four ombudsmen to hear citizens' complaints during this interim period, "with particular emphasis placed on reversing ethnic cleansing wherever it has occurred."

They say all forced sales or gifts of land, houses and property should be treated as null and void, as the Security Council has already declared. And they want citizens to be able to call for the internationally supervised redeployment of armed forces in their area if these cause them trouble.

Although the United Nations peacekeeping force will not immediately disarm the ethnic factions, the agreed statement of general constitutional principals says, "Bosnia and Herzegovina is to be progressively demilitarized under United Nations and European Community supervision."

But officials here caution that this cannot happen quickly because the 10 provinces would first need to develop their own police forces.

Many Doubts, Few Answers In Kenya Vote

By DONATELLA LORCH

Special to The New York Times

NAIROBI, Kenya, Feb. 4 — After suffering two strokes, Kenneth Matiba has trouble walking, even shaking hands. His conversation, extremely sharp one moment, often wanders into yarns about attempts against his life.

But at 60 Mr. Matiba, wealthy, forceful and stubborn, could be a new political force in Kenya if his party's showing in elections just over a month ago is a barometer of this nation's will.

Like Mr. Matiba's uncertain health, though, little is clear these days except for a strong, new political awareness in a nation that has been ruled by authoritarian governments since independence in 1963.

Came in Second

On Dec. 29, the Ford Asili Party, of which Mr. Matiba is chairman, was narrowly defeated by the ruling Kenya National African Union party. But Ford Asili managed to come out ahead of the two other opposition parties by winning more than 26 percent of votes.

While Kenya's first multiparty elections in 26 years returned President Daniel arap Moi to power, the elections did not yield clear winners or losers.

The ruling party carried the election, with 36.3 percent of the vote, but the three opposition parties won 88 of 200 seats in Parliament, and they immediately accused the Government of widespread vote-rigging. Western election observers said they did not witness any major irregularities.

Now, more than a month later, the nation's political future is far from resolved. The opposition, falling into further disarray, is seeking recounts in some elections that could take months to unravel but is failing to agree on a common leader.

The Government has shown few signs of compromise, and a tense situation grew worse last week when President Moi abruptly adjourned Parliament.

The move was legal under the Constitution, but the opposition and Western diplomats criticized the bullying. The Parliament is expected to resume meeting some time in March.

Despite the uncertainties and an all-powerful executive, there is also much optimism that the elections have ushered in an era of change.

For the first time since the President took office 14 years ago, Parliament is likely to become a strong forum for the opposition. Although the opposition leaders belong to Mr. Moi's generation, many new lawmakers are much younger lawyers and business executives who have entered politics with the

"We may not be where we want to be but we are a step ahead," said Martha Kurua, 35, a newly elected opposition member.

"Moi is a crippled person," said Mukhisa Kituyi, the executive director of Ford Kenya, another opposition party. "He has to make a deal."

An Economic Crisis

The economy is very much at stake. The country faces a soaring budget deficit, has few mineral resources and suffers 40 percent inflation. Aid from Western countries was suspended more than year ago to protest Mr. Moi's increasingly authoritarian hand, costing Kenya nearly \$360 million so far.

And the question still remains as to how to solve Kenya's problems.

To many, Mr. Matiba is a hero, a former Cabinet minister under Mr. Moi who survived the two strokes without medical attention while being detained under Mr. Moi's orders.

In his office, Mr. Matiba displays a portrait of the President, whom he once considered a friend. But his story has come to symbolize the emerging battle of wills and the early symptoms of a leadership crisis.

"Moi will never rule Kenya again," Mr. Matiba said. "He has tried to create the impression that he is under control, but he is not wanted by anybody."

Mr. Matiba has stubbornly remained chairman of Ford Asili, despite apparently deteriorating health. But he is losing much of his backing, and his party has been attacked by both opposition groups and the Government.

"Now what will bring down Moi," said Gitobu Imanyara, the secretary general of Ford Kenya, "is not the activities of the opposition parties but the economic situation. But who will be strong enough to take over?"

Turkey Asserts Islamic Ring That Killed 3 Has Iran Links

ANKARA, Turkey, Feb. 4 (Reuters) — The Government of Turkey said today that an Islamic fundamentalist death ring with links to Iran had carried out three political killings, but it stopped short of directly accusing the Teheran Government of responsibility.

Interior Minister Ismet Sezgin said in Istanbul that the police had arrested 19 members of a group called Islamic Action. They have been charged with killing two Turkish pro-secular writers and an Iranian dissident.

Mr. Sezgin said that the group had been trained in Iran and that three of its leaders were believed to have taken refuge there.

Iranian leaders have repeatedly denied any connection with such activities in Turkey or elsewhere.

Angola, to Bolster Economy, Decrees a Deep Devaluation

LUANDA, Angola, Feb. 4 (AP) — The Government began a drastic currency devaluation today and plans to raise prices to rescue an economy battered by renewed civil war.

Radio and television broadcasts warned that the police would crack down against any unrest resulting from steep rises in prices for gasoline, electricity and public transportation.

The value of the kwanza was set at 7,000 to the dollar, 14 percent of its previous level; on the black market, the kwanza is even weaker, about 9,000 to the dollar. As an example of how prices are likely to rise, the Finance Ministry said a one-hour flight on the state airline that cost \$4.50 probably will go to \$170 on Monday.

A peace accord was signed in 1991 ending a 16-year civil war. But the rebel group Unita, defeated in elections in September, rejected the results as fraudulent and went back to war. Rebels are said to control about 75 percent of Angola, an oil-producing nation with 8.8 million people.

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Lord Owen's Argument

Lord Owen got a bristling reception when he came to New York this week to sell his and Cyrus Vance's peace plan for Bosnia. There was criticism from the Clinton Administration, Congress, the press. I decided to hear his case for the plan.

Denying suggestions that he and Mr. Vance were soft on Serbian aggression, Lord Owen said in an interview that he was "seething" about the situation before the European Community appointed him as mediator last summer. He wrote to Prime Minister John Major comparing what was going on in Bosnia to Nazi atrocities and urging him to "consider using air power."

"I have not lost my anger at 'ethnic cleansing,'" he said. But the situation on the ground has changed, he argued, and many Americans are not aware of it.

"The opportunity to use force was last summer," he said, "when Bill Clinton spoke of it. Few U.N. troops were in Bosnia, and there was no food crisis. It might have been possible to tilt the balance of the war by air strikes."

"But then Britain, France and Spain committed troops to the U.N. for humanitarian purposes, to get supplies to civilians through the winter. And that is incompatible with military intervention." The Serbs would respond to intervention by blocking relief convoys and shooting down the slow supply planes.

The Vance-Owen plan calls for Bosnia to be divided into 10 semi-autonomous provinces, three each with a Serbian, Croatian and Muslim majority, one mixed.

"Bosnia," Lord Owen said, "can never be a state in which the largest population group, the Muslims, have normal democratic powers. It would simply not be accepted."

"So there are really just two options: partition, or to construct something where the three peoples could live together under a system in which there has to be consensus on big issues."

Some call partition the "realpolitik" solution, he said: just letting the Serbs keep the 70 percent of Bosnia they have seized. (The Vance-Owen plan would make Serbs dominant in provinces with 43 percent of the land.)

"Partition would not end the war," Lord Owen said, "because the Muslims will continue to fight. And Cyrus Vance and I never accepted that we could not, over time, reverse 'ethnic cleansing.' So we have tried to stitch Bosnia back together, rejecting partition."

"It can only be solved by the idea of autonomy within the state. This is a deep issue now for the world. Nations no longer match international boundaries. There are nations within states. We have to live with that."

In Bosnia, he said, "you've got to give the different peoples a sense of security." To that end, a draft constitution protects minority rights.

But how could you expect people with such hatred to live in peace in a complicated political structure? I asked. Lord Owen said that would require a significant international commitment, including American ground troops, in a U.N. operation with its role shifted from humanitarian to peacekeeping.

"The U.S. would not make the largest contribution," he said. "But especially if you could have NATO play a part, it would send a profound message to Serbs, Croats and Muslims." He added that air power would have a role in enforcing the peace.

"It would be an immense miracle to keep Bosnia together if we stitch it together," Lord Owen admitted. He said that was why the Vance-Owen map broke up the corridor Serbs

The case for a peace plan.

wanted across northern Bosnia to attach their territory to Serbia.

What about the Serbian leaders who have been accused of war crimes? I asked. Wouldn't the peace plan implicitly give them amnesty?

"There can be no amnesty for war criminals," Lord Owen said. "I believe the moral order of this world is marred if those who are guilty of war crimes are not brought to justice. I urged the five permanent members of the Security Council to have it set up an international criminal court, if not for all countries then at least for Yugoslavia."

I left the meeting with no doubt of Lord Owen's strong belief that his and Mr. Vance's proposal makes the best of cruel realities. But I remain skeptical that its highly sophisticated political design is workable, or that the Bosnian Serbs will give up their aim of attachment to Serbia. In any event, Lord Owen should not believe that President Clinton will put pressure on the victims, the Muslims, to accept the plan. □

Zaire Opposition Seeks Foreign Troops to Restore Order;

Capital Is Calm but Nervous

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

Special to The New York Times

KINSHASA, Zaire, Feb. 4 — Adding a potentially explosive element to Zaire's political crisis, Prime Minister Étienne Tshisekedi called today for foreign military intervention to help restore order after a week of civil disorders.

"What we need is foreign pressure, whatever it is, be it moral or physical," Mr. Tshisekedi said at a news conference, his first public appearance since marauding soldiers went on a rampage a week ago.

He said he had made the appeal because the Zairian Army "does not respect the rule of law."

Mr. Tshisekedi's remarks came as diplomats from France, Belgium and the United States, Zaire's main creditors, held talks in Brussels to discuss ways of forcing President Mobutu Sese Seko to yield virtually all control over the Government to the Prime Minister.

President Is Intransigent

But President Mobutu reacted angrily to the three nations' appeal Wednesday that he step aside, telling a French news agency that Zaire's political imbroglio was mostly a result of bungling by Mr. Tshisekedi and other opposition leaders. His creditors, the

President said, were trying to punish the "fire brigade" while allowing "arsonists to go free."

African and Western diplomats say the friction between Mr. Mobutu and Mr. Tshisekedi has reached a stalemate. "Neither side has shown any willingness to compromise," said one African diplomat. "They would rather see this country go up in flames than appear to be the first ones to blink."

In a statement today, the Union for Democracy and Social Progress, Zaire's biggest and most influential opposition group, said Mr. Mobutu should be impeached for "high treason." The group, which is led by Mr. Tshisekedi, said the President had committed "barbaric acts" in order to "cling to power by force."

Inertia and Impotence

Left unsaid was the fact that Mr. Mobutu has shown absolutely no inclination to yield, and Mr. Tshisekedi has no power to make him do so. Also unmentioned is that the President is in tight control of the armed forces and has no qualms about using them.

Moreover, African and Western diplomats said, although Zaire's creditors seem eager to get rid of Mr. Mobutu, no one appears ready to do so by force. Rather, the Western nations are be-

lieved to be more likely to use sanctions and other economic tools.

Until now, the creditors had urged Mr. Mobutu and the opposition to accommodate each other in a power-sharing arrangement; Mr. Tshisekedi's selection was supposed to be part of that process.

The current crisis, the most serious threat to President Mobutu in decades, began last Thursday when soldiers rioted after being paid in new high-denomination bank notes that were is-

Can Mobutu, who controls the Army, be ousted?

sued by the President but outlawed by Mr. Tshisekedi and rejected by traders. They closed Kinshasa's airport and the river port on the Congo, and looted stores and private houses. As the pillaging and unrest spread, France and Belgium flew in hundreds of troops to evacuate their citizens from Zaire, which was once the Belgian Congo.

Today the streets were calm, but

vast segments of the economy have shut down. Not a single gas station, for instance, was operating in central Kinshasa. Nor, it seems, were any pharmacies open. Banks have been closed for months.

In the few stalls open in the central market, the price of a sack of manioc, Zaire's staple food, has doubled in less than a week. At hospitals, supplies are depleted and doctors admitting only emergency cases.

Mr. Tshisekedi said President Mobutu was behaving as if Zaire's provisional Parliament did not exist.

"He is resisting what the people want and the pro-democracy conference decided, which is change for the country," the Prime Minister said.

"I'm not prepared to take orders from somebody whose political record for the last 28 years is a clear disaster. President Mobutu did not appoint me and he cannot get rid of me."

Evaluating Mobutu

Special to The New York Times

BRUSSELS, Feb. 4 — Diplomats from the United States, France and Belgium today discussed their options if President Mobutu does not cede power.

The diplomats refused to comment on their five-and-a-half-hour meeting, but participants said options included seizing Mr. Mobutu's assets, expelling his diplomats and limiting the travel of Zairian officials.

All three countries, and the European Community's development fund, have suspended aid to Zaire because of Mr. Mobutu's actions.

Belgium held firm today to its decision to impound 14.5 metric tons of freshly printed five-million-zaire banknotes that Mr. Mobutu's forces had sought to fly by chartered airplane from a provincial field at Ostend to his embattled capital.

The bills, which feature Mr. Mobutu's picture and are supposedly worth \$2 each, were printed by Harrison & Son of Britain. President Mobutu's previous printers, Gieseck & Devrient of Germany, canceled his account on the ground that he was not creditworthy, apparently fearing they would be paid with the same bills they were printing.

There were also continued demonstrations today outside the Zaire Embassy here. Some demonstrators laid flowers on the pavement to commemorate the victims of the violence in Zaire, while others threw eggs against the facade.

By David L. Boren
and Dennis DeConcini

WASHINGTON
Two well-connected arms merchants have a long lunch in a foreign capital. As they wait for the check, Merchant X turns to Merchant Y and says, "I'm confident that the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro in Rome knew about the illegal loans to Iraq from its Atlanta branch."

Merchant Y smiles and responds, "Really?"

Merchant X's comment eventually reaches a U.S. intelligence agency. The agency, however, never distributes the report, because it is suggested that Merchant X had too much wine at lunch and that his statement was speculative.

A year later, the Justice Department is preparing a criminal case against Christopher P. Drogoul, manager of B.N.L.'s Atlanta branch, for bank fraud. Mr. Drogoul is accused of making the illegal loans to Iraq in exchange for bribes. The Justice Department wants to determine whether Mr. Drogoul acted alone or with the consent of superiors in Rome.

The Justice Department requests all information from U.S. intelligence relating to B.N.L., information that goes beyond Merchant X's comment and extends to several reports gathered from more than one source. Should this evidence reach the Justice Department, the trial judge and the defense? Should the Justice Department have made a more serious effort to follow these leads by sending investigators to Rome?

These are among the many questions raised by a staff report to be released today by the Senate Intelligence Committee. The report uses B.N.L. as a case study of fundamental problems in the relationship between intelligence and law enforcement.

The committee inquiry on B.N.L. began last fall when it appeared that the C.I.A., acting under pressure from the Justice Department, might have withheld information from Marvin Shoob, the Federal judge in Atlanta who presided over the B.N.L. case. Judge Shoob, who granted Mr. Drogoul's motion to set aside his guilty plea, concluded that Bush Adminis-

Fresh Questions on Iraqgate

tration officials had "shaped" the Drogoul case and that the C.I.A. had not cooperated with requests for information.

While the Senate staff investigation did not produce direct evidence of intent to mislead, it did reveal a disconnect between law enforcement and intelligence, combined in some instances with serious errors in judgment. All this resulted in erratic intelligence reporting; failure to provide relevant documents to prosecutors and the court in a timely fashion; mishandling of classified information in court, and, ultimately, the release of a highly misleading document to the public and the court.

The document, a letter sent on Sept. 17, 1992 from the C.I.A. to Federal prosecutors in Atlanta, suggested that the agency was aware only of "publicly available information" indicating B.N.L.-Rome's knowledge of illegal activities. In fact, the C.I.A. had other reports of Rome's knowledge that it kept secret.

Criminal activity in the U.S. increasingly has foreign links. Consequently, more and more information gathered by U.S. intelligence services, whose activities are supposed to stop at our borders, relates to domestic prosecutions. We need to look at

A case study
in how not
to conduct
an investigation.

whether the C.I.A. and other intelligence agencies should be expressly directed to gather evidence abroad for U.S. trials. Another international bank scandal, B.C.C.I., showed that our intelligence agents also need better training in recognizing evidence of a crime when they see it.

David L. Boren, Democrat of Oklahoma, is former chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee. Dennis DeConcini, Democrat of Arizona, is the

Similarly, agents need to understand better how their information can be used in court. Based on advice from an F.B.I. agent, C.I.A. officials reviewing B.N.L. reports came to believe that such information could be given to the defense only if it had been formally distributed outside the agency. This conclusion influenced the C.I.A.'s decision not to send out the reports.

Even first-year law students know that the Supreme Court, in *Brady v. Maryland*, held that prosecutors are compelled by the Constitution to disclose all evidence in the Government's possession that is favorable to the defendant. This principle applies whether or not the information has been sent by one agency to another.

Worse, this legal error was mirrored by the C.I.A.'s file retrieval process. The agency keeps non-disseminated reports out of its main files. When the Justice Department asked for all intelligence reports on B.N.L., only the main files were searched. Reports that hadn't been

distributed did not surface until the committee probe.

Meanwhile, the Justice Department failed to undertake a serious review of the intelligence it received. Lawyers for the department in Washington assumed that Atlanta prosecutors were determining whether the Government had information helpful to the defense. Prosecutors in Atlanta thought the Washington lawyers were in charge of reviewing the intelligence reports.

Uninformed C.I.A. analysis and haphazard coordination of materials created additional problems. Analysts for the C.I.A. twice concluded in writing that senior bank officials in Rome knew of Mr. Drogoul's activities, despite the fact that the prosecution in Atlanta was proceeding on precisely the opposite conclusion. Though the C.I.A. conclusions were sent out — on one occasion to Representative Henry Gonzalez, Democrat of Texas — they were not offered to the Justice Department. When they surfaced in the midst of the Drogoul sentencing hearings in September, department officials were thrown into a panic.

Institutional breakdowns, however, cannot fully explain the Sept. 17 C.I.A. letter. Agency officials, following Justice Department advice, released the letter even though they had serious concerns about its potential for misleading the public. This incident reflects poorly on the C.I.A. and the Justice Department.

The Clinton Administration will likely revisit accusations of criminal conduct in the Iraq affair. Whether or not it does, the Administration should not overlook the compelling need to clarify the relationship between the intelligence and law enforcement agencies. Only then can we hope to avoid the pitfalls demonstrated by the B.N.L. case. □

FINANCIAL TIMES

Christopher to visit Mideast this month

By George Graham

MR WARREN CHRISTOPHER, the US secretary of state, will travel to the Middle East in two weeks' time, in an attempt to revive the stalled negotiations between Israel, its Arab neighbours and the Palestinians.

"I think we see the resumption of the peace process at an early date," he said.

Multilateral talks, which had been scheduled to begin next week in Rome and Washington, were formally postponed this week because of the continuing dispute over Israel's deportation of 415 Palestinians suspected by Israel of

links to the Hamas terrorist movement.

Mr Christopher's efforts to broker a solution to the deportation crisis resulted in Israel's agreement this week to take back 100 of the Palestinians who are now languishing in no-man's-land between Israel and Lebanon.

Israel's decision was enough to ensure US support against any UN attempt to impose sanctions, but it has not been enough to calm Palestinian anger at the deportations.

President Bill Clinton said yesterday that the dispatch of Mr Christopher to the Middle East, for his first foreign trip since he took office last month, indi-

cated the priority that the new US administration attaches to peace-making in the region.

"This is a historic moment. It can slip away all too easily. But, if we seize the opportunity, we can begin now to construct a peaceful Middle East," Mr Clinton said.

Mr Christopher is expected to meet Mr Shimon Peres, Israeli foreign minister, in Washington before leaving for the Middle East, and is expected to arrive in Israel on February 17.

He will remain in the region - visiting Jordan, Syria, Egypt and possibly Lebanon - until February 24, and then

stop in Europe on his way home.

Reuter adds from Jerusalem: An Israeli foreign ministry official said Mr Christopher had indicated yesterday to the foreign minister that the Middle East peace talks might resume in mid-April.

But Mrs Hanan Ashrawi, Palestinian spokeswoman, said a resumption of multilateral and bilateral negotiations would depend on Israel accepting back all of the 415 Palestinians. "We don't think [direct] negotiations will take place before April because there has to be an acceptable solution to the deportee issue, meaning the UN resolution has to be fulfilled," she said.

Clinton seeks further

By George Graham
in Washington

THE CLINTON administration is looking for further cuts in US defence spending, despite warnings that it may prove difficult even to achieve the savings already projected by the Bush administration.

Defence Department officials have been asked to find savings of about \$10bn from the \$280.5bn national defence budget for the 1994 fiscal year, submitted by President George Bush shortly before he left office last month.

Press reports said the army, navy and air force would each be asked for \$2.5bn-\$3bn in savings on the Bush budget which, although \$6bn higher than last year's defence budget, represented a drop in inflation-adjusted terms.

These cuts are expected to require reductions in troops beyond the levels planned by Mr Bush.

Additional savings were expected from the strategic defence initiative, which the administration is expected to strip of the ambitious, space-based components favoured by the Bush and Reagan administrations and trim to a more limited, ground-based defensive system against missile attacks.

President Bill Clinton has promised to cut \$60bn from the defence budget over five years, but Mr Les Aspin, defence secretary, has warned that the Bush budget baselines already assume substantial savings that may be difficult to achieve and include plans for big weapons systems that have not had

defence cuts

vices committee, has sounded even more ominous, cautioning that the department may have overstated the savings from a review of its management practices by as much as \$50bn, and that the Bush plans for a 450-ship navy are unworkable on the money currently budgeted.

Congressman John Murtha,

adequate funds allocated to them over the long term.

Mr Aspin is also expected to add funds for some programmes in his budget, especially in the field of helping defence industries convert to civil operations.

Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Senate armed services committee, has also warned that defence savings may prove hard to find unless the US scales down overseas operations such as its present involvement in Somalia.

The defence secretary has

said, however, that the new administration remains committed to finding the \$60bn cuts Mr Clinton promised over a five-year period, even if most of the reductions materialise later in that period.

Mr Clinton is expected to submit his budget to Congress by March 23.

Resignation damages Algeria

By Francis Ghilès

THE resignation of Algeria's foreign minister, Mr Lakhdar Brahimi, is a considerable blow to the international reputation of the government of Prime Minister Belaïd Abdessalam.

He is one of the Arab world's most respected diplomats. In 1989 he brokered the Taif agreement that brought a measure of peace to Lebanon. His

departure late on Wednesday underlines the prime minister's desire for unchallenged authority and his unwillingness to allow even a long-standing political friend any great authority over his own department.

The daily Algerian newspaper El Watan said yesterday that the cabinet reshuffle which followed Mr Brahimi's resignation suggests Mr Abdes-

salam has no intention of negotiating with other political forces.

The embattled prime minister now faces two challenges. A year after declaring war on Islamic fundamentalist groups, the security forces are still mired in bloody clashes.

The second challenge is economic. The budget deficit is set to double this year to AD168.3bn (£5.2bn).

UN chief's trip to Cambodia off

MR Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN secretary-general, has cancelled a visit to Cambodia that he was due to begin next week, apparently because of the continuing conflict there, officials disclosed last night. However, his plan to make an official trip to Japan remains unchanged, Michael Littlejohns writes from the United Nations in New York.

In a report to the UN Security Council on January 25, the secretary-general announced his intention to go to Phnom Penh "to review the situation personally and study what further measures might be taken usefully to reinforce the peace process."

Mr Yasushi Akashi, head of the UN operation in Cambodia, now may be expected to go to Tokyo next week to brief Mr Boutros Ghali on the situation, following widespread ceasefire violations.

Mr Boutros Ghali is expected to be sounded out by the Japanese government on its prospects of a permanent seat in the Security Council, an idea that has been greeted with considerable coolness by Britain and France, although it appears to have the support of the US.

Talks on forcing Mobutu out

ZAIRE'S three main donor states, the US, Belgium and France, yesterday discussed options for forcing Zairean President Mobutu Sese Seko to end his 27-year monopoly on government and transfer "all powers" to his rival, Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi, agencies report from Brussels.

Mr Herman Cohen, US assistant secretary of state, and his French and Belgian counterparts, Mr Jean de la Sablière and Mr Wilfried Jaenen, met for more than five hours.

Diplomats said they discussed several possibilities, including the freezing of Mr Mobutu's assets in foreign countries, the expulsion of his ambassadors and fewer visas for his officials.

Diplomats said the three countries would co-ordinate action toward Zaire during a mid-February meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington.

The three countries said on Wednesday that the recent bloody riots and reprisals in the capital, Kinshasa, which resulted in hundreds of deaths, were due to Mr Mobutu's refusal to co-operate with Mr Tshisekedi's transitional government or to yield any authority.

Washington announces G7 meeting

By Michael Prowse in
Washington and David
Gardner in Brussels

THE Clinton administration last night signalled a desire for more effective global co-ordination of economic policies by announcing a meeting in Europe of ministers from the Group of Seven industrial countries and saying that Mr Lloyd Bentsen, treasury secretary, would attend.

The decision to hold a G7 meeting earlier than expected in March, unveiled by a Treasury official, is a sign of the importance attached by the White House to promotion of faster growth worldwide.

Momentum has been building for a G7 meeting, including a call on Monday from Mr Jacques Delors, European Commission president, for a spring summit of the G7 to co-ordinate macroeconomic policy.

Yesterday Mr Delors made an impassioned plea for vigorous leadership to relaunch world economic growth, combined with a warning that if the EC could not co-ordinate policy with the US it would have to stand up to it.

The meeting of G7 ministers will give Mr Bentsen an early opportunity to get acquainted with his counterparts in other G7 countries. The US Treasury said there would be no formal agenda or communiqué.

However, Mr Bentsen is certain to discuss ways of stimulating growth and stabilising European currencies. The US administration is acutely aware that recessionary forces abroad could depress US exports and weaken what looks to be a promising domestic recovery.

Since his nomination as treasury secretary, Mr Bentsen has repeatedly stated his determination to "reinvigorate" the G7 consultation process. G7 finance ministers and central bankers will meet again in Washington in late April when the International Monetary

their regular spring meeting.

Mr Delors' remarks come amid worsening relations with the US after Washington's imposition of anti-dumping duties on European steel, and threat to block EC bids for US public procurement contracts.

"Over the last couple of years there has been a total lack of world leadership: a drop in co-operation between the G7, a drop in co-operation between the [EC] member states," he told a European Socialist conference on jobs and growth.

The result was punishing interest rates, mayhem on the currency markets, and no macroeconomic co-ordination. "The speculators are virtually running things," he said.

He denounced the US's unilateral imposition of trade sanctions on the EC. He referred angrily to what he called President Bill Clinton's "need to preen in front of the mirror to make sure that his muscles are still firm", and said that if Europe allowed itself to be trampled on by Washington's trade policy, "I disavow that Europe".

Mr Delors told the conference that "classic models of growth are not sufficient to produce jobs", and that "the Community cannot survive without an industrial policy".

In his wide-ranging, unscripted remarks, Mr Delors said the EC should also reappraise whether it could let itself be undercut by competitors with sweat-shop labour conditions. "We should distinguish... between those [countries] which share the fruits of their trade and those which simply exploit their workers."

Behind this remark, senior EC officials are watching with intense interest to see if the Clinton administration insists that Mexico comes to agreements with the US and Canada on environmental standards and working conditions, as part of the North American

Output per hour rising rapidly in service sector

US productivity shows best gains in 20 years

By Michael Prowse
in Washington

IT WILL not be long before people start talking about a "productivity miracle" in the US.

Figures released yesterday confirmed that output per hour in non-farm businesses is growing at its fastest rate since 1972. Productivity rose at an annual rate of 4 per cent in the fourth quarter of last year and by 2.7 per cent in 1992 as a whole.

This represents a sharp turnaround after five years in which productivity growth averaged about 0.5 per cent a year.

In a recent congressional testimony, Mr Alan Greenspan, the Federal Reserve chairman, claimed the post-recession US economy was a "different animal". If recent productivity gains were sustained, he said, the potential long-term growth rate might be substantially higher than the 2 per cent to 2.5 per cent assumed by most analysts.

Mr Greenspan said the reasons for faster productivity growth were not fully understood but it probably reflected "accelerating advances in computer software and applications" that were making possible big gains in efficiency in all sectors of the economy. Capital investment in

computer technology has soared in recent quarters.

The most encouraging aspect of yesterday's figures was the confirmation that productivity is now rising rapidly in service-sector companies (everything from banking and insurance to retailing and tourism), which account for about three quarters of economic activity.

Manufacturing productivity grew at an annual rate of 3.8 per cent in the fourth quarter, slightly slower than overall productivity, implying that service industries, if anything, are improving their efficiency even faster than manufacturers.

This is a new development. In the 1980s, US manufacturing productivity rose rapidly as companies came to terms with tougher global competition. Figures from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, for example, indicate that US manufacturing productivity grew by about 55 per cent between 1980 and 1991 compared with gains of less than 40 per cent in Japan and Germany.

But inefficiency in the US service sector meant that overall productivity growth was only about a third of the average 1.5 per cent a year pace in the industrialised world as a whole.

Better productivity figures also augur well for inflation because the growth of labour costs per unit of output is falling rapidly. Unit labour costs rose at an annual rate of 0.6 per cent in the fourth quarter and by 0.7 per cent in the same period in 1991, the smallest annual rise since the mid 1960s. If sustained, such low increases in unit labour costs could result in a fall in inflation below the consensus forecast of 2.5 to 3 per cent this year.

The surge in productivity growth explains a hitherto puzzling feature of the current recovery: the juxtaposition of extremely optimistic news on economic growth with depressing reports of big job cuts at leading blue chip companies.

For the first time since the second world war, the US is experiencing a "jobless recovery". Nearly all the growth of gross domestic product has reflected gains in productivity rather than rises in employment, which has barely moved since the end of the recession nearly two years ago.

Analysts are keenly awaiting today's employment figures for January in the hope they will show the beginnings of a revival in job creation. But the chances are the US will have to learn to love productivity-led growth.

US rejects imposition of Bosnia plan

By Robert Mauthner
in New York

THE US will support the plan for a Bosnian peace settlement proposed by international mediators Mr Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, if it is accepted by all the warring parties. But it will reject any attempt to impose it on the Bosnian Moslems if they continue to reject it, the White House said yesterday.

However, White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said President Bill Clinton still intended to put forward his own proposals, which would be aimed at making a peace agreement more acceptable to Moslems.

Though it is clear the Clinton administration has not yet clarified its policy on Bosnia and there are evidently considerable differences of opinion among the president's advisers on how to handle the problem, the prevailing view in Washington appears to be that the Moslems are getting a bad deal.

Most US officials appear to be convinced that the Moslems will never agree to a map dividing Bosnia into 10 semi-autonomous provinces because they consider that these endorse, at least some of the effects of the Serbs' policy of so-called ethnic cleansing. That map has, so far, been endorsed only by the Bosnian Croats.

Mr Vance and Lord Owen continue to deny vigorously that the Moslems come off second best in their plan. Though the mediators admit that it is impossible to return to the pre-conflict situation, they emphasise that the Serbs will have to give up as much as 39 per cent of the territory they at present occupy.

They also stress that they have gone out of their way to meet Moslem demands that Bosnia should continue to have a central government, which will be responsible for foreign affairs and will be able to veto any move by the Serb provinces to join up with a greater Serbia.

The mediators further point

out that their peace plan already has the support of all the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, including Russia and China and the European Community.

However, they would be very happy to endorse any alternative proposals from the US which were acceptable to all the warring parties and the Security Council.

Reuter adds from Zagreb: The Croatian government and rebel Serbs agreed yesterday to talks at the UN in New York to stop renewed fighting in Croatia's Serb-held Krajina region, said Mr Cedric Thornberry, deputy chief of the UN's military peacekeeping mission in former Yugoslavia.

Yeltsin accuses central bank of adventurism

By Leyla Boulton in Moscow

RUSSIAN President Boris Yeltsin yesterday assailed his central bank chairman and economics minister, accusing them of pursuing reckless policies. Mr Boris Fyodorov, the deputy prime minister and new financial overlord, joined the attack with a warning that the country was "at the gates of hyperinflation".

Mr Fyodorov is planning a public showdown if he fails to obtain the agreement of Mr Viktor Gerashchenko, the central bank chairman, on a tough stabilisation policy to stave off hyperinflation. Accusing his predecessor, Mr Yegor Gaidar, of not having a financial policy, he is also trying to get the government to focus on reining in spending and restructuring the economy.

In an apparent show of support for his deputy prime minister, Mr Yeltsin accused the central bank of "a most crude mistake, adventurism" in issuing Rbs3 trillion in cheap credit to state-owned enterprises.

"The consequences of this financial injection will be felt through the currency year," he was quoted as saying.

The Belarus parliament ratified the Start I treaty yesterday, leaving Ukraine the only former Soviet republic still considering the pact, AP reports from Minsk.

The Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and its protocols require Belarus to surrender all 81 SS-25 single-warhead missiles it inherited from the former Soviet nuclear arsenal.

The parliaments of Russia and Kazakhstan ratified Start I last year. The treaty was signed in 1991 by former US and Soviet Presidents George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev.

If ratified by Ukraine, the treaty would leave Russia as the only one of the four with nuclear weapons. It also would make deep cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the US and Russia.

After a stormy cabinet meeting at which Mr Yeltsin accused Mr Andrei Nechayev, the economics minister, of doing nothing about industrial restructuring, the minister promised the government would now take tough action on all fronts.

"We understand the situation better. The lessons [of the past year] have not been lost

on us," Mr Nechayev said, stating that many of the Gaidar government's radical policies had only been "words" or had been buried by subsequent compromises. He also said people now "understood that inflation can be really dangerous. It's like radiation, it's not immediately visible but extremely destructive".

With inflation at 30 per cent in January (compared to the 50 per cent monthly benchmark for hyperinflation), he said the government also had to "restrain itself" and take the blame for at least Rbs1 trillion in credits issued to agriculture.

Pending implementation of a bankruptcy law, the government would also publish embarrassing studies of "potentially bankrupt" enterprises as a warning to others. He said that the most spheres most vulnerable to closure or reorganisation were the coal industry, agriculture, and machine-building, which he described as "uncompetitive".

To increase government revenues and preserve the country's economic integrity, he said the government would be reviewing special tax and other benefits given to individual regions and enterprises.

Portuguese gas talks collapse

By Peter Wise in Lisbon and William Dawkins in Paris

TWO YEARS of negotiations on an Es103bn (\$704m) project to pipe natural gas into Portugal have collapsed.

The deadlock calls into question the Lisbon government's plan to introduce natural gas by 1995 as an alternative to coal and oil. Portugal is the only European Community country without a natural gas supply system.

The collapse also leaves a question mark over a 900MW plant powered by natural gas and being constructed in Portugal by a Siemens-led consortium, and over plans for another, similar plant to be built by 2001. Also, plans to buy liquefied natural gas (LNG) from Algeria will almost certainly be scrapped.

The government called off talks between Natgas, an international consortium led by Gaz de France (GDF) and Electricidade de Portugal (EDP), Portugal's power company, after the two had failed to agree on prices and risk-sharing.

"We would rather have no deal than a bad deal," Mr Luis Pereira, Portugal's energy secretary of state, said. He blamed GDF, saying it had expected EDP to take on exaggerated risks. It had insisted on too high a demand price for fixed costs and had undermined the talks by reviving already agreed questions close to negotiating deadlines.

GDF refused to comment in detail yesterday, beyond stressing that it was up to Natgas to respond. "Gaz de France, like all the partners, remains determined to bring off this project, which it estimates to be viable, if only the points in dispute can be overcome," said the group.

Natgas's largest shareholder is Gas de Portugal, the local gas distribution group, with 25 per cent, followed by GDF (23 per cent), Total (13 per cent), Ruhrgas (13 per cent), the Portuguese government (10 per cent), and two Portuguese companies with 8 per cent each. But GDF led the negotiations and was to be industrial operator, said an official of the French group.

Lisbon is now studying alternatives.

"We are not giving up on natural gas," said Mr Pereira. "It is our alternative fuel for the future."

Greece softens stance on Macedonia

GREECE has adopted a new position on recognising the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, saying the issue of its name should be resolved through international arbitration and Athens would abide by any decision, Reuter reports from Athens.

Athens had maintained it would never recognise the former Yugoslav republic under the name Macedonia, arguing it implied territorial threats against Greece's own Macedonian region.

It blocked the republic's recognition by the European Community.

Mr Vassilis Maginas, government spokesman, describing it as "a new position of the government", confirmed statements to Bulgarian television on Wednesday by Mr Constantine Mitsotakis, the Greek prime minister, who said Athens was willing to accept any decision taken through international arbitration.

The idea of arbitration between Greece and Macedonia was first suggested by France in January. Athens then said it was willing to discuss the proposal but Macedonia turned it down.

Meanwhile, Mr Branko Crvenkovski, Macedonian prime minister, said that United Nations sanctions against the rump Yugoslavia and the dispute with Greece are raising tensions and threatening the economy of his country.

"The block by Greece and by the United Nations against Serbia and Montenegro has cost Macedonia \$1.5bn," Mr Crvenkovski said during a visit to Rome yesterday.

They marched them up to the top of the hill, and they marched them down again.

Two years ago, the soldiers of the 1st Battalion, the Staffordshire Regiment, were camped out in Saudi Arabia, about to join the land campaign to liberate Kuwait. In April 1991, they returned to Fallingbowl in northern Germany. In November they moved to England. The following April they left their families again for a six-month tour in County Fermanagh, Ulster.

Now back in Chester, at full strength of 600, they were waiting to be merged in the autumn with the Cheshire Regiment when it returns from Bosnia, with another emergency tour looming eight months later.

That is what is meant by "overstretch" in Britain's army. Soldiers are supposed to get at least two years between emergency assignments. They have been getting about 15 months.

The Staffords were among four regiments saved this week from amalgamation. In 1991, they were unexpectedly included on the merger list. The reprieve came just as much out of the blue.

Mr Malcolm Rifkind, defence secretary, made his move as pressure was building up in Westminster for a more drastic scaling-down of army cuts. The all-party Commons defence committee was ready to launch a report calling for all the measures to be put on hold.

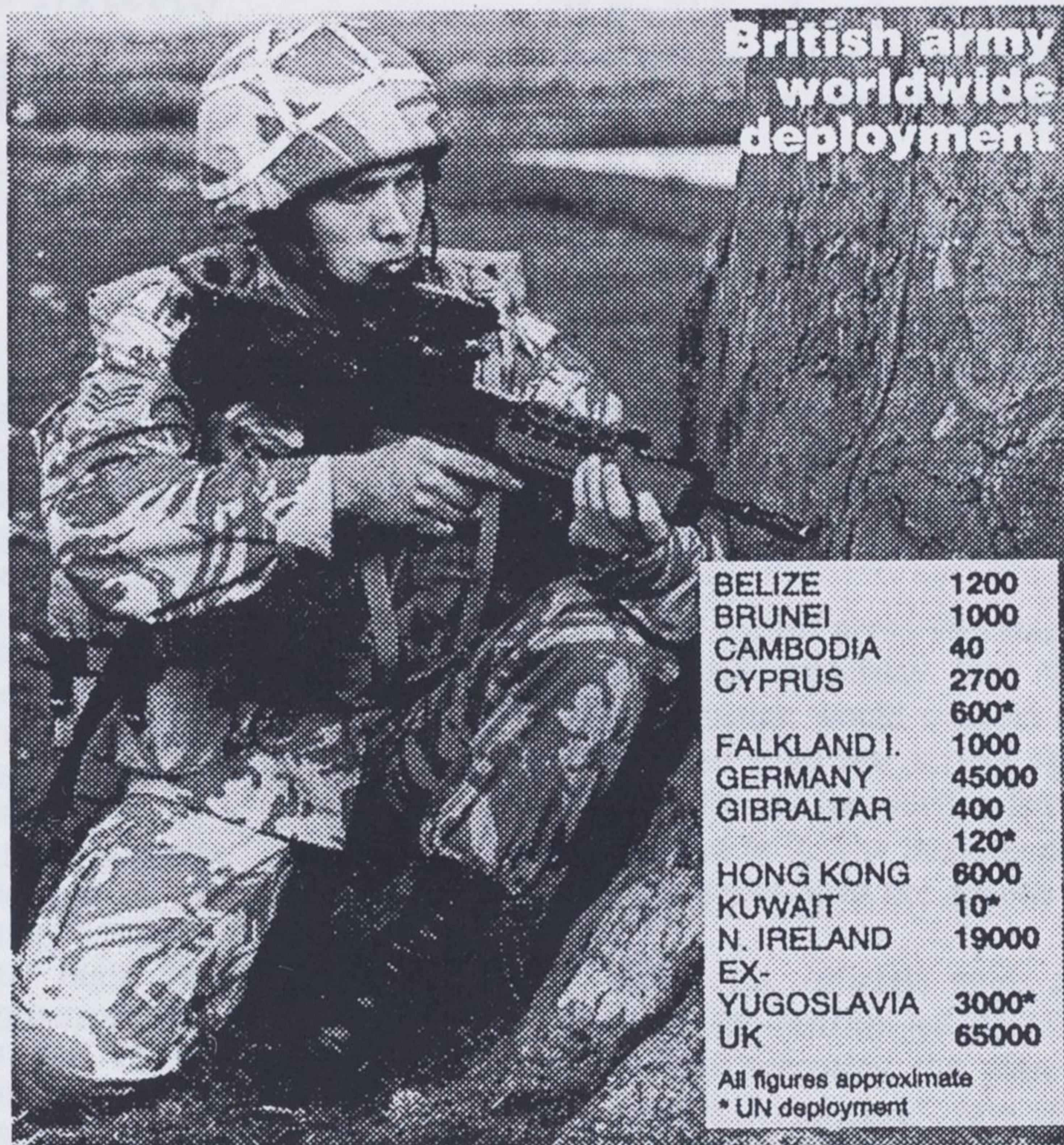
Regiments are great stirrers of emotion, although there have been many amalgamations before. The Royal Scots, who until Mr Rifkind's announcement were set to merge with the King's Own Scottish Borderers, are a rarity in having survived intact since the 17th century.

The Scottish regiments – affected by one other merger and the loss of a guards battalion – and the Staffords, waged the strongest campaigns. By selecting regiments for reprieve, Mr Rifkind took the risk of opening a Pandora's box; over the next two years, there are 10 more armoured and infantry regiments waiting for amalgamations and three guards regiments destined to lose their second battalions.

The government has backtracked, but so far by no more than 2.6 per cent, retaining 3,000 more troops than planned for the mid-1990s, including keeping 40 infantry battalions instead of 38. Defence ministers, who always stood firmly by their Options for Change

Military manoeuvres

Britain's army will remain stretched, says David White



BELIZE	1200
BRUNEI	1000
CAMBODIA	40
CYPRUS	2700
	600*
FALKLAND I.	1000
GERMANY	45000
GIBRALTAR	400
	120*
HONG KONG	6000
KUWAIT	10*
N. IRELAND	19000
EX-YUGOSLAVIA	3000*
UK	65000

All figures approximate
* UN deployment

programme of armed forces cuts, argue that its fundamentals have not altered. The 6,500 army redundancies due later this month, mostly voluntary and linked to ages and rank rather than individual units, are not materially affected.

The target first set in 1990 was an army of "around 120,000". Over the following year, the figure was trimmed to 116,000 – a reduction of 40,000 over three years. Army chiefs had fought for more battalions. The infantry that remained included two surviving Gurkha battalions of Nepalese soldiers, who have never been used for jobs like patrolling Northern Irish streets.

Since taking over the defence ministry last April, Mr Rifkind has faced a difficult concatenation of circumstances. One of the premises of Options for Change was that the number of British troops sent to Northern Ireland would remain stable at about 10,500, with 10 regular army battalions. Early last year this was increased by two extra battalions, and Northern Ireland ministers are

expected to argue against returning to the previous level. In the meantime, more than 3,000 troops have been sent to former Yugoslavia.

Much of the army, meanwhile, is tied up in reorganisation and withdrawal from Germany. Options for Change was meant to leave a margin for the unpredictable, but the margin was too small and the unpredictable came sooner than expected.

Then, with British troops newly arrived in central Bosnia, came the autumn round of public expenditure cuts, reducing the defence budget for the next financial year from more than £24bn to £23.5bn. The change in army plans adds £80m a year to some £1bn worth of savings Mr Rifkind has to find over the next two years. Cuts could hit RAF fighter squadrons and the navy's plan for a helicopter carrier, due to be ordered this autumn. Inter-service battles, which the government has tried hard to keep a lid on, are bubbling up again.

The army asked for some 6,000 more troops than it got, not so much to revive regi-

ments as to bring depleted units up to strength.

Public controversy has focused on the infantry, but that is only about a quarter of the army. The rest, including tank forces, engineers, signals and artillery, also face heavy cuts. A new Royal Logistic Corps comes into being in April, merging five activities from transport to catering, the biggest reorganisation since 1904 when the army was drawing lessons from the Boer war.

The problem is that it is infantry that is required for peacekeeping. The army, which has been given the job of leading Nato's new rapid reaction corps, does not want to cut its tank units any further to make up numbers. It wants to keep its capacity for fighting real wars, in which infantry is only part of the picture. It is determined to be something more than a gendarmerie and to keep a place at Nato's top planning table.

Manning is still tight, just slightly less so. Pressures should ease in the next few years. Numbers in Cyprus have been cut; the two battalions in Berlin are due to go; the Hong Kong garrison has to pack up in 1997; commitments in Belize and Brunei could end. More soldiers are likely to become available through hiving off support functions and streamlining army structures in the UK.

But the changes are unlikely to alter British military reservations about a full-scale peacekeeping operation in Bosnia without US participation. The French have more troops available, but their larger army is based on conscription. Of 4,700 French troops in former Yugoslavia, 39 per cent are national servicemen who have volunteered for foreign service. This could become a problem if they become more directly engaged in fighting.

In the area where the British army now escorts convoys, it is reckoned at least a brigade of 6,000 would be needed to oversee a ceasefire. The army could provide that, and more, but could not send fresh troops to replace them if the mission became permanent.

UN berets worn by British troops in Bosnia come in different shades of blue. The paler ones are mementoes of Cyprus. The UN went there in response to a crisis in 1964 and is still there almost 29 years later. It is the same lesson Britain has learnt in Northern Ireland – going in is always easier than getting out.

 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

White House Mulls Appointing Envoy For Bosnia Pact

By CARLA ANNE ROBBINS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The White House is considering appointing a special envoy to work behind the scenes brokering a peace agreement in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Dissatisfied with a peace plan worked out by former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Britain's David Owen, the Clinton administration has decided it has no choice but to become "more actively engaged" in the peace negotiations, a senior administration aide said.

The proposal will be discussed in detail today at a White House meeting of the president's top national security advisers.

The risks for the U.S. are high. The Serbs, who are the main aggressors, are less than enthusiastic about the Vance-Owen plan. It would take strong sanctions to persuade them to accept a new plan in which they would almost certainly have to give up even more of the territory they have seized. The United Nations Security Council so far has been unable to agree on tough sanctions against the Serbs.

And if a U.S. envoy fails to come up with a workable plan, some critics will blame the administration for having abandoned the Vance-Owen effort. For these reasons, the Bush administration intentionally kept its distance from the Bosnian negotiations.

Even success could have its problems. If the U.S. takes the diplomatic lead in brokering a deal, it will almost certainly be called upon to commit peace-keepers to enforce it.

The administration considers the Vance-Owen plan, which would break up Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 separate semiautonomous provinces, unenforceable. They also are concerned that it would partition the country into ethnic enclaves and reward Serbian "ethnic cleansing." Mr. Vance is representing the U.N., and Mr. Owen is representing the European Community.

White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said yesterday that the Clinton administration would support the Vance-Owen plan if all the parties agreed to it. "But so far all the parties involved have not agreed to it. The Bosnian government and the Serbs have not agreed to it," she said.

Above all, officials said, they won't pressure the Muslim-led Bosnian government into accepting the plan. "We will encourage the process," says one top aide. "But not this particular plan."

After calling for more-aggressive action on Bosnia during the campaign, the Clinton administration is finding far less room to maneuver than it originally hoped. Aides, however, say they have little choice but to try and break the diplomatic impasse by taking a lead in the negotiating process.

Europe's Recovery to Spring From U.S.

Global Group Says Recession Has Overwhelmed Hope For Single Market in '92

By PHILIP REVZIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

DAVOS, Switzerland — The elusive economic upturn in Europe may not appear this year, or even in 1994, according to a number of influential businessmen assembled by The Wall Street Journal Europe and Handelsblatt, a German financial newspaper, for a discussion at the World Economic Forum here.

But the consensus of the group was that recovery will take root in the U.S. and continue in Asia, and that opportunities for growth and investment will be strongest in Eastern Europe and in those Western European countries with lower manufacturing costs.

Participating in the discussion were Winfried Bischoff, chairman of investment bank J. Henry Schroder Wagg in the U.K.; Joseph Cappy, vice president, international operations, for Chrysler Corp. of the U.S.; Hubertus von Gruenberg, chairman of the executive board of Germany's Continental AG; and Eberhard von Koerber, executive vice president of ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd., the multinational capital-goods company based in Switzerland.

Participants all agreed that in Europe, at least, the hoped-for macroeconomic impetus of the 1992 single market has been overwhelmed by the recession. "A year ago, we thought 1992 would be the year when economies turned around," said Mr. Bischoff of J. Henry Schroder Wagg. "That hasn't happened. In Europe, the problem has been very much more that of stagnation, of unsettled currency markets and really quite a lot of turmoil. I think 1993 is going to be quite a difficult year. Any impetus for economic growth isn't going to come from Europe. It's going to come from the U.S. perhaps, or the Far East."

Eyes on the U.S.

Mr. von Gruenberg added that while 1993 will be difficult in Europe for Continental, which makes tires and other products, "Thank God we're global, and thank God we've got big interests in the U.S., where we are benefiting from the expan-

sion. Everybody in Europe now wants a big U.S. subsidiary. Without doubt, the U.S. will recover before Europe."

For Europe to recover more quickly, according to ABB's Mr. von Koerber, governments must better coordinate economic policies. "Governments are all playing their own games. There may be some coordinated European stimulus, but not in the short term. The U.S. recovery's effect on Europe depends on how quickly the Clinton administration stimulates the U.S. economy, and whether that increase in infrastructure spending creates additional demand for exports from Europe."

But he added that his company, at least, sees growth "for the first time in the Czech Republic and Poland, and there looks to be a real further expansion there."

Sales Forecast

Chrysler's Mr. Cappy said he expects to sell over 20% more cars, jeeps and vans in Europe this year than last, with much of that growth coming from new distribution networks in Spain, Italy and the U.K.

The movement of manufacturing to the South and East will likely continue. Mr. Bischoff pointed out that with the new, freer movement of goods and people within Europe, "Those European businesses that have sited some production abroad are doing very well. Those that rely on production in the Northern countries have got a problem." Mr. von Gruenberg cited his company's establishment of a major tire operation in Portugal and the purchase of the Czech Republic's biggest tire maker. In Germany, he added, Continental has been retraining its employees to make higher-technology products, leaving simple tire-making to lower-cost units.

Added Mr. von Gruenberg: "There is a sentiment of emergency about job losses in some countries. . . . But the public shouldn't panic. The upside is that during an emergency, a lot can and will be done to restructure. We'll come out of this cycle with some scars, but stronger."

Productivity Gap

Europe's recession, and the EC's single-market program, may finally help it close the productivity gap with the U.S. and Asia. "This was the goal of the single market," said Mr. von Koerber, "to make Europe more competitive by becoming more productive, to force more internal competition. Of course, announcements like the 10,000 layoffs at Volkswagen will have an adverse effect on public opinion. But what's happening will increase profit expectations for these companies. . . . after one or two years, we'll come out healthier and more competitive. . . ."

Most of the businessmen at Davos said

their companies started preparing for 1992, and Europe's recession, years ago. Mr. von Gruenberg added that at Continental, as at many other German companies, "all levels of management are looking outside now, buying components from neighbors, not just in Germany. Business habits have grown totally international."

ABB, said Mr. von Koerber, anticipated Europe's downturn and has been laying off workers there at a rate of 1,000 a month for the past two years. At the same time, the company has built up capacity in Poland, Romania and the Czech Republic, now employing 20,000 in Eastern Europe.

Danger of Protectionism

The businessmen agreed that continued movement of companies and goods raises dangers of possible protectionism, but they don't think recent Clinton administration moves on steel duties portend a trade war. The European participants called on the EC to complete the Uruguay Round of trade talks by making concessions on farm trade.

Mr. Cappy pointed out the rising pressure in the U.S. Congress, now dealing with a Democratic president, to enforce "fair trade" rather than "free trade." He added that he sees trade differences every day: Chrysler, which doesn't build cars in Europe, must pay a 10% duty on each vehicle it imports to the region. European producers pay only a 2% duty to export to the U.S. To smooth out such differences in the future, he adds, "You're going to have to be in all the trade blocs, and in several countries in each bloc. (Governments) just aren't going to allow all the interbloc trade to be free."

Mr. Bischoff said he thought it would be "very, very difficult" to arrive at a common European currency by the end of the decade — a sentiment widely shared. Most of the participants also said they don't see such currency making much difference to their businesses. "From a business point of view, I have higher priorities," said Mr. von Gruenberg. "It's much more important to maintain financial stability among European nations."

But Mr. von Koerber said ABB favors a common currency precisely because it would "serve as an instrument to force the harmonization of economic policies." However, he added that he's skeptical that can happen during this decade.

On investing in Eastern Europe, Mr. Cappy said American companies "haven't rushed in" because they can't get hard currency back out. "It only makes sense if you're looking for lower-cost capacity. GM needed an engine plant, so it went into Hungary, but if you don't need capacity, you don't go in."

Oil Supply May Drop; but Iraq and Ex-Soviet States Are Wild Cards

By David R. Francis

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

THE world price of oil is rising again. It should cost United States drivers several cents per gallon of gasoline.

Both Saudi Arabia and Iran have proposed production cutbacks of more than 1 million barrels daily for members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. OPEC intends to negotiate details of individual national production quotas at a special meeting in Vienna Feb. 14. Oil traders figure the oil ministers have a good chance of succeeding and thus have already pushed crude prices higher.

OPEC President Alirio Parro has met recently with officials of cartel states in the Gulf and North Africa, notes John Lichtblau, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation in New York. He says that "there is a lot

of goodwill. The chances of a reduction in output are real."

The price of one crude oil benchmark, West Texas Intermediate (WTI), dipped below \$16 a barrel in October. In January that price averaged \$19, and this week around \$20. Each \$1 increase adds about 2.5 cents to gasoline's retail price per gallon.

A rise in the price of oil is more than an inconvenience for motorists. Economists say it drags down economic output of oil-con-

suming countries, including most of the major industrial nations.

OPEC's long-standing price target has been \$21 a barrel (WTI). Excessive quotas and "cheating" on quotas, however, have caused overproduction in relation to demand, keeping the price under that target.

For the first quarter of this year, OPEC has a production ceiling of 24.6 million barrels per day (mb/d). Analysts suspect the Vienna meeting will chop that ceiling by about 1 mb/d. With cheating and other leakage, actual output in the second quarter may run around 24.1 mb/d, suggests Platt's Week, an authoritative trade publication. Whether that will reduce output enough to maintain the current crude price or boost it further is debated by the experts and oil traders.

THIS year, according to Platt's, total world demand for crude and natural gas liquids will amount to 68.1 mb/d and the supply about 67.8 mb/d, reducing stocks a little. OPEC nations will supply about 27.3 mb/d.

World demand has risen relatively steadily from 61.4 mb/d in 1986. But the supply situation has changed dramatically.

Because of the United Nations embargo after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Iraqi exports are minor. Mr. Lichtblau describes the possibility of renewed Iraq exports as "a big dark cloud" hanging over OPEC negotiations. Should Iraq settle with the UN later this year, it could quickly boost exports to 1 mb/d, canceling any planned drop in OPEC oil exports.

Another unsettling factor in world markets is the production of the former Soviet republics.

According to Deutsche Bank Research, Russian oil production will fall from its 1987 peak of 510

mb/d) to about 340 million tons (6.8 mb/d) this year. That will leave about 40 million tons available for export this year, down from 90 million tons exported in 1991. As a result, Deutsche Bank reports, hard-currency earnings could fall from \$12.9 billion to \$6.7 billion.

Other analysts disagree. Matthew Sagers, an economist at PlanEcon Inc. in Washington, estimates that for the first three quarters of 1992, net oil exports were down only 1.9 percent from the same months in 1991 - to 79 million metric tons (2.1 mb/d) from 80.5 million tons (2.15 mb/d). Those numbers include all exports, both legal and otherwise.

Reports from Russia indicate that huge quantities of oil are being smuggled out of the country, with the proceeds often stashed away in banks in Switzerland or elsewhere. Within Russia itself, the demand for oil has been reduced by severely depressed industrial output. Oil remains far cheaper than the world market. So it pays handsomely for oil industry officials and others to export oil and its products.

Russia and two other oil-producing former Soviet republics plan to form an international body like OPEC, said Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of Kazakhstan at a conference in Davos, Switzerland, last weekend. He further said Kazakhstan would seek observer status in OPEC. At that conference, OPEC Secretary-General Subroto said OPEC seeks closer cooperation with the former-Soviet republics.

However, Western oil analysts see no immediate threat of an enlargement of the cartel. For the time being, Saudi Arabia with its easily expandable output of 6 mb/d remains the kingpin in setting world oil prices.

"It is a matter of the Saudis deciding what to do," says Thomas Stauffer, a Washington

MUSLIMS URGE UN TO REJECT BOSNIA PLAN

DUBAI, UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

■ The Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) has asked the United Nations Security Council to reject a proposed peace agreement for Bosnia-Herzegovina and lift an arms embargo on Bosnian Muslims, OIC officials said yesterday.

OIC Secretary-General Hamid Algabid said in letters to the five permanent Security Council members the accord amounted to an endorsement of the "ethnic cleansing" of Muslims by Serbs in the former Yugoslavia.

Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has rejected key parts of the plan drawn up by the co-chairmen of UN-backed peace talks on Bosnia's war between Muslims, Serbs, and Croats. The plan would compel warring parties to accept a cease-fire and division of the republic into 10 provinces in a federated state.

The co-chairmen, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen, have moved their negotiations to New York from Geneva in the hope the Security Council and particularly the US will support the peace plan.

ANGOLANS CALL FOR WORLD ATTENTION TO CIVIL WAR

LUANDA, ANGOLA

■ The Angolan government, under military pressure from UNITA rebels, asked the international community yesterday not to abandon the country to civil war.

National radio said fighting continued unabated yesterday between government forces and UNITA, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, which rejected the results of elections last September. The elections were part of a peace process, but UNITA claimed the voting had been rigged.

Fighting broke out before a second round of polling to decide between the two leading presidential candidates — incumbent President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi of UNITA.

The UN Security Council has extended until April 30 the mandate of a now reduced UN mission monitoring the peace agreement. But it will cut its presence further if the security situation continues to deteriorate.

Peace talks in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, last weekend failed to produce a cease-fire and many diplomats say there is little hope of concrete results in another round scheduled for Feb. 10.

— Reuters



LORD OWEN BLASTS CLINTON ON BOSNIA

Lord Owen, the European Community mediator working with UN special envoy Cyrus Vance to try to end the war in Bosnia, has accused the Clinton administration in a press interview of prolonging the war through reluctance to sign on to the Geneva peace plan. He faults the US position for keeping the Bosnian Muslims from getting "on board." Bosnia says the plan rewards Serbs for "ethnic cleansing" waged against Muslims. The Bosnian peace talks will resume at the UN in New York today or tomorrow.

Clinton helps unions

President Clinton said he revoked two executive orders of President Bush because they amounted to an intrusion into union activities in the workplace. One order prohibited contractors who entered into project agreements with unions from bidding on federal construction contracts. The second order required unionized federal contractors to post a notice in the workplace that workers are not required to join or support unions.

US urging talks

The United States is pressuring the Arabs to quickly resume Middle East peace negotiations following Israel's offer of compromise on the issue of Palestinians deported to Lebanon. Washington wants the talks to start again before the Feb. 24 start of the Muslim fast month of Ramadan. But there were no visible signs the Arabs will do so until a more acceptable offer is made on the expulsion. Iraq is offering to sell oil to raise cash to provide supplies for the stranded Palestinians, a proposal Yasser Arafat announced in Baghdad yesterday.

A light from space

A Russian spaceship yesterday shined a patch of reflected light onto the dark side of the earth with a reflective solar sail made of Kevlar. If evaluations of 'Operation Banner' are positive, it could lead to the development of panels of space mirrors

powerful enough to light up nighttime work projects, rescue operations, and sun-starved polar regions with cosmic klieg lights.

Serbs in France angry

Two associations of Serbs living in France are seeking a court order to halt an advertising campaign that compares Serbs in the former Yugoslavia to the Nazis. The \$2 million ad campaign, sponsored by the relief group Doctors of the World, utilizes a poster showing side-by-side portraits of Adolf Hitler and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Poorer nations hurt

Prices for raw materials, on which many third-world countries depend, dropped in 1992 for the fourth year in a row, the International Monetary Fund reported. For all commodities except oil - food, metals, minerals, and industrial farm products - the drop amounted to \$2.50 per \$100.

Germans raid skinheads

German police in nationwide dawn raids yesterday broke into homes and offices of right-wing, skinhead musicians accused of glorifying violence and inciting racial hatred through songs. Skinhead rock bands are the rage of Germany's increasingly violent far-right fringe, preaching an explosive mixture of Nazi ideology, street fighting, and hatred of foreigners.

- Compiled by David Mutch

Uneasy Compromise on Deportees

ISRAEL'S offer to return 100 of the 400 deported Palestinians in exchange for a United States agreement to block United Nations efforts at sanctions is the first dance the Clinton administration has danced with Israel.

Certainly the White House wants to get off on the right foot with its longtime Middle East partners. At the same time, for reasons of principle and image, Mr. Clinton cannot be expected to make such compromising deals on any regular basis — and the Rabin government should understand that.

As regards principle: No US administration has ever supported the Israeli practice of deportation. Some 100 men will return. But that leaves 300. The deportees are described as Hamas terrorists, though none has had due process, and dozens of them, it appears, are not as guilty as even the Israelis might have first thought. The US probably went along with Mr. Rabin this time to avoid a crisis early in the relationship. But it can't arbitrarily break its commitment to the Geneva conventions.

As regards image: The US has overall relations in the Middle East to consider. For strategic and moral

reasons, it must improve relations with Arabs. After what amounts to US strong-arming the Security Council on behalf of Israel, and with what seems a double standard toward Muslims in Iraq and Bosnia, the US image in the Arab world is tarnished. It must be improved. Working behind the scenes for direct Israeli-PLO negotiations might help. So might an answer for the other 300 detainees.

Inquiries on the US Palestinians recently detained in the occupied territories and charged with funding Hamas also should be pursued.

The new US administration must tread somewhat independently in the Middle East. Israel unilaterally threw 400 Palestinians out overnight and may have permanently wrecked the peace talks. Not surprisingly, the act enraged all sides; the ensuing storm has not yet blown over. Facing sanctions, the Israelis essentially asked the new administration to excuse their act. It did so — at the cost of implicitly supporting or legitimizing a practice it abhors and of harming its own status in the process.

Washington cannot be a Middle East peacemaker if it is regularly forced into this position.

Well-Positioned UN Is Still Best Option For Cambodian Peace

By Fred Hall

Washington Post Foreign Editor

MOSCOW—The Russian economy, 13 months into one of the riskiest transformations ever attempted, stands at a moment of great promise but also of extreme danger.

The promise lies in a privatization program now gathering steam that could eventually remake the nation's political and economic map. Already 45,000 enterprises have moved from state ownership into private hands. Deputy Premier Anatoly Chubais said last week that the government has launched a program to attract big factories faster than has been accomplished anywhere else.

But the privatization program, along with every other aspect of Russia's democratic and free-market reforms, is threatened by potential hyperinflation. With food prices doubling every two months, the economy has not yet reached, but is nearing, the point where money is considered worthless and general economic life collapses.

While economists debate the likelihood of hyperinflation, none dispute the grave consequences. Hyperinflation can lead to dictatorship; in Russia, it could also prevent the disintegration of the

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J F M A M J J A S O N D
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Source: Central Statistical Bureau

world's largest country
is warning London.
"Everything would
and Richard Layard, a
the London School of
and an adviser to the
cabinet. "You'd get a
trading relationship
regions. . . . In real life
survival becomes a daily
and the only concern."

If the civil war in the Balkans is an affront and an embarrassment to the civilized world, the murderous "ethnic cleansing" that is going on there is as nothing compared with the ominous threat that looms in the Southeast Asian nation of Cambodia.

It is a hodge-podge patchwork of factions diverse in political goals, ideological motivation, and ethnic background. Since 1991, the four principal political factions have theoretically been cooperating in a United Nations-supervised peace accord designed to culminate in elections now scheduled for May.

One of those factions is the Phnom Penh government installed by the Vietnamese when they invaded Cambodia. Despite the façade of coalition cooperation, the government is widely assumed to be responsible for attacks on the other factions.

One of the other factions is the infamous Khmer Rouge, the discredited communist faction whose Maoist zealotry led it to commit one of the worst massacres of the 20th century. Probably a million people died in the so-called "killing fields" of Cambodia at the hands of the Khmer Rouge as they sought to eliminate their enemies and restructure the economy and society.

Although the Khmer Rouge must rank as one of the most detestable movements of our times, it was conferred respectability under the current peace accord because it was considered too militarily powerful to be excluded. The United States, holding its nose as it did so, went along with the deal.

To almost nobody's surprise, the Khmer Rouge have betrayed their promises to honor the peace accord. They have refused to turn in their weapons. They have frustrated and harassed UN peacekeepers, kidnapping and releasing civilian and military personnel. They have balked at participating in the elections. Moreover, the UN has linked them to a string of new massacres against ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia. Many of these Vietnamese have lived in Cambodia for generations and have become culturally assimilated.

This is an ominous warning of things to come if the Khmer Rouge should outmaneuver the other factions in the present, rickety coalition. The ruthless and practiced killers of the Khmer Rouge could unleash a wave of violence that would go far beyond the killings symbolized by the agonies of Sarajevo.

The question is: Who would care to the point of taking action to stop a Cambodian bloodbath?

Western Europe has been unable to act effectively in Bosnia, on its own continent, where white men slaughter white men. Would it be any more decisive in far-off Asia in a civil war between Asians?

The US has little stomach for a return to the jungles of Southeast Asia.

Russia, once the protagonist of the Vietnamese who invaded Cambodia, is an emasculated world power, beset by ethnic strains and conflicts of its own.

Of Cambodia's neighbors, Thailand has been deeply concerned with Cambodia. But Thailand's role is that of a refuge for Cambodians fleeing violence; the Thais are not going to tangle militarily with any Cambodian faction.

Japan, which has cautiously sent some engineering troops to join the UN peacekeeping force, is not going to increase its role significantly. Nor would Southeast Asian nations, still mindful of Japanese expansionism in World War II, be comfortable with a major Japanese military role in the region.

That leaves China, long the mentor of the Khmer Rouge, which theoretically is supposed to be urging restraint upon its protégé.

Thus Cambodia is an ideal vehicle for the application of multilateral action by the UN, now much lauded with the demise of superpower confrontation.

With 22,000 personnel already in the country, the UN has done little to bring the Khmer Rouge to heel. It must act decisively now to forestall another Asian holocaust later. It cannot permit the Khmer Rouge to continue sabotaging the peace accord without punishment. It must not allow the Khmer Rouge to begin another campaign of genocide.

J O H N
H U G H E S



On Brink of Promise—or Peril

Inflation Could Collapse Russia's Newly Privatized Economy

By Fred Hiatt

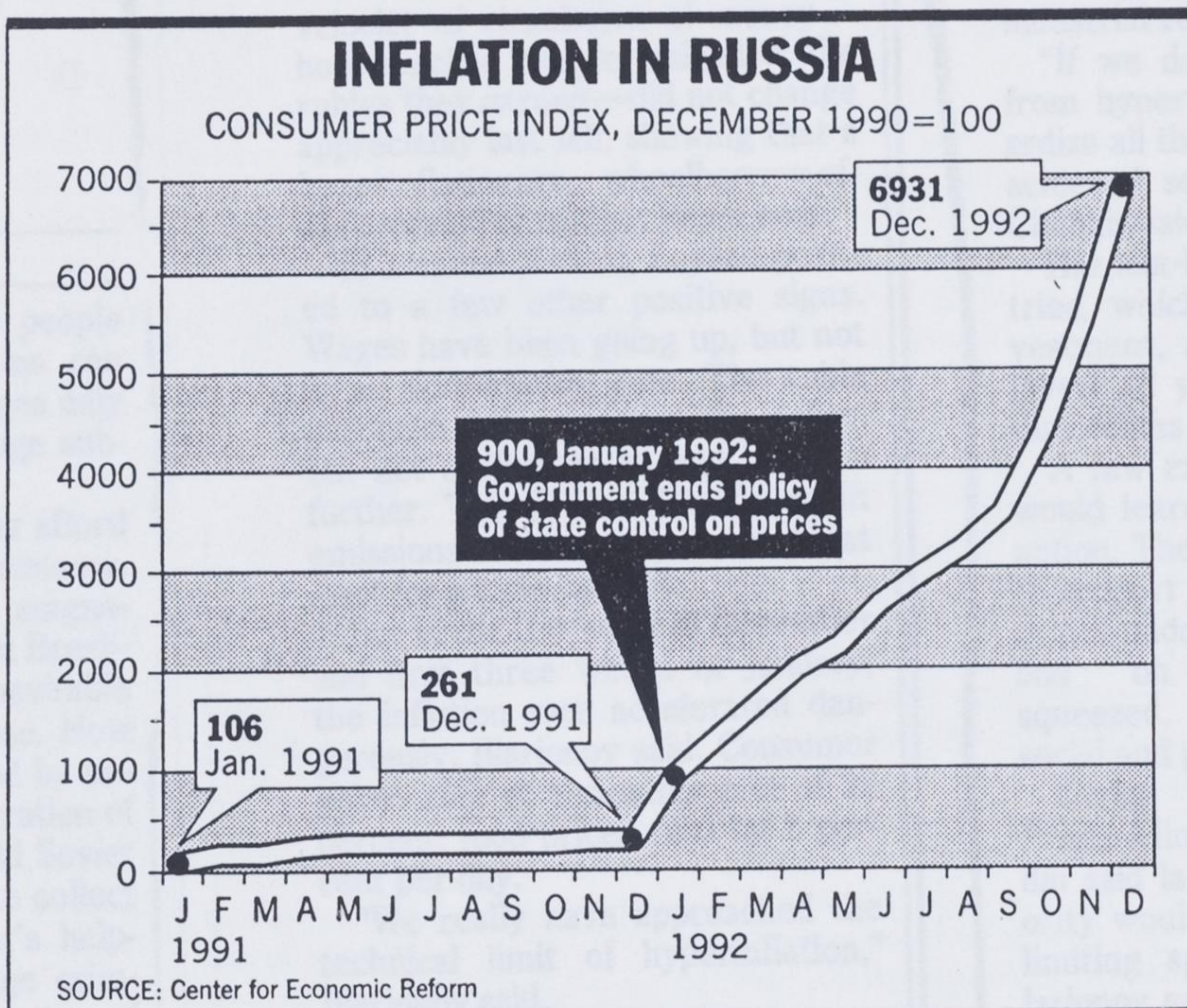
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW—The Russian economy, 13 months into one of the riskiest transformations ever attempted, stands at a moment of great promise but also of extreme danger.

The promise lies in a privatization program now gathering steam that could irreversibly remake the nation's political and economic map. Already 46,000 enterprises have moved from state ownership into private hands, Deputy Premier Anatoly Chubais said last week, and the government has launched a program to unload big factories faster than has been accomplished anywhere else.

But the privatization program, along with every other aspect of Russia's democratic and free-market reforms, is threatened by potential hyperinflation. With food prices doubling every two months, the economy has not yet reached, but is nearing, the point where money is considered worthless and normal economic ties collapse.

While economists debate the technical definition of hyperinflation, none dispute the grave consequences. Hyperinflation can lead to dictatorship; in Russia, it could also presage the disintegration of the



world's largest country into dozens of warring fiefdoms.

"Everything would fall apart," said Richard Layard, a professor at the London School of Economics and an adviser to the Russian government. "You'd get a breakdown of trading relationships between regions. . . . In real hyperinflation, survival becomes a daily concern, and the only concern."

Russian economist Andrei Il-larionov said: "The middle class would be eroded away, the backing for democratic reform would be eliminated and the political extremes would be strengthened."

Decades of Soviet central planning left Russia with hundreds of firms that produce things no one wants, waste vast amounts of en-

See RUSSIA, A17, Col. 1

Economy Precarious In Russia

ergy and employ far more people than necessary. These firms can survive and keep paying wages only by bleeding the state for huge subsidies or cheap loans.

But the state can no longer afford to support an inefficient economy. A long period of economic stagnation, beginning under Leonid Brezhnev's leadership, made it inevitable that such a time would come. Now the crisis has been hastened by political chaos: by the disintegration of economic ties across the old Soviet Union, Moscow's inability to collect taxes, and the government's helplessness to prevent new-age criminals from looting the country of billions of dollars in natural resources and foreign currency.

Impoverishment has left Moscow with two choices: either allow, for the first time, bankruptcies and unemployment during a long and painful period of adjustment, or print more and more money to try to keep every firm alive.

So far the Central Bank, legally under the control of the populist parliament and not President Boris Yeltsin's reform-minded government, has chosen the second option, which is more dangerous in the long term but politically safer today.

"There's a serious struggle going on," Illarionov said, "between those who argue for an improvement in the health of the economy, and the lobbyists from ministries and agencies who constantly extend their greedy hands toward the thinning Russian budget."

As a result of the easy-credit policy, the number of bankruptcies of state firms thus far stands at zero. Although millions of Russians are underemployed and struggling to feed their families, less than 2 percent are actually unemployed.

Also as a result, consumer prices increased 26-fold last year—an inflation rate of 2,600 percent—and wholesale prices rose 36-fold, according to the official Center for Economic Reform. Last fall, the inflation rate was about 25 percent per month.

That rate falls short of most definitions of hyperinflation, often given as an inflation of 50 percent per month for three straight months. In addition, what economists call the velocity of circulation of money—how quickly people unloaded the rubles they earned—did not change appreciably last fall, showing that a hyperinflationary, wheelbarrow-of-cash mentality has not taken hold.

In a mixed picture, Layard pointed to a few other positive signs. Wages have been going up, but not at an accelerating rate. The ruble has been falling against the dollar, but not so fast as to fuel inflation further. The Central Bank's credit emissions seemed to lose steam, at least for a time last fall.

But in the last week of December and first three weeks of January, the inflation rate accelerated dangerously, Illarionov said. Consumer prices rose at a monthly rate of 33 percent; food prices rose by 2 percent per day.

"We really have approached the technical limit of hyperinflation," Illarionov said.

Now, Layard said, any small—and unpredictable—spark could touch off the blaze of hyperinflation. "It can come very suddenly when you have a rate like this," he said. "Some very small thing can push you over the edge."

Parliament's recent decision to index pensions to the inflation rate, he added, is precisely the kind of spark that could set prices galloping out of control.

Once hyperinflation takes hold, Illarionov and others said, certain destructive consequences are inevitable. First, since no one wants to accept rubles, trade would revert to barter, which is less efficient. Chains of suppliers and producers would rend, and production fall.

The "dollarization" of Russia's economy, already a painful development, would accelerate, as everyone would seek to unload rubles for more stable foreign currency.

Russia's many regions and autonomous republics, trying to protect their populations, would erect trade

might respond by requisitioning goods, accelerating the nation's disintegration. No one would invest for the long term, making any serious industrial restructuring impossible.

"If we do not save the country from hyperinflation, it would jeopardize all the results of privatization achieved so far," Deputy Premier Chubais said last week.

Hardest-hit would be basic industries, which require long-term investment, and farmers, who must invest all year long for production that comes only once each year.

A few exporters and middlemen would learn to profit from the situation. The government would seek to support the very poorest. Those in the middle—people with savings and on salaries—would be squeezed. No one can predict the social and political consequences.

Given the dangers, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin said last week that his top priority would be to curb inflation by limiting spending and credits. Illarionov said talks are taking place between the government and the Central Bank in which the government is seeking higher interest rates, absolute limits on credits and an end to "privileged," below-market-rate loans.

"These talks are major, difficult, long-running," he said. "But the talks themselves already are a good result. Before, none at all took place." Still, Deputy Premier Boris Fyodorov acknowledged that all the government's good intentions have yet to be matched by results.

"To control inflation, unemployment will have to rise, and the production on many existing lines will have to fall," Layard said. "The challenge for entrepreneurs is to develop new product lines and new markets, including in the West."

"This should be the focus of any assistance from the West," he added.

Defusing the bomb

Population experts are no longer panicking about global crowding

Sharon Camp remembers how bleak the world's future seemed when ecologist Paul Ehrlich published his bestseller "The Population Bomb" in 1968. Three and a half billion people already crowded the earth, and the ranks were swelling by 200,000 every day. The population would double in just 35 years, and alarmists like Ehrlich predicted that, well before then, billions would die from widespread famine, raging pandemics or nuclear war brought on by the struggle over scarce resources. "On my bad days, I felt that we were spitting into the wind," says Camp, senior vice president of the Washington, D.C.-based Population Action International.

Today, Camp, like many of her colleagues, is optimistic that the global population will actually be reined in within the next few decades. Although a quarter of a million babies are born every day, most of them in poor countries, the world has undergone a quiet revolution over the past 25 years. More than half of all Third World women now use some form of contraception, up from 1 in 10 in the mid-'60s. Third World women now have a



MEXICO

- Children per woman: 3.8
- Couples who use contraception: 53 percent
- Soap operas are used to market the virtues of family planning.

UNITED STATES

- Children per woman in 1980: 1.8; in 1992: 2
- Americans in 1992: 255.6 million; projected number in 2030: 345 million

total of four children on average, down from the six they typically bore two decades ago. Moreover, President Clinton's recent decision to remove restrictions on funding of international family-planning organizations paves the way for a renewed U.S. commitment to population control. This shift in U.S. policy is critical, says Nafis Sadik, executive director of the United Nations Population Fund, since what the world community does in the 1990s will largely determine whether the global population doubles or triples from its current 5.4 billion before stabilizing in the latter half of the next century.

When the international family-planning movement first got underway, it wasn't just the phenomenal growth rates that discouraged demographers. They also held several gloomy beliefs about curbing population—beliefs that have turned out to be overly simplistic. One prevalent myth, for instance, was that the only solution to the population problem was to lift Third World nations out of poverty. "Development is the best contraception," went a popular slogan of the 1970s. De-

mographers of the day were relying on experiences in North America and Europe, where population growth slowed on its own as nations developed economically. Many specialists also believed that limiting population required nothing less than the economic and social liberation of Third World women—a daunting task. Remarkably, access to contraception was generally dismissed as a minor factor in a Third World woman's family-planning decisions.

Against the odds. While economic development is not unrelated to lowering birth rates, it is not the crucial element. Experience has shown that ready access to contraceptives and strong political leadership are the driving forces, according to Gary Merritt of the Agency for International Development. Even destitute women will take charge of their reproductive lives in many instances when they have access to good family-planning programs. In Bangladesh, for instance, fertility has dropped from seven births per woman in 1975 to about five today, and 3 out of every 10 women use contraception. Yet the country is still terribly poor, and the largely uneducated women have not gained real social or economic power. According to a 1992 study, strong government support for family planning has played a crucial role in Bangladesh's success, a point that is underscored by a comparison with what has happened in Pakistan. In the two decades since the two countries split, the Pakistani government has not actively encouraged family planning for religious reasons (Pakistan has a stricter form of Islam than does Bangladesh). Though Pakistan is better off economically today than Bangladesh, only about 1 in 10 Pakistani women uses birth control, and fertility rates remain high.

Education is now understood to play a more subtle secondary role in driving down fertility rates. For example, until the late 1980s sub-Saharan Africa was the only part of the world where population growth showed no signs of abating. The region was thought to be a special case because of a culture that honors ancestry and fertility. But in the last couple of years, Kenya's birth rate—one of the highest in the world—has finally begun to decline and the nation's education reforms likely have played a role. After independence in the early 1960s, the government began a serious investment in schooling, and by the mid-1980s half the women and almost three quarters of the men were literate. According to experts, a critical mass of educated women is helping to diffuse new attitudes about family planning throughout the society.

Urbanization also appears to play a supporting role in curbing population growth. In Thailand, for instance, which has achieved the elusive goal of stabilizing its population, there has been a massive migration of rural people into Bangkok over the past decade. City dwellers generally have fewer children; in Thailand, rural women bear an average of 2.4 children compared with 1.6 babies for urban women. Children are less of a labor asset in the city and more



MOROCCO

■ **Children per woman in 1980: 6.9; in 1992: 4.2**

■ **Nurses deliver contraceptives to secluded Muslim women.**

EGYPT

■ **Children per woman in 1965: 6; in 1992: 4.4**

■ **Egypt's population grows by a million people every eight months.**

■ **Ads counsel women to bear fewer children to save their beauty and their marriages.**

SAUDI ARABIA

■ **Children per woman in 1980: 7.2; in 1991: 7.2**

■ **Wary of its large foreign population, the state encourages procreation with generous benefits.**

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of a financial burden, given higher costs of education and clothing. Wider access to birth control, exposure to the media and greater economic opportunities for women may also come into play.

Carrot and stick? Despite these heartening trends, less sanguine experts are convinced that severe measures will be required to complete the job of bringing world fertility rates down to near two children per woman—the rate necessary for stabilizing the population. Monique Miller of the Carrying Capacity Network, a family-planning advocacy group, maintains that the only way to defuse the population bomb is to promote smaller families with both incentives and sanctions. China, for instance, has a campaign to promote one child per couple, and local family-planning officials can fine and demote couples for unauthorized births. In remote areas, some women are still compelled to undergo abortions and sterilizations, though these abuses are much less common now than they were in the early 1980s. Couples who adhere to family-planning guidelines are rewarded with monthly cash payments and preferential medical treatment. Although China's program is highly coercive, Miller lauds Beijing. "The Chinese are the only ones who've had the courage to face a desperate situation," she contends.

But new research suggests that such tactics may be unnecessary. Simply supplying fam-

ily-planning services to all the people who want them may be sufficient to stabilize global population. Surveys of nearly 100 countries suggest that, worldwide, 125 million couples who want to delay or stop having children have no reliable means of doing so. Simply meeting that demand would reduce the size of Third World families from four to three children, says Steven Sinding, director of population sciences at the Rockefeller Foundation. Moreover, the number of children that Third World women say they want is steadily declining. When contraception is readily available, the fertility rate could slip from three to two. "We should meet the demand," he says, "before worrying about whether draconian measures are needed."

Even if everyone around the world who wanted contraceptives had access to them tomorrow, the global population would still rise for several decades. So many people are in their early reproductive years that although fertility rates have fallen, the absolute number of people will continue to increase. "Population, like a supertanker, takes a long time to slow down," says Michael Teitelbaum of the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. According to the United Nations Population Fund, the global population could stabilize at as low as 10 billion around the year 2075, as the population ages overall and as developing nations urbanize.

Still, providing for 10 billion people is a monumental job, one that will tax human in-

genuity to the limit. Most of the increased population will be crammed into developing countries, which already find it difficult to feed, house, educate and provide health care and jobs for their citizens. More people also will put greater pressures on the environment, especially in poor countries. The crush of people will also create and exacerbate political tensions. The violence against Bangladeshi immigrants in India's northeastern state of Assam in the early 1980s may be merely a glimpse of the strife to come as floods of refugees flee increasingly crowded and degraded lands.

If global population is to stabilize at 10 billion, quick action will be needed during the 1990s, when the number of couples of child-bearing age will jump by about 18 million a year worldwide. The Reagan administration withdrew support for international population organizations because it refused to endorse family-planning efforts with any connection at all to abortion or abortion counseling—a tiny part of these organizations' efforts. That volatile moral issue will no doubt be raised when the funding of these programs comes up later this year. The Clinton policy shift sends a clear signal that, after a decade of politically motivated neglect, the new administration intends to treat stabilization of the population once again as a pressing global issue. ■



INDIA

- Children per woman in 1980: 5.3; in 1991: 3.9. Almost half of all couples use birth control.
- The government has proposed barring people with more than two children from public office.

INDONESIA

- Children per woman in 1980: 4.6; in 1992: 3
- Exports family-planning expertise to other nations
- A bell rings at sunset to remind women to take the pill.

PHILIPPINES

- Children per woman in 1980: 5; in 1991: 4.1
- Catholic church opposes family planning; only 22 percent of couples use modern contraception.

